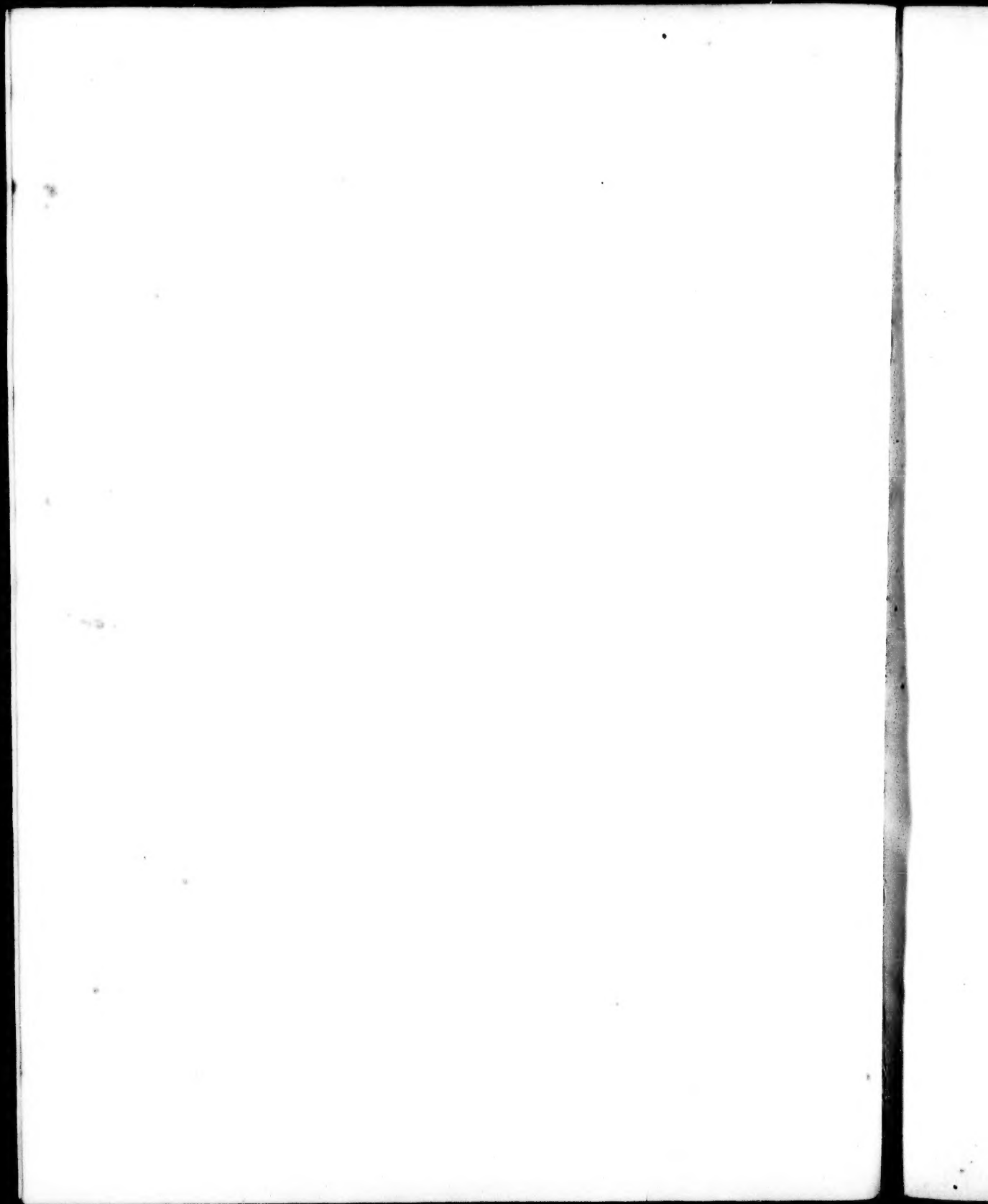




A
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LONDON:
PRINTED FOR R. H. EVANS, 26, PALL MALL; AND R. PRIESTLEY,
HOLBORN.

1812.

BIBLIOTHEQUE
DE
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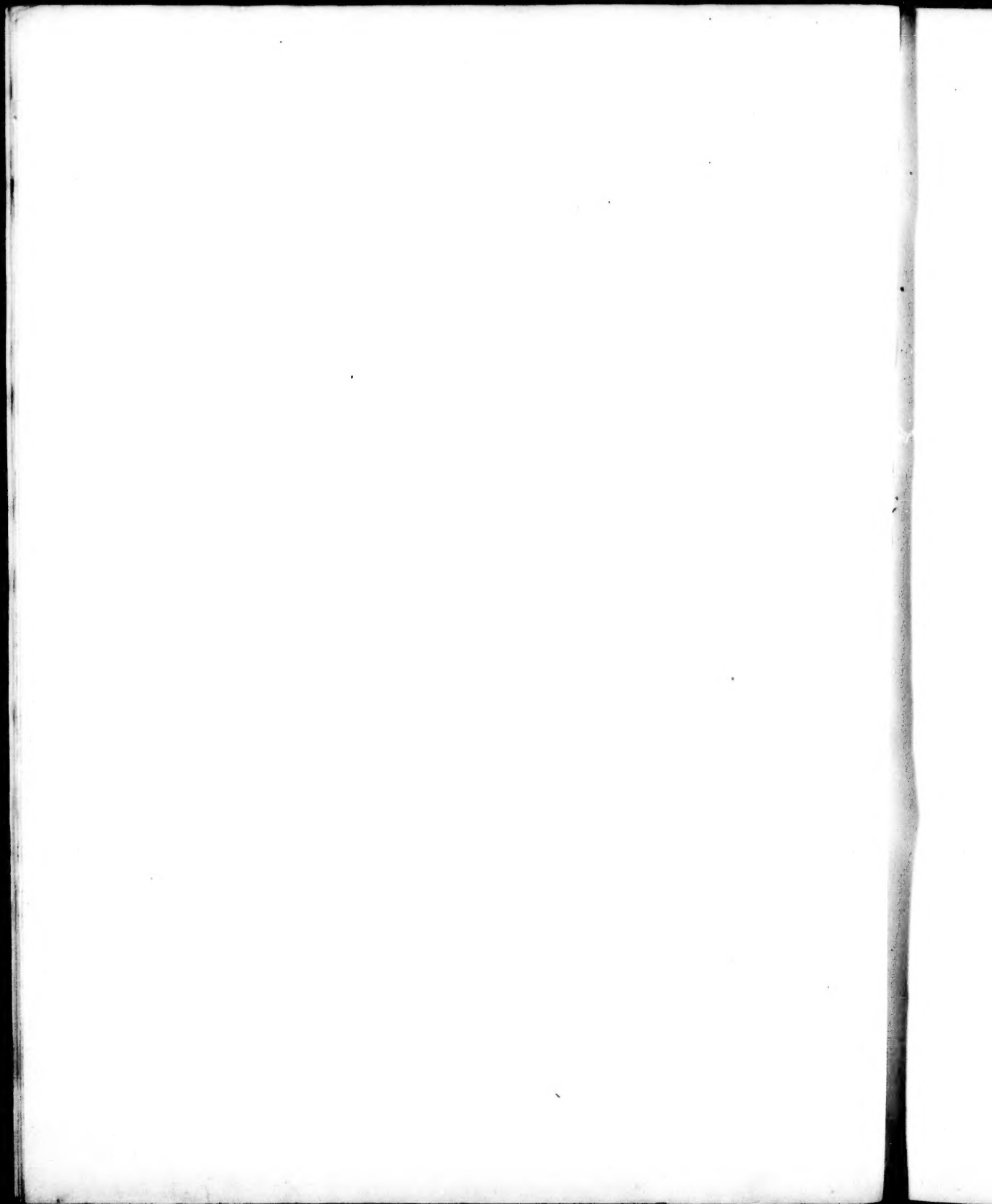
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G. WOODFALL, Printer, Paternoster-row, London.

A CATALOGUE
OF THE
VOYAGES, TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES
CONTAINED IN
THIS VOLUME.

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THE
DISCOVERIES OF THE WORLD,

FROM
THEIR FIRST ORIGINAL,

VNTO
THE YEERE OF OUR LORD, 1555.

BRIEFLY WRITTEN IN THE PORTUGALL TONGUE,

BY ANTONIE GALVANO,

GOVERNOUR OF TERNATE, THE CHIEFE ISLAND OF THE MALUCOS.

CORRECTED, QUOTED, AND NOW PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH

BY RICHARD HAKLUYT,

SOMETIMES STUDENT OF CHRISTCHURCH IN OXFORD.

Londini,

IMPENSIS G. BISHOP.

1601.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
SIR ROBERT CECILL KNIGHT,

PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO HER MAIESTIE, MASTER OF THE COURT OF WARDS AND LIUERIES, THE
WOORTHY CHANCELOUR OF THE VNIERSITIE OF CAMBRIDGE, AND ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST
HONORABLE PRIUE COUNSELL.

Right Honorable, while I went about to publish our English Voyages and Discoueries, I was aduised by master WALTER COPE, a gentleman of rare and excellent parts, to draw them into a short sum, adding that in his opinion that course woulde prooue most acceptable to the world, especially to men of great action and employment. Although in that worke then vnder the presse I could not conueniently alter my course, yet holding his aduise, as in many things else, so in this for sound and very good, I heere present vnto your Honour a briefe Treatie most agreeable to the same. The authour whereof was one Antonie Galuano, a Portugall gentleman: of whose pietie towards God, equitie towards men, fidelity to his Prince, loue to his countrey, skill in sea causes, experience in Histories, liberalitie towards his nation, vigilance, valour, wisdom and diligence in restoring & settling the decayed state of The Isles of Maluco, (where he remained sixe or seuen yeeres gouernour,) if it please your Honour to read Fernando Lopez de Castagneda, or Ioannes Maffei in their Histories of The East Indies, you shall finde more written in his singular commendation, then a large Epistle can well comprehend.

THE WORKE THOUGH SMALL IN BULKE CONTAINETH SO MUCH RARE AND PROFITABLE MATTER, AS I KNOW NOT WHERE TO SEEKE THE LIKE, WITHIN SO NARROW AND STREITE A COMPASSE. For heerein is orderly declared, who were The first Discouerours of the world since the time of the flood: by what waies from age to age the spicerie, drugs, and riches of the East were conueied into The West: what were the causes of the alterations of those courses, as namely the changes of Empires and gouernments: The ceasing of all trafficke for many yeeres by The Gothes inuasion of the Romane Empire: The rising vp of The Mahumetane sect; with their ouerrunning of Afrike and Spaine: The renewing againe, after many yeeres disturbance, of the trafficke and enter-course of The East Indies; first by the Califas of the aforesaid sect: and eftsoones by The Venetians, Ienowais and Florentines. Then followeth the taking of Ceuta in Barbarie by Iohn the first king of Portugall of that name in the yeere of our Lord 1415. whose third sonne Don Henry (which he had by the vertuous Ladie Philippa, daughter of Iohn of Gante, and sister to Henry the fourth, king of England) was the first beginner of all the Portugall discoueries, and continued the same for the space of fortie and three yeeres euen to his dying day. By whose encouragement the kings of Portugall found out with much patience and constancie the last way of the bringing the Spicerie into Europe by The Cape of Buona Sperança; and for these hundred yeeres past haue become the chiefe Lords of the riches of the Orient. By emulation of which their good endeuours, The Antiles and The west Indies began to be discouered by The kings of Spaine. The infancies of both which most important enterprises, The progresse of the same from time to time, the discoueries of Islands, riuers, baies and harbours, of many rich prouinces, kingdomes, and countries; The erecting of castles in sundry conuenient Islands and places, with the drawing of trafficke vnto the same, where, when, by whom, and by whose authority is heere succinctly and faithfully recorded. So that if it please your Honour at your conuenient leisure to take a sea card or a mappe of the world, and carie your eie vpon the coast of Africa from Cape de Non, lying on the
mayne

mayne in 29. degrees of northerly latitude, and follow the shore about the Cape of Buona Sperança till you come to the mouth of The Redde Sea, and passing thence along by the countrey of Arabia crosse ouer to India, and doubling Cape Comory compasse the gulfe of Bengala, & shooting by the citie of Malacca through The streite of Cincapura, coast al the south of Asia to the northeast part of China, and comprehend in this view all the Islands from The Açores and Madera in the West, to The Malucoes, The Phillippinas, and Iapan in the East: you shall heere finde by order, who were the first discoverours, conquerours and planters in every place: as also the natures and commodities of the soyles, together with the forces, qualities, and conditions of the inhabitants. And that which I mention of the Orient, is likewise to be vnderstood of The Occident.

Now touching the translation, it may please you sir, to be aduertised that it was first done into our language by some honest and well affected marchant of our nation, whose name by no meanes I could attaine vnto, and that as it seemeth many yeeres ago. For it hath lien by me about these twelue yeeres. In all which space though I haue made much inquire, and sent to Lisbon, where it seemeth it was printed, yet to this day I could neuer obtaine the originall copie; whereby I might reforme the manifold errorrs of the translator. For whereas a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the proprietie of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and thirdly with the subiect or matter it selfe: I found this translator very defectiue in all three; especially in the last. For the supplying of whose defects I had none other remedie, but to haue recourse vnto the originall histories, (which as it appeereth are very many, and many of them exceeding rare and hard to come by) out of which the authour himselfe drew the greatest part of this discourse. And in very deede it cost me more trauaile to search out the grounds thereof, and to annexe the marginall quotations vnto the worke, then the translation of many such bookes would haue put me vnto. Of which quotations there is yet a farther vse; to wit, that such as haue leasure sufficient, and are desirous to reade these things more at large, (for breuitie oftentimes breedeth obscuritie) may fully satisfie their desires by hauing recourse by the helpe thereof to the pure fountaines, out of which those waters which are drawne are for the most part most sweete and holosome. Now if any man shall maruel, that in these Discoveries of The World for the space almost of fower thousand yeeres here set downe, our nation is scarce fower times mentioned: Hee is to vnderstand, that when this authour ended this discourse, (which was about the yeere of Grace 1555.) there was little extant of our mens trauailes. And for ought I can see, there had no great matter yet come to light, if my selfe had not vndertaken that heauie burden, being neuer therein entertained to any purpose, vntill I had recourse vnto your selfe, by whose speciall fauour and bountifull patronage I haue been often much encouraged, and as it were reuiued. Which trauailes of our men, because as yet they be not come to ripenes, and haue been made for the most part to places first discovered by others; when they shall come to more perfection, and become more profitable to the aduenturers, will then be more fit to be reduced into briefe epitomes, by my selfe or some other endued with an honest zeale of the honour of our countrey. In the meane season nothing doubting of your fauourable acceptation of this my labour, I humbly beseech the authour of all goodnes to replenish and enrich you with his best blessings, long to protect and preserue your Honour to the profitable seruice of her Maiestie, and to the common benefit and good of the Realme. From London this 29. of October 1601.

Your Honors Chapleyn, in all dutie

most readie to be commanded,

RICHARD HAKLUYT.

FRANCIS

FRANCIS DE SOUSA TAUARES

VNTO THE

HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE

DON IOHN DUKE OF AUEIRO.

ANTonie Galuano vpon his death bed left vnto me in his testament among his papers this booke. And because I am certaine he ordained it to bee presented vnto your Grace, I haue thought good herein to fulfill his wil & testament, though in other things I haue done nothing, the fault remaining not in me. And by all reason this treatie ought to be set forth by a Portugall, seeing it intreateth of the variable waies from whence the pepper and spices came in times past into our partes, and also of all the nauigations and discoueries in the old time: In both of which things the Portugals haue most trauailed. In this treatie and in nine or ten bookes of things touching Maluco and India (which the Cardinall willed me to giue to Damian de Goes, saying that he should content me, for otherwise I could not deliuer them) this true Portugall occupied himselfe against the vnfortunate and sorrowfull times which he had been in (which were all ended before all our daies and times:) for when he received the captainship and fortresses of Maluco, all the kings and gouernours of all the llands about being agreed to make war against the Portugals, vntill such time as they might driue them all out of the cuntry, he fought against them all with onely 130. Portugals, when they were all together, and strong in Tidore; and he gaue them the ouerthrow and killed their king, and one Ternate, the principal author of that war, and he tooke from them their fortresse: so vpon this victorie they submitted themselues, and came vnder the obeisance and seruice of our king of Portugall. Herein two things happened of great admiration: The first, that all the kings and gouernours of Maluco agreed together against vs, a thing that neuer fell out, nor yet credible to be like to happen: for they are euer at variance among themselves: The second, that the captaine of Maluco with onely his ordinarie soldiers should haue the victorie against so many being all together. For sometimes it happeneth that some of the captaines of Maluco with many extraordinarie soldiers besides their ordinarie, yea and with the aide of al the Kings and Lords of Maluco in their fauour and aide went against one King onely of them, and came backe againe with losse. So there may be reckoned three notable things done in India, I say of qualitie: (but of more quantitie and importance there haue been others): which were the taking of Muar by Emmanuel Falcon, and the winning of Bitam by Peter Mascarenas, and this, whereof we presently treat. For all these three deedes seemed to be impossible to be atchieued, considering the small quantitie of soldiers which the captaines had in giuing the enterprise against so many; with the order and maner by them ordained how and which waies to obtaine their purpose as well by their enimies as by themselues. And they could not be atchieued otherwise but by vsing a meane and order not thought of at the first by the Portugals, nor yet euer suspected by their enimies. And, besides this, his father and fower of his brethren were all slaine in the kings seruice: And he now being the last of his linage, caried with him into Maluco woorth ten thousand crusadoes, which he spent not in idleness, nor yet in play, but onely in bringing of many kings and innumerable townes vnto our holy faith, and in the preseruing of Maluco, employing all his power and strength that all the cloues might come vnto the hands of the kings highnes: which with Maluco yellected vnto him euery yeere fise hundred thousand crusadoes; being all to his great preiudice, let, and hinderance. For if he had gathered cloues for himselfe, as the captaines of Maluco haue done and doe, then he had come home very rich. But when he came home into Portugall in great hope (such is the simplicitie

Antonie Galuano Captaine of Maluco.

Variance vually among the kings of Maluco.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Good seruice
full ill rewarded.

A Counto is
50000. crusades.

Or rather The-
mistocles.

simplicitie of the best natures) to be rewarded for his good seruice, and to be more fauoured and honored, then if he had brought home with him an hundred thousand crusadoes, he was greatly deceiued. For he found neither fauour, nor yet honor, but onely among the poore and miserable, to wit, in an hospitall: where he was kept seuteene yeeres vntill the hower of his death; and there he had allowed vnto him his winding sheete to burie him in: and the brotherhood of the Couent prepared for his buriall as for a poore courtier cast off by all men, leauing himselfe indebted in two thousand crusadoes, whereof part came out of India, and part thereof many of his friends had lent him to maintaine him in the hospitall: for in all these seuteene yeeres he had not of his highnes for to helpe himselfe with so much as a riall of plate, nor yet I of the bookes which I deliuered receiued any thing to discharge his will with. Yet for all this, euen as vpon the prosperitie of his victories he neuer made any boast, so likewise in his aduersities his great stomacke did nothing abate his hart. As there are good proofes that with so many and so continuall disgraces as he suffered, he neuer vnto the hower of his death left off to raise and to augment the yeerely rent vnto a Counto: which some made strange and would not giue eare vnto: So that euen as he was extreme painfull in the performance of his seruice, so he was the like in the things sounding vnto the perfecting of the same, which was the cause that he was brought vnto the state that he died in. For he could not see the qualitie of the time, but onely those of his great seruice, by reason of the great charges that it stood him in. And his saying was, That he was borne, not for to say that his constellation was in the wars victorious, but in the ouercomming of kings by the arte of warfare, readines in resoluing, prudence in conseruing, and great loialtie and patience with many seruices vnto his king and master. In which of all these he had most contentation it cannot easily be determined. Wherefore your noble Grace may see, that this treatie and the others were made with sighes and afflictions which his inferiour will might haue raised vp in him against his superiour reason. Neither was he willing to take for his remedie that which that great Turke Zelim sonne to the great Mahumet did, (for he tooke Constantinople and died in Rome) who vsed to make himselfe drunke, because he would not remember the great estate which he lost: nor yet would he giue eare vnto those things which many of his friends would tell him, wishing he would settle his mind out of the kingdome: (for otherwise he should neuer be able to liue:) whereunto he answered, that in this point he would rather be compared vnto the great Timocles the Athenian, then to be like the excellent Romane Coriolanus. Which is a goodly example of a true and faithfull Portugall. (Though it were not so as I doe say, yet I doe heare, that the hospitals be full of the most faithfull subiects to their prince and countrey.) Wherefore by all reason this treatie ought to be of your Grace fauoured, setting apart all ouersights, if there be any, in this worke, of the author: I being not able to attaine vnto the vnderstanding of the contrary. God prosper your Grace with long life and increase of honour.

AN
EXCELLENT TREATISE
OF

ANTONIE GALVANO, PORTUGALL,

CONTAINING THE

MOST ANCIENT AND MODERNE

DISCOUERIES OF THE WORLD

ESPECIALLY BY

NAUIGATION,

ACCORDING TO THE COURSE OF TIMES FROM THE FLOOD VNTILL THE YEERE
OF GRACE 1555.

While I had a desire to gather together some olde and some new discoveries, which haue béene made by sea and by land, with their iust times and situations; they seemed to be two things of so great difficultie, that being cōfused in the authors of them, I determined once to desist frō any such purpose. For touching the course of time the Hebrewes declare, that from the beginning of the world to the flood were 1656. yéeres. The Seuentie Interpreters make mention of 2242. And S. Augustine reckoneth 2262. In the situations likewise there be many differences. For there neuer sailed together in one fléete at sea from ten pilots to the number of 100. but that some of them found themselves by reckoning in one longitude and other some in another. But considering better with my selfe, that the difficulties are opened, and the differences amended by others of more exact iudgement and vnderstanding therein, I purposed notwithstanding to procéede in this worke of Discoveries.

Augustine de
Ciuit. Dei, lib.
15. cap. 20.

Some there be that say, that the world hath fully béene discovered: and they alleage this reason, that as it hath beene peopled and inhabited, so it might be frequented, and nauigable, and the rather for that the men in that age were of a longer life, and of lawes and languages almost one.

There be others of a contrarie opinion to this, holding that all the earth could not be knowne, nor the people conuersant one with another. For though it had béene so once, yet the same would haue béene lost againe by the malice of men, and the want of iustice among the inhabitants of the earth. But because the best and most famous discoveries were made by sea, and that principally in our times, I desire to knowe, who were the first discoverers since the time of the flood.

Contrarie opinions touching the
discouerie of the
world.

Who were the
first discoverers
since the flood.

B

Some

Some affirme that they were the Grækes, others say, the Phœnicians, others also the Egyptians. The people of India agré not hereunto; affirming that they were the first that sailed by sea: namely the * Tabencos, which now we call the Chinois. And they alleage for the proöfe of this, that they be y Lords of the Indiaes euen vnto the Cape of Bona Sperança, & the island of S. Laurence, which is inhabited by them, and al along the sea; as also the Iauaes, Timores, Celebes, Macasares, Malucos, Borneos, Mindanaos, Luçones, Lequeos, Iapones, and other Islands being many in number, and the firme lands of Cauchin-China, Laos, Bramas, Pegu, Arracones, till you come vnto Bengala: And besides this, New Spaine, Peru, Brasill, the Antiles, with the rest adioyning vnto them, as appéereth by the fashions and maners of the men and women, and by their proportions, hauing small eies, flat noses, with other proportions to be seene. And to this day many of these llands and countreies are called by the names of Batochina, Bocho-China, which is as much to say, as the countreies of China. Further it appéereth by histories, that the arke of Noe rested vpon the north parts of the mountaines of Armenia, which stands in 40. degrés and vpwards: and that immediately thereupon Scythia was first peopled, for that it is an high land, and appéered first after the flood. And séeing the prouince and countrey of the Tabencos is one of the chiefest of all Tartarie, as they report, it is to be thought that they were of the most ancient inhabitants, and men of the most ancient nauigations, the seas being as calme as the riuers be in those parts lying betwéene the Tropicks, where the daies and nights do not much differ, as well in the howers, as in y temperature: where there blow no outragious windes, to cause the waters to rise or to be troubled. And by late experience it is found, that the small barks wherein they saile haue onely a great high bough in the midst of the barke, standing in stéed both of mast and saile, and the master holdeth onely an oare in his hand to stirre withall: and so they saile swiftly along the coast; and the rest of the passengers sit onely vpon certaine poles, which are fastened in the barke, which they call Catamarones, and so they passe without rowing.

It is further said, that the people of China were sometimes Lords of the most part of Scythia, and sailed ordinarily along that coast, which séemeth to reach vnto 70. degrés toward the north. Cornelius Nepos is the author of this; who particularly affirmeth, that in the time that Metellus the fellowe Consul of Afranius, was Proconsul in France, the king of Sueuia sent vnto him certaine Indians, which came thither in a ship from this countrey, coming by the north and by the flats of Germanie. And it is probable that they were people of China, for that they from 20. 30. and 40. degrés vpwards haue strong ships and clynchers, that can well brooke the seas, and indure the cold and intemperature of such northerly regions. As for Cambaia there is shipping also in it, and the people by report haue vsed the seas many yéeres: but it seemeth not that they were any of them which came into France: for that they trafficke onely to Cairo, and are men in déed of little trafficke and lesse clothing.

As for those which escaped the destruction of the flood, they were therewith so amazed, that they durst not descend into the plaines and lowe countreies, but kept the hills. And we reade of Nimrode, who 130. yéeres after the flood built the Tower of Babell, intending thereby to saue himselfe, if there should come any more such floods.

Therefore it seemeth, that they which first came to be sailers were those which dwell in the east in the prouince of China: although others contrariwise hold them which dwell in the west as in Syria, to haue vsed the trade of the sea soonest after the flood. But this contention about the antiquitie of nauigation I leaue to the Scythians and Egyptians, who were at great variance and difference in this matter: for each of them challenged vnto themselves the honour of the first sea trauaile. But omitting all iars and differences thereabouts, I will apply my selfe to my purposed discourse, and speake of that which histories haue left in record.

There be some wel séene in Antiquities, which say that in the 143. yéere after the flood, Tubal came by sea into Spaine, whereby it séemeth that in those times nauigations were vsed into our parts out of Ethiopia.

And

* The people of China say they were the first sailers by sea.

The inhabitants of the West Indies descended from China.

The seas betwene the Tropicks very calme.

An high bough in stéed of mast and saile.

Pomponius Mela, lib. 3. Plinius, lib. 2. cap. 67.

Joseph. Antiquit. Judaic. lib. 1. ca. 5.

Iustinus lib. 1.

Berosus. The first nauigation after the flood 143.

And they also say farther, that not long after this, the Quéene Semiramis went against the Indians in that riuer whereof they tooke their name, and therein gaue battaile vnto the king Stabrobates, wherein he lost a thousand ships. Which being credible by the ancient historie, prooueth manifestly that in those parts, in those times were many ships, and the seas frequented in good numbers.

Diodorus Siculus
lib. 2. cap. 5.

In the 650. yéere after the flood there was a king in Spaine named Hesperus, who in his time as it is reported went and discovered as far as Cape Verde, & the Island of S. Thomas, whereof he was prince: And Gonsaluo Fernandes of Ouiedo the Chronicler of Antiquities affirmeth, that in his time the Islands of the West Indies were discovered, and called somewhat after his name Hesperides: and he alleageth many reasons to prooue it, reporting particularly that in 40. daies they sailed from Cape Verde vnto those Islands.

Berosus.

Gonsaluo Fernandes de Ouiedo
lib. 2. cap. 2.
Generalis Hist.
Plinius lib. 6.
cap. 34.

There are others that say that the like was done from this Cape vnto the Islands of S. Thomas, and the Isle De Principe, and that they be the Hesperides, and not the Antiles: And they do not differ far from reason: séeing in those times and many yéeres after they did vse to saile onely along the coast, not passing through the maine Ocean sea: for they had neither altitude nor compasse then in vse, nor any mariners so expert.

The ancient navigation was along the coast, and not far into the maine Ocean.

It cannot be denied, but that there were many countries, Islands, Capes, Isthmos, and points, which now are grown out of knowledge; because the names of them are found in histories. But the age of the world and force of waters haue wasted and consumed them, and separated one cuntry from another, both in Europe, Asia, Africa, New Spaine, Peru, and other places.

Length of time and force of waters haue much altered the situation of manie places.
Plato in Timæo.

Plato saith in his dialogue of Timæus, that there were in ancient times in the Ocean sea Atlanticke certaine great Islands and countries named Atlantides greater then Afrike and Europe: and that the kings of those parts were Lords of a great part of this our cuntry: but with certaine great tempests the sea did ouerflow it, and it remained as mud and shingle; so that in a long time after no ships could passe that way.

Plinius lib. 4.
cap. 22.

It is also recorded in histories, that fast by the Island of Cadiz towards the Straights of Gibraltar there was a certaine Island which was called Aphrodisias, well inhabited and planted with many gardens and orchards, and yet at this day we haue no knowledge of this Aphrodisias, but only a bare mention of it in ancient authors. The said Island of Cadiz is further said to haue been so large and big, that it did ioine with the firme land of Spaine.

The Islands of the Açores were sometimes a point of the mountaines of Estrella, which ioine vnto the sea ouer the towne of Syntra: And also from Sierra Verde or the gréene mountaine, which adioineth vnto the water, hard by the citie of Sasin in the land of Cucu (which is the selfe same Island of Mouchin, where Algarbe is) come the Islands of Porto Santo and Madera.

The Islands of the Açores sometimes ioined to the firme land.

For it is held as a true and vndoubted veritie, that all Islands haue their roots running from the firme land, though they be neuer so farre from the continent: for otherwise they could not stand firme.

All Islands haue their roots running from the firme land.

There are other histories which say, that from Spaine vnto Ceuta in Barbarie men sometimes traualled on foote vpon drie land, and that the Islands of Sardinia and Corsica did ioine the one with the other, as also did Sicilia with Italie, and Negroponto with Græcia.

Eratosthenes apud Strabonem
lib. 1. pag. 26.

We reade also that there were found hulles of ships, ankers of iron, and other memorials of shipping vpon the mountaines of Sussa farre within the land: where as it séemeth now no salt water or sea euer came.

Hulls of ships and ankers found on mountaines farre within land.

In India also, and in the land of Malabar, although now there be great store of people, yet many writers affirme that it was once a maine sea vnto the foote of the mountaines; and that the Cape of Comarim, and the Island of Zeilan were all one thing: As also that the Island of Samatra did ioine with the land of Malacca by the flats of Caypasia; and not farre frō thence there stands now a little Island, which few yéeres past was part of the firme land that is ouer against it.

Furthermore it is to be séene, how Ptolemey in his tables doth set the land of Malacca to the south of the line in thrée or fower degrés of latitude, whereas now it is at the point thereof

thereof, being called Ientana, in one degré on the north side, as appéereth in the Straight of Cincapura, where daily they doe passe through vnto the coast of Sian and China, where the Island of Aynan standeth, which also they say did ioine hard to the land of China: and Ptolemey placeth it on the north side far from the line, standing now aboute 20. degrees from it towards the north, as Asia and Europe now stand.

Well it may be that in time past the land of Malacca and China did end beyond the line on the south side, as Ptolemey doth set them forth: because it might ioine with the point of the land called Ientana, with the Islands of Bintan, Banca, & Salitres being many that waies, & the land might be all slime & oaze; And so y point of China, might ioine with the Islands of the Luçones, Borneos, Lequeos, Mindanaos, & others which stand in this parallele: they also as yet hauing in opinion that the Island of Samatra did ioine with Iaua by the chanell of Sunda, and the Islands of Bali, Aujaué, Cambaua, Solor, Hogaleao, Maulua, Vintara, Rosalaguin, and others that be in this parallele and altitude did all ioine with Iaua; and so they séeme outwardly to those that descrie them. For at this day the Islands stand so néere the one to the other, that they séeme all but one firme land; and whosoer passeth betwéene some of them, may touch with their hand the boughs of the trees on the one and on the other side also. And to come néerer to the matter, it is not long since, that in the east the Islands of Banda were diuers of them ouerflowen and drowned by the sea: And so likewise in China about nine score miles of firme ground is now become a lake, as it is reported. Which is not to be thought maruellous; considering that which Ptolemey and others haue written in such cases; which here I omit, to returne to my purpose.

At this Isle of Bali the Hollanders were 1596. and haue largely described it.

Nine score miles of firme ground lately drowned in China.

800. yeeres after the flood was trade of spices by the Red sea.

Arsinoe, now called Suez.

Plinius lib. 6. cap. 29.

Strabo lib. 17. pag. 560.

900. yeeres after the flood. Strabo lib. 17.

Plinius lib. 6. cap. 29.

Diodorus Siculus lib. 4. cap. 4.

After the flood 800. yeeres we reade that the citie of Troy was builded by the Dardans; and that before that time they brought out of the Indies into Europe by the Red sea, spices, drugs, and many other kindes of marchandises, which were there more abundant, then now they be. Whereunto if credit may be giuen, we may conceaue that the sea was of old haunted and frequented, séeing that then they of the East had so much and so great trafficke with them of the West, that they brought their marchandise vnto an hauen which was named Arsinoe, being that which at this day is called Suez, standing in 30. degrés on the north part of the Arabian Gulfe. It is also by authors farther written, that from this hauen of Arsinoe or Suez, these marchandises were carried by Carauans or great companies of carriers vpon camels, asses, and mules, vnto the Leuant sea vnto a city called Cassou, standing on the coast in 32. degrés of latitude, yeelding vnto euery degré 17. leagues and an halfe, as the maner is. And there are by account from the one sea to the other 35. leagues, or 105. miles. These carriers, by reason of the heate of the countrey, trauailed in the night onely, directing themselves by stars and by marks of postes and canes, which they vsed to sticke in the ground as they went. But after that, because this course and iourney had many inconueniences, they changed and altered the same twise, to finde out the most commodious way.

900. yeeres or there about after the flood, and before the destruction of Troy, there was a king in Egypt called Sesostris, who perceiuing that the former courses and passages for the carrying of marchandises by men & beasts, were chargeable to the one & most painfull to the other, provided to haue a way or streame cut out of the land from the Red sea vnto an arme of the riuer Nilus which runeth vnto the Citie Heroum; that by the meanes thereof ships might passe and repasse with their marchandises from India into Europe, and not be discharged till they came into Italie. So that this Sesostris was the first king, which built great caracks to trauaile this way. But this enterprise for all that tooke little effect. For if it had, Africa had then been made as an Island all compassed with water, being no more ground betwéene sea and sea, then the space of 20. leagues or 60. miles.

About this time the Græcians gathered together an army or fléete, which now is called Argonautica, whereof Iason and Alceus were captains general. Some say they went from the Isle of Creta, others from Græcia. But whence soeuer they departed, they sailed through the Proponticke sea, and Saint Georges Sléeue vnto the Euxine sea, where some perished, and Iason thereupon returned backe into Greece. Alceus reported that he was driuen

driuen with a tempest to the lake Mæotis, where he was forsaken of al his company, and they which escaped with great trauaile, passed through by land vnto the Ocean sea of Almaine, where they tooke shipping, passing the coasts of Saxonie, Frisland, Holland, Flanders, France, Spaine, Italie, and so returned vnto Peloponesus and Greece, discovering the most part of the coast of Europe.

Strabo, alleaging Aristonicus the Grammarian, sheweth that after the destruction of Troy Menelaus the king came out of the straights of the Leuant seas into the sea Atlanticke and coasted Africa and Guinea, and doubled the Cape of Bona Sperança, and so in time arriued in India. Of which voyage of his there may be many more particulars gathered out of the histories. This Mediterrane sea was also sometimes called The Adriaticke, The Ægæan, and the Herculean sea, with other names, according to the lands, coasts & Islands which it passeth by, running into the great sea Atlanticke, along the coast of Africa.

In the yéere 1300. after the flood Solomon caused a nauie to be prepared on the Red sea, at an hauen called Ezeon Geber, to saile to the East India, where by opinion stande the Islands called Tharsis and Ophir. This nauie was thrée yéeres on this voyage, and then returned, and brought with them gold, siluer, cypres, &c. Whereby it sêemeth that those places, and Islands were those, which now be called the Luçones, Lequeos, and Chinaes. For we know few other parts from whence some of those things are brought, or wherein nauigation was so long since vsed.

It is left vs also in histories, that a king of Egypt called Neco, desiring greatly to ioine the Red sea with the riuier Nilus, commanded the Phœnicians to saile from the straight of Mecca to the farther end of the Mediterrane sea, to sêe if it did make any turne backe againe vnto Egypt. Which commandement they obeyed, sailing towards the south all along the coast and countrey of Melinde, Quiloa, Sofala, till they came to the Cape of Bona Esperança, finding the sea continually on the left hand: But when they had doubled the Cape, and found the coast continually on the right hand, they maruailed much at it. Notwithstanding they continued their course forward toward the north al along the coast of Guiney and the Mediterrane sea, till they came backe againe into Egypt, whence they first went out. In which discoverie they remained two yéeres. And these are thought to be the first, that compassed by sea all the coast of Afrike, and sailed round about it.

In the yéere 590. before the incarnation of Christ there went out of Spaine a flete of Carthaginian marchants vpon their owne proper costs and charges, which sailed toward the west through the high seas to sêe if they could finde any land: and they sailed so farre, that they found at last the Islands, which we now call the Antiles and Noua Spagna: which Gonzalo Fernandes de Ouiedo saith were then discovered, although Christopher Columbus afterwards by his trauaile got more exact knowledge of them, and hath left vs an euident notice where they be. But all these historians, which wrote of these Antiles before, as of doubtfull and vncertaine things, and of places vndiscovered, doe now plainly confesse the same to be the countrey of Noua Spagna.

In the yéere 520. before the incarnation, and after the setting out of the aforesaid army, Cambyes king of Persia tooke Egypt, after whom succeded Darius the sonne of Histaspis, and he determined to make an end of the enterprise which king Sesostris had begun, if they had not told him that the Red sea was higher then the land of Egypt, and that by meanes of the salt sea comming into the riuier Nilus, all the prouince would haue been lost and vndone for hunger and thirst. For the fresh water of the riuier Nilus doth ouerflowe the whole countrey, and the inhabitants haue no other water then that for their drinke: whereupon he left his first purpose of prosecuting that enterprise.

Now by the way I shall not swarue much from my matter, if I speake a word or two of some things incident to this discourse. The Egyptians say that they had in their countrey certaine vermine like vnto rats, whereof many be halfe like earth and the other halfe like a vermine. One kinde of them kéepe the water, and another kinde the land. For my part I thinke that these be they, which breake the serpents egges, whereof there are many in the riuier

The lake Mæotis. Shipping of great antiquitie in the Germanie sea.

Strabo lib. 1. pag. 26.

1. of Kings 9.
2. Chron. 8.

Herodotus lib. 4.

Aristoteles lib. de mirandis in natura auditis.

Gonzalo Fernandes de Ouiedo lib. 2. cap. 3. of his generall historie.

Diodorus Siculus lib. 2 cap. 3.

A digression. Plinius lib. 9. cap. 38. de muribus Nilii.

Ioannes Leo
Africanus lib. 9.
cap. de Nilo.

riuer Nilus, which also be called Crocodiles: which in times past by report were so enchanted, that thereby they could not hurt any person. But when they were deliuered from their enchantment made by the Egyptians arte, and letters, then they endeouored to kill people, wilde beasts and cattell, doing very much harme, specially those which liue in the water, which oftentimes come to the land, and liuing altogether on land become very strong poison. The people beyond the citie of Cairo vse to fish for them and eate them, and they take their heads, and set them vpon the walles of their citie.

Plinius lib. 8.
cap. 25.
Ioannes Leo
Africanus lib. 9.

Of these Crocodiles it is written, that they lay themselues along by the riuer with their mouthes open, and that there come vnto them certaine white birds, litle bigger then thrushes, which flie into the mouth of the Crocodile, and picke out the filthines which is betwéene his téeth, and in his iawes, wherewith he is greatly pleased; but for all that the Crocodile would close his mouth and deuoure the bird, if nature had not prouided the bird a sharpe pricke as it were, growing out of his head, wherewith he pricketh the Crocodile in the mouth; which causeth him to gape wide, and so the bird flieth away without harme; yet there come by and by other of those birds, which make an end of cleansing his mouth.

Hippopotami.
lib.

In the same riuer there are also many beastes like vnto horses; and vpon the land certaine fowles like vnto cranes, which warre continually with serpents, that come thither from Arabia, and kill many of them. Which birds as also the vermine, which eate the egges of the Crocodiles, are greatly estéemed of the Egyptians.

But now to returne to my matter, and to procéde in the discoveries; In the yéere 485. before the incarnation of Christ Xerxes the king of Persia commanded Sataspis his nephew to goe and search, and discover India: who according to the precept vndertooke the voyage, and went through the straight of Gibraltar, and passed the promontorie of Africa, which now we call the Cape of Bona Sperança, standing southward betwixt 34. and 35. degrés in latitude, and being weary of so great a nauigation turned from thence backe againe, as Bartholomew Diaz did in our daies.

Plinius lib. 2 cap.
67.

Before the coming of Christ 443. yéeres Himilco and Hanno his brother Carthaginian captaines gouerning that part of Spaine, which is now called Andaluzia, departed from thence each one with his nauie. Himilco sailing towards the north discovered the coasts of Spaine, France, England, Flanders and Germanie. And some write farther, that he sailed vnto Gotland, & came to the Island of Thule, or Island, standing vnder the circle Arcticke in 24. degrés from the north pole, and continued in his nauigation two yéeres, til he came vnto this Island, where the day hath in Iune 22. houres, and in December the night also hath 22. houres, whereby it is there woonderfully cold.

Plinius lib. 6.
cap. 31.

Now the other brother Hanno tooke his course towarde Africa and Guiney, and he discovered the Fortunate Islands, which we call the Canaries, and besides these he discovered others, as the Dorceades, Hesperides, & the Gorgades, which now be called the Isles of Cape Verde. There he with his company went along the coast till they doubled the Cape of Bona Sperança, and taking their course towards the land, they went along by it vnto another Cape named Aromaticum, which is now called Guardafu, standing southeast from Cape Verde in 14. degrés toward the north; and he came to the coast of Arabia standing in 16. and 17. degrés; and was fūe yéeres in this voiage, before he returned backe into Spaine.

The nauigation
of Hanno in
Grecke herevnto
agreeth.

Enchanted
snakes.

There be others that say, that he passed not beyond Sierra Leona, but peopled it, and afterwards discovered as far as the line. But it séemeth he made a full nauigation, because he spent so much time in his trauaile.

It is reported that the inhabitants of the Cape of Bona Sperança are great witches, and inchanters of certaine snakes, which they bring to such seruice, and commandement, that they kéepe their Churches and Churchyards, gardens, orchards, barnes, and cattel as well from wilde beasts, as from théeues. For if they see any to doe or to intend hurt, the snake windes her selfe to him or them, holding them as prisoners, and commanding her young ones to call their masters vntill they be taken. If the théeues be many, or the wilde beastes of so much strength, that they dare not meddle with

with them, then they goe vnto the house of him with whom they doe liue: and if it be in the night time, they giue so many strokes, that at the last they doe awake them, to cause them to prouide for their defence.

A certaine Italian called Aloisius Cadamusta writeth, that he being in the discouerie of Guiney in the kingdome of Budimol lay in the house of Bisborol his sonnes sonne; and lying in his bed he heard a great noise and many blowes giuen about the house; whereupon Bisborol rose, and went out: and when he came againe, Cadamusta demanded of him, where he had been; and he answered that he had been with his Cobras or snakes which called him. In the Indias there be many of these kinde of snakes, and some full of poison, which notwithstanding the Indian people vse to carrie about their necks, and put them into their bosomes and vnder their armes: which at some soundes that the people make will daunce, and doe diuers things at commandement.

There was a Portugall that sometime told me, that beyond the Cape of Bona Sperança towards Sofala, Quiloa, and Melinde, where he had been, there were certaine birds, which would come to the Black Moores at their call, and according as the Moores did remooue, so the birds would doe, from one trée to another: and they vsed to follow them till they did light vpon some trée, from whence they could not remooue. And as the Negros went vp the trée they should finde waxe and honie thereupon, not knowing whether it grew there naturally or not. In the same countrey also vnder ground in Ant-holes they did finde much honie and waxe, which the Antes did make, being somewhat bitter. Vpon the sea coast also they found certaine fishes, which commonly went vpriight in the water, hauing the faces and natures of women, which the fishermen of those places were acquainted with.

In the yéere 355. before Christ it is said that the Spanyards sailed through the maine sea till they came vnto the flats of India, Arabia, and those coasts adioynning, whereunto they caried diuers marchandises, which trade they vsed in great ships. And sailing to the north-west they came vnto certaine flats, which with the flowing of the sea were couered, and with the ebbe were discouered, finding there many Tunnies of great bignes, where they commonly vsed to fish them to their great profit, because they were the first vntill that time that they had séene, and were greatly estéemed.

The time of Alexander Magnus, as appéereth by the ages of the world, was before the coming of Christ 324 yéeres: we all know that he was borne in Europe: but he trauailed into Asia & Africa, and passed through Armenia, Assyria, Persia, & Bactria, standing northerly in 44. degrés of latitude, which is the farthest countrey in longitude wherein he was in all his iourneyes. From thence he descended into India by the mountaines of Imaus, and the valleyes of Paropanisus, and prepared a nauie in the riuier Indus, and therewith passed into the Ocean sea, where he turned by the lands of Gedrosia, Caramania, & Persia, vnto the great citie of Babylon, leauing Onesicritus and Nearcus captaines of his fléete, which afterwards came vnto him by the straight of the Persian sea, and vp the riuier of Euphrates, leauing that countrey and coast discouered.

After this, Ptolemey raigned king of Egypt, who by some is reputed to haue been bastard sonne vnto Philip father of the foresaid Alexander the great. This Ptolemey imitating the forenamed kings Sesostris and Darius, made a trench or ditch of an hundred foote broad and of thirty foote déepe, and ten or twelue leagues in length till he came to The bitter Welles, pretending to haue his worke run into the sea from a mouth of the riuier Nilus, called Pelusium, passing now by the citie Damiata. But this thing tooke none effect: for that the Red sea was thought to be higher by three cubits then the land of Egypt, which would haue ouerflowed all the countrey, to the ruine and losse thereof.

In the yéere 277. before the incarnation succeeded in the gouernment of the kingdome one Philadelphus, who brought to passe that the marchandises should come out of Europe to the citie of Alexandria vpwards by the riuier Nilus vnto a city named Coptus, and from thence to be conueyed by land to a haven standing vpon the Red sea called Myos-Hormos; which way was trauailed in the night, the pilots directing themselves by the stars, which were expert in that practise. And because water was scant that way, they vsed to carrie it

with

Odericus writeth the like of one that brought multitudes of partridges to Trapezunda.

Mermaides.

Aristotel. de mirandis in natura auditis. Strabo lib. 3. pag. 68. de Gaditanorum longinqua navigatione & ingentibus nauibus.

Plinius lib. 6. cap. 29.

Strabo lib. 27. pag. 560. & 561. Coptus. Myos-Hormos now Cosir on the Red sea.

with them for all the companie, till at the last to auoide that trouble they digged very deepe wells, and made large cisterns for the receipt of raine water, by which the way furnished with that commoditie, which at the first it wanted, grewe in continuance of time to be the more frequented.

The cause of the
greatnes of Alex-
andria.

Strabo lib. 17.
pag. 349.

Strabo lib. 17.
pag. 349.

Plinius lib. 6.
cap. 23.

Plinius lib. 12.
cap. 18.

Plinius lib. 2.
cap. 67.

Paulus Venetus
commended.

Cassiterides.
* The northwest
passage, though
the latitude be
somewhat mis-
taken.

What histories
may these be?

But whereas the straight way was dangerous by reason of flats and islands, the aforesaid king Philadelphus with his armies went on the side of Troglodytica, and in an haven called Berenice caused the ships to arriue which came out of India, being a place of more suretie and lesse perill; from whence they might easily carrie the wares to the citie of Coptus, and so to Alexandria. And by this meane Alexandria grew so famous and rich, that in those daies there was no citie of the world comparable to it. And to speake briefly and particularly of the abundance of trafficke there vsed, it is left written for an assured truth, that in the time of king Ptolemey Auletes father vnto Cleopatra, it yeelded in customes vnto him yeerly seuen millions and an halfe of gold, although the trafficke was not then scant twenty yeeres old, by way of that citie.

But after that this prouince and countrey became subiect to the Emperours of Rome, as they were greater in power, and néerer in couetousnes, so they enhanced the customes: so that within a little time the citie yeelded double the foresaide summe. For the traffike grew so excéeding great, that they sent euery yeere into India 120. ships laden with wares, which began to set saile from Myos-Hormos about the middle of Iuly, and returned backe againe within one yeere.

The marchandise which they did carrie amounted vnto one million two hundred thousand crownes, and there was made in returne of euery crowne an hundred. In so much that by reason of this increase of wealth the matrones or noble women of that time and place, spent infinitely in decking themselues with precious stones, purple, pearles, muske, amber, and the like: whereof the writers and historians of that age speake very greatly.

Cornelius Nepos, alleaged by Plinie, maketh report of a king of Egypt, that reigned in his time called Ptolemæus Lathyrus, from whom one Eudoxus fled vpon occasion, and the better to auoid and escape his hands he passed through the Arabicke gulfes, and the sea, all along the coast of Africa and the Cape of Bona Sperança till he came vnto the Island of Cadiz: and this nauigation by that course was in those daies as often vsed as now it is, if we may giue credit to the histories. Which appéereth the more manifest by this, that Caius Cæsar the sonne of Augustus going into Arabia did finde in the Red sea certaine péeces of those ships, which came thither out of Spaine. It was a vse also long after those daies to passe to India by land. For so did the kings of the Soldans, and the princes of Bactria, and other famous captaines, who trauiailing thither and into Scythia by land, had the view of those prouinces and countreyes, so farre till they came that way vnto the *West, and to the seas thereof on the north part, whereunto many marchants then did trauaile. Marcus Paulus Venetus writeth much hereof. And although at the first his booke was taken for a fabulous thing, yet now there is better credit giuen vnto it, for that by the late experiences of the trauiailers and marchants of these daies into those parts, the names of the countreyes, cities and townes, with their situations, latitudes and commodities are now found true, as he and other historiographers of that time haue reported.

In the 200. yeere before the incarnation it is written, that the Romanes sent an armie by sea into India against the great Can of Cathaia, which passing through the straight of Gibraltar, and running to the northwest, found right ouer against the Cape Finisterre ten Islands, wherein was much tinne: And they may be those which were called the Cassiterides, & being come to 50. degrés of latitude they found a *Straight; and passing through it towards the west, they arriued in the Empire of India, and fought with the king of Cathay, and so came backe againe vnto the citie of Rome. Which thing howsoeuer it may séeme either possible or not possible, true or not true, yet so I finde it left to vs recorded in the *histories of that time.

In the 100. yeere after the incarnation of Christ the Emperour Traiane prepared an armie by sea vpon the riuers Euphrates and Tigris, and departed from them, and sailed to the Islands

Islands of Zyzara, and passing the straight of Persia entred into the Ocean sea and sailed towards India all along the coast till he came to that place where Alexander had been, and there he tooke certaine ships which came from Bengala, of whom he learned the state of that countrey. But because he was then in yéeres and wearie with his trauaile, but especially because he found there small reliefe for his armie, he returned backe.

After that the Romanes had gotten the most part of the world, there were in that age made many, and notable discoveries. But then came the Gothes, Moores, and other barbarous nations, and destroyed all. For in the yéere 412. after the incarnation of Christ, they tooke the citie of Rome: And the Vandales came out of Spaine and conquered Africa.

And in the yéere 450. the king called Atila destroyed many cities in Italie: at which time the citie of Venice began. And in this age the Frankes and Vandals entred into France.

In the yéere 474. the Empire of Rome was lost, and fell from the Romanes to the Gothes. And after this came the Lombards into Italie, namely in the yéere 560.

Also about this time the sect of the Arrians preuailed greatly: and at this time one Merline of England was famous for his prophecies.

To be short, in the yéere 611. sproong vp the Mahumetane sect and Morisco regiment, which by force inuaded both Africa and Spaine.

By all this it may appéere, that in that age all the world was in an hurly burly, and all places very tumultuous. In so much that trafficke and marchandise ceased: for no nation durst trade one with another neither by sea nor land: nothing as then remained stedfast neither in monarchies nor kingdomes, signiories, religions, lawes, artes, sciences, nor nauigations. Nor so much as the records and writings of such things did remaine, but were all burnt and consumed by the barbarous crueltie and vnbrideled power of the Gothes: who became so couetous and ambitious, that they purposed of themselves to begin a new world, and to roote out the memorie, and blot out the knowledge of all other nations besides.

But they that succéded after these times in the government of things, perceiuing the great and huge losse, that the Christian world had by the want of trafficke and ceasing of nauigation, whereby those commodities and marchandises could not be spent, which before went ordinarily from one nation to another by the vse of trade: to the end that this decay and losse might be repaired, and the treasures of the East might be imparted with the West, as it was wont in the times of quietnes and peaceable liuing, they began to deuise a way to passe to India, which was not as the former way was by the Red sea and the riuier Nilus, but a way of farther sailing & farther length and cost also. For they brought their ware vp the riuier Indus, and there vnladed it, carrying it by land through the countrey of Paropanisus by Carauans vnto the prouince of Bactria, and then shipped it in barks on the riuier Oxus, which falleth into the Caspian sea, and so sailed ouer that sea vnto an hauen of the riuier Rha named Citracan or Astracan, and so vpwards in the said riuier which now is called Volga: and as it appéereth they carried it to the citie of Nouogrode in the prouince of Resan, which now belongeth to the great Duke of Moscouia, standing toward the north in 54. degrés of latitude: & therence they trauailed ouer land vnto the prouince of Sarmatia vnto the riuier Tanais, which is the diuision of Europe from Asia; where they againe laded it in barks, and caried it downe the riuier, into the lake Mæotis, and to the citie of Caffa, which in ancient time was called Theodosia, which then belonged to the Genowais, who came thither for those wares in their galliasses or great ships.

It is also left written, that the trade this way endured vntill the raigne of Commodita Emperour of Armenia, who provided for a better course, and commanded this trafficke of the spices to be conueied by the Caspian sea, and so through the kingdome of Hiberia, which now is called Georgiana, and from thence they entred by the riuier Phasis, now Phasso, into Pontus Euxinus, and so vnto the city of Trapezunda standing in 40. and odde degrés of northerly latitude. And to that place came shipping for the marchandises out of Europe and Africa.

It is further left recorded concerning this way of trafficke, that Nicanor determined or had already begun to open about 120. miles of land, which lieth betwéene the Caspian sea and

Xiphilius in
vita Traiani.

Rome taken by
the Gothes 412.

The original of
Venice 450.

The sect of Ma-
humet began
anno 611.

Traficke and
nauigation cease.

Ramusius 1. vol.
fol. 372. pag. 2.

Ramusius 1. vol.
fol. 373.
A way by the
riuier Oxus, the
Caspian sea, Vol-
ga, and ouer land
to Caffa.

Strabo lib. 11.

The marte of
spices at Trape-
zunda, Ramusius
ibidem.

Strabo lib. 11.
Plinius lib. 6
cap. 11.

Pontus

C

Pontus Euxinus, that they might come and goe by water with their spices, drugs, and other commodities, there vsed. But in the meane time this mischiefe happened, that Ptolemey Ceraunus killed him, and by his death this worthy and famous enterprise ceased without effect.

Another way to Boghar, and so by carauans into Persia by the riuer Ganges.

* Or Laor.

Samarcande.

Woollen cloth good marchandise for Cathay.

The way by Ormus and Balsara and so to Aleppo and Barutti.

But the other way being also at last lost by reason of the wars of the Turke, it pleased God to open another way to these marchandises from the Isle of Samatra, the citie of Malacca, and the Island of Iaua vnto Bengala, and so carrying them vp the riuer Ganges vnto the citie of Agra; from whence they trauailed ouer land vnto another citie standing néere the riuer Indus named Boghar, where they discharged, bicause the citie of *Cabor standeth too farre within the land, being the principall citie of the Mogores. From thence they went forward to the great citie of Samarcand standing in the countrey of Bactria: and there the marchants of India, Persia, and Turkie met, bringing thither their seuerall commodities, as cloth of gold, veluets, chamolets, scarlet, and woollen clothes, which were carried to Cathay and the great kingdome of China: wherehence they brought againe gold, siluer, precious stones, pearles, silke, muske, and many other things of great value, and much rubarbe. After this these marchandise, drugs, and spicerie were carried in ships vpon the Indian sea vnto the streight of Ormus, and to the riuers Euphrates and Tigris; and were vnladen in the citie of Balsara standing in 31. degrés towards the north, and from thence they were carried ouer land vnto the cities of Aleppo, Damascus, and Barutti standing on the same side in 35. degrés: And there the Venetian gallies or galliasses, which transported pilgrims into the holy land, came and receiued of those goods.

In the yéere 1153. in the time of Fredericke Barbarossa it is written that there came to Lubec a citie of Germanie one Canoa with certaine Indians, like vnto a long barge: which seemed to haue come from the coast of Bacallaos, which standeth in the same latitude that Germanie doth: The Germanes greatly woondered to see such a barge, and such people, not knowing from whence they came, nor vnderstanding their speech, especially because there was then no knowledge of that countrey, as now there is: it may be credible that though the boate was small in respect of those huge seas, yet the winde and water might bring them thither: as we see in these our daies, that the Almadie which is but a small boate commeth notwithstanding from Quiloa, Mosambique, and Sofala to the Island of S. Helena, being a small spot of land standing in the maine Ocean off the coast of Bona Sperança so farre separated.

Ioannes Leo Africanus.

Ramusius 1. vol. fol. 373.

Tombuto.

In the yéere 1300. after the coming of Christ the great Soldan of Cayro commanded that the spicerie and drugs, and marchandises of India should be carried through the Red sea, as it was vsed before: at which time they vnladen on the Arabian side, at the hauen of Iuda, and carried them vnto the house at Mecca, and the carriers of it were the pilgrims. So that each Prince vsed a custome to augment the honour, and increase the profite of his countrey. And these Soldans had speciall regarde to Cayro, from whence the wares were carried vnto the countreyes of Egypt, Lybia, Africa, the kingdomes of Tunez, Tremessen, Fez, Marocco, Suz: and some of it was carried beyond the mountaines of Atlas vnto the citie of Tombuto, and the kingdome of the Ialophos; vntill afterwards that the Portugals did bring it about the Cape of Bona Sperança vnto the citie of Lisbone, as in place conuenient we purpose to shew more at large.

The Canarie Islands.

In the yéere 1344. king Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Arragon, the Chronicles of his time report, that one Don Luis of Cerda, sonne vnto the sonne of Don Iohn of Cerda, craued aide of him to goe and to conquere the Isles of the Canaries, standing in 28. degrés of latitude to the north, because they were giuen vnto him by Pope Clement the sixt, which was a French man. Whereby in those daies there grew a knowledge of those Islands in all Europe, and specially in Spaine: for such great Princes would not begin nor enterprise things of such moment without great certaintie.

The Island of Madera discovered by Macham an English man.

About this time also the Island of Madera was discovered by an English man called Macham: who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman of his, was driuen out of his direct course by a tempest, and arriued in that Island, and cast his anker in that hauen, which

now

now is called Machico after the name of Macham. And because his louer was then seasicke, he there went on land with some of his companie, and in the meane time his ship weyed and put to sea, leauing him there: whereupon his louer for thought died. Macham, which greatly loued her, built in the Island a chappell or hermitage to burie her in, calling it by the name of Iesus Chappell: and wrote or graued vpon the stone of her tombe his name and hers, and the occasion whereupon they arriued there. After this he made himselfe a boate all of a trée, the trées being there of a great compasse about, and went to sea in it with those men of his companie that were left with him, and fell with the coast of Africke without saile or oare, and the Moores among whom he came tooke it for a miracle, and presented him vnto the king of that countrey: and that king also admiring the accident, sent him and his companie vnto the king of Castile.

In the yéere 1395. king Henrie the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which Macham gaue of this Island, and also the ship wherein he went thither, mooued many of France and of Castile to goe and discouer it, and the great Canarie: And they which went were principally the Andaluzes, the Biscaines, and the Guepuscoes, carrying with them many people and horses. But I know not whether the charge of that voiage was theirs or the kings. But by whom soeuer it was set out, they seeme to be the first that discovered the Canaries and landed in them: where also they tooke 150 of the Islanders prisoners. Concerning the time of this discoverie, there is some difference among the writers: for some affirme this to be done in the yéere 1405.

The first discoverie of the Canaries by the Christians 1405.

The first beginning of the Portugall Discoveries.

The Chronicles of Portugall haue this record, That after the incarnation of Christ 1415. king Iohn the first of that name king of Portugall, departed from the citie of Lisbon with the Prince Don Duarte or Edward, and Don Peter, and Don Henry his sonnes, with other Lords, and nobles of his realme, and sailed into Africa, where he tooke the great citie of Céuta, standing on the north side thereof betwéene 35. and 36. degrés in latitude: which was one of the principall causes of the enlarging of the dominions of Portugall.

The first conquest of the Portugals in Barbarie 1415.

When they were come from thence, Henry the kings third sonne, desirous to enlarge the kingdome & to discouer strange & vnknowne countreyes, being then in Algarbe, gaue direction for the discoverie of the coast of Mauritania. For in those daies none of the Portugals had euer passed the Cape de Non, standing in 29. degrés of latitude. And for the better accomplishing of this discoverie, the aforesaid Don Henry prepared a fléete, & gaue commandement to the chiefe captaines to procéde in discoverie from the aforesaide Cape forward: Which they did. But when they came to another Cape named Bojador, there was not one of them, that durst goe farther or beyond it: at which fearefull and cowardly faintnes of theirs the Prince was exceedingly displeased.

This victorie was gotten by the helpe of the English as Walsingham writeth. Iohn de Barros Asia decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 2. Cape de Non. Cape Bojador.

In the yéere 1417. king Iohn the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Ladie Katharine then vsing the gouernment, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamonte which was then Admirall of France craued the conquest of the Islands of the Canaries, with the title to be king of them, for a kinsman of his called Monsieur Iohn Betancourt: which being granted him by the Quéene, and farther also partly furnished out, he departed from Siuill with a good armie: But the chiefe or principall cause that mooued him to enter into this action, was to discouer and perfectly to take a view of the Island of Madera, whereof Macham before had giuen so much information. But for all that he went vnto the Canaries, and carried with him a Friar called Mendo to be as Bishop thereof, admitted by Pope Martine the fift. When they were landed they wonne Lancerota, Forteuentura, Gomera, and Ferro: from whence they sent into Spaine many slaues, honie, waxe, Camfora, or Camfire, hides, Orchall, figs, Sanguis Draconis, and other marchandises, whereof they made good profit: And this armie also as they report, discovered Porto Santo. The Island that they inhabited was Lancerota, where they built in it a castle of stone for their better defence and securitie.

The Canarie Islands conquered. Iohn de Barros Asia decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 2. Porto Santo.

In the yéere 1418. one Iohn Gonzales Zarco, and Tristam Vaz Teixera, householde gentlemen

Iohn de Barros Asia decad. 1. lib. 1. cap. 2.

tlemen vnto Don Henry the kings* third sonne, perceiuing the desire that their master had to discouer new countreyes, and willing in that course to doe him some seruice, craued of him a barke, and licence to vndertake the action: which they obtained, and sailed to the coast of Africa: where they were ouertaken with a terrible tempest; but they were succoured by falling with the land, and entring into an hauen called Santo, where they landed, and remained two yéeres.

Barros deced. 1.
lib. 1. cap. 3.
The chappell
built by Ma-
cham found in
Madera.

In the yéere 1420. they discovered the Island of Madera, where they founde the chappell and the stone and tombe, whereupon the foresaide Macham had grauen his name. There are others that write that a certaine Castillian perceiuing the desire and fauour to nauigation which Don Henry had, told him that they had found the Island of Porto Santo; which being but a small thing they made no reckoning of it. Don Henry sent Bartholomew Perestrello, Iohn Gonzales Zarco, Tristam Vaz Teixeira, and by the signes and likelyhoods that they had receiued, they went to Porto Santo, and there remained two yéeres: and after that, namely in the yéere 1420. they sailed also to the Island of Madera, where they found the memoriall and monument of the aforesaide Macham the English man.

Porto Santo.

The Canarie
Islands sold ouer
to a Spanyard.

As for Monsieur Betancourt, who entred into the conquest of the Canaries as is aboue mentioned, he was slaine in the midst of the action, and left behind him for his heire a kinsman of his called Monsieur Menante, who after that sold the said Islands of the Canaries vnto one Peter Barba of Siuill. There are other which speake otherwise, and say that Monsieur Iohn Betancourt went into France to prepare a new armie about this conquest, and left there a nephew of his; who because he heard no more of his vncl, and sawe that he could not maintaine the warres any longer, he solde the Canaries to Don Henry the king of Portugals third sonne, for a certaine thing that he gaue him in the Island of Madera.

Barros deced. 1.
lib. 1. cap. 12.

In the yéere 1424. they write that the saide Don Henry prepared a nauie and armie to conquer these Islands, wherein there went as capitaine Generall, one Don Fernando de Castro; and by reason of the valiantnes and warlike behauiour of the people they had the repulse: whereupon Don Ferdinando, considering the great charge, and little or no good successe, he gaue ouer the action, and returned backe againe. After this Don Henry resigned ouer these Islandes to the crowne of Castile, in consideration of the aides which Betancourt had receiued. But the Castillians agréed not vnto this report. For they say, that neither the kings of Portugall, nor Don Henry would render the Islands, till they came in question before Pope Eugenius the fourth; who fully vnderstanding the matter, gaue the conquest of the Islands by order of iudgement vnto the king of Castile in the yéere 1431. whereupon this contention ceased touching the title of the Canaries betwéene the kings of Portugall and of Castile.

The Canaries
came to the
croune of Spaine
in the yéere
1431.

These Islands being in number seuen, were called by the name of Fortunatæ, standing in 28 degrés to the north: where the longest day is but 13. howers, and the longest night as much, lying distant from Spaine 200. leagues, and from the coast of Africa 18. leagues. The people were idolaters, and did eate their flesh raw for want of fire: they had no iron, and sowed without any tooles: they tilled and raised the ground with oxen, hornes, and goats hornes. Euery Island did speake a seuerall language. They tooke many wiues, and knew them not carnally vntill they had deliuered them to the superiours. They had diuers other Paganish customes: but now the Christian faith is planted among them.

The ancient
manners of the
Canariens.

The commodi-
ties of the Cana-
ria.

The commodities of these Islands are wheate, barley, sugar, wine, and certaine birdes called Canarie birdes, much esteemed in Spaine and other places.

A tree yielding
abundance of
water in Ferro.

In the Island of Ferro they haue none other water, but that which procéedeth in the night from a trée, compassed with a cloud, whence water issueth, seruing the whole island both men and cattell, a thing notorious and knowne to very many.

In the yéere 1428. it is written that Don Peter the king of Portugals eldest † sonne was a great traueller. He went into England, France, Almaine, and from thence into the Holy

* Henry was the 5th son. Editor. † Edward was the eldest, and Peter the third son. Editor.

land,

land, and to other places; and came home by Italie, taking Rome & Venice in his way: from whence he brought a map of the world, which had all the parts of the world and earth described. The streight of Magelan was called in it the The Dragons taile: The Cape of Bona Sperança, The forefront of Afrike, and so forth of other places: by which map Don Henry the kings third sonne was much helped and furthered in his discoveries.

It was tolde me by Francis de Sosa Tauares, that in the yéere 1528. Don Fernando the kings sonne and heire did shew him a map, which was found in the studie of Alcobaza, which had béene made 120. yéeres before, which map did set forth all the nauigation of the East Indies, with the Cape of Bona Sperança, according as our later maps haue described it. Whereby it appéereth, that in ancient time there was as much or more discovered, then now there is. Notwithstanding all the trauaile, paines and expences in this action of Don Henry, yet he was neuer wearie of his purposed discoveries. At length there was a seruant of his called Gilianes that first passed the Cape Bojador, a place before terrible to all men: and he brought word that it was not so dangerous, as it was reported: for on the other side of it he went on land, and in maner of taking possession, set in the ground a crosse of wood, to be as a marke and token afterwards of his discovery so farre.

In the yéere 1433. in the moneth of August Don Iohn died, and his sonne Don Duarte or Edward succeeded him in the kingdome.

In the yéere 1434 Don Henry set out one Alfonso Gonsales Baldaia, and Gilianes aforesaid, and they went to another Cape, which was beyond the former, and going on land perceiued the country to be inhabited: and because they were desirous to satisfie Don Henry with as much relation and knowledge as they could get, they continued their voiage, and went forward, till they came to a certaine point of land, from whence they turned backe againe.

In the yéere 1438. king Edward, whom the Portugals call Don Duarte died, and Don Alphonso the prince being yong, Don Peter his vnclé gouerned the kingdome.

In the yéere 1441. Don Henry sent out two ships, and the captaines were in the one Tristan, and Antonie Gonsales in the other. Being put to sea they tooke a prise vpon the coast, and sailed on to Cape Blanco, that is the White Cape, standing in 20. degrés, and informed Don Henry of the state of that cōtrei by the Moores which they brought from thence. Whereupon he sent one Fernan Lopez de Sauado to giue knowledge thereof to Pope Martine, trusting to make these things commodious to Holy Church. Vpon which knowledge the Pope granted indulgences and euerlasting pardon, and all other things demanded of him, vnto those which should die in this enterprise.

After this in the yéere 1443. Don Henry commanded Antonie Gonsales to carrie backe the slaues which he had brought, and to ransom them in their country: Which he did, and the Moores gaue them in trucke for them againe blacke Moores with curled haire, and some gold; so that now that place is called Rio de Oro, that is the Golden Riuer; whereby the desire of the discoverie might be the more increased.

Not long after he sent out another named Nunnez Tristan, who came vnto the Islands of Arguin, where he tooke more slaues, and brought them to Portugall in the yéere 1444.

Hereupon also one Lansarote, a groomer of Don Gilians chamber, with others associated with him, armed out certaine ships, which went coasting til they came to the Islands of Garze, where they tooke two hundred slaues: which were the first that were brought from thence to Portugall.

In the yeere 1445. there went as captain of a barke one Gonsalo de Syntra, an esquire belonging to Don Henry into those parts; and he went on land, where was taken with sixe or seuen more of his company, which place was therefore called after his name, Angra de Gonsaluo de Syntra. This was the first losse, which the Portugals receiued in their discoveries.

In the yéere following Don Henry sent out thrée carauels, wherein went as captaines Antonie Gonsales, Diego Aloizio, and Gomes Perez, who had their direction, not to enter into Rio de Oro, nor to beare themselves disorderly, but to trauaile in peace, and to conuert as many

A most rare and excellent map of the world.

A great helpe to Don Henry in his discoveries.

As much discovered in ancient time as now is. Barros deced. 2. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Cape Bojador first passed. Anno 1433.

The death of Don Iohn the first of Portugall. Barros deced. 1. lib. 1. cap. 3.

The death of Don Duarte king of Portugall. Barros deced. 1. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Cape Blanco. Indulgences granted to encourage to this enterprise. Barros deced. 1. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Rio de Oro, why so called.

The Islands of Arguin.

The Islands of Garze.

Barros deced. 2. lib. 1. cap. 9.

Angra de Gonsaluo de Syntra.

many infidels as they could to Christianitie. But none of these things were performed by them; for they returned without doing any memorable act.

Barros decad. 1.
lib. 1. cap. 9. &
cap. 13.
The riuer of
Sanaga.

Cape Verde.

In the same yéere 1446. another esquire belonging to the king of Portugall called Denis Fernandes of the citie of Lisbon, entred into these discoveries, more to winne fame then to reape commoditie by them. And he being in his voiage came to the riuer of Sanaga, standing betwene 15. and 16. degrés of latitude towards the north, where he tooke certaine Negroes; and not contented therewith, he went forward and discovered Cape Verde, standing in 14. degrees on the same side; and there he set vp vpon the land a crosse of wood, and then returned with great contentation.

Barros decad. 1.
lib. 1. cap. 14.
Rio Grande.

In the yéere 1447. one Nunnez Tristan went forth to discover in a carauell, and he passed the aforesaid Cape Verde, and Rio Grande, and went past it vnto another standing beyond it in 12. degrés, where he was also taken with 18. Portugals more: but the ship came home againe in safetie, conducted by fower or fiue which escaped the hands of the Negroes.

The Island of
seven cities.

In this yéere also 1447. it happened that there came a Portugall ship through the streight of Gibraltar; and being taken with a great tempest, was forced to runne westwards more then willingly the men would, and at last they fell vpon an Island which had seven cities, and the people spake the Portugall toong, and they demanded if the Moores did yet trouble Spaine, whence they had fled for the losse which they receiued by the death of the king of Spaine, Don Roderigo.

The boateswaine of the ship brought home a little of the sand, and sold it vnto a goldsmith of Lisbon, out of the which he had a good quantitie of gold.

Don Pedro vnderstanding this, being then gouernour of the realme, caused all the things thus brought home, and made knowne, to be recorded in the house of Iustice.

There be some that thinke, that those Islands whereunto the Portugals were thus driuen, were the Antiles, or Newe Spaine, alleaging good reasons for their opinion, which here I omit, because they serue not to my purpose. But all their reasons seeme to agré, that they should be that countrey, which is called Noua Spagna.

Don Alfonso
king of Portu-
gall come to age.
Barros decad. 1.
lib. 2. cap. 1.
The Açores first
inhabited.
Alcacer taken.
The castle of
Arguin builded.
Ibidem.
Barros decad. 1.
lib. 2. cap. 1.

In the yéere 1449. the king Don Alfonso gaue licence vnto his vnkle Don Henry to inhabit the Islands of the Açores, which were long before discovered.

And in the yéere 1458. this king went into Africa, and there he tooke the towne called Alcacer.

And in the yéere 1461. he commanded Signior Mendez a gentleman of his house to build the castle of Arguin, whereof he gaue vnto him the gouernment as to his lieutenant.

The Isles of
Cape Verde dis-
couered by three
Genowais.

In the yéere 1462. there came into the realme of Portugall thrée Genowais of good parentage, the chiefe of whom was called Antonie de Noli, and of the other two, the one was his brother, the other was his nephew, and each of these had his seuerall ship, crauing libertie of Don Henry to discour the Islands of Cape Verde, which was granted them.

Others say, that the places which they discovered, were those which Antiquitie called the Gorgades, Hesperides, and Dorcades: but they named them Mayo, Sainct Iago, and Sainct Philip, because they discovered them on those Saints daies: but they are also called by some the Islands of Antonio.

The death of
Don Henry
1463.
Sierra Leona.

In the yéere following 1463. this good nobleman Don Henry died, leauing from Cape De Non discovered vnto the mountaine called Sierra Leona, standing on this side the line in 8. degrés of latitude, where no man had béene before that time.

Barros decad. 1.
lib. 2. cap. 2.
The countrey of
Guiney let out
to farne.

In the yéere 1469. the king of Portugall did let out for yéerely rent the trade of Guiney vnto one called Fernan Gomez, which countrey afterwards was called The Mine. He let it out for fiue yéeres, for two hundred thousand Reyes by the yéere (which is of our English money 138. l. 17. s. 9. d. ob.) and added vnto his lease this condition, that euery yéere he should discover an hundred leagues.

Ibidem.
Arzila taken.
Tanger taken.

In the yéere following, which was 1470. this king went into Africa with his sonne Prince Iohn, where they tooke the towne of Arzila, and the people of the citie of Tanger fled

fled out for feare, and that he tooke also. It seemeth that good fortune followeth a courageous attempt.

In the yéere 1471. Fernan Gomes gaue commandement that the coast should be discovered as it lay. Which was vnderaken by Iohn de S. Aren, and Iohn de Scour; and they went and found the Mine in 5. degrés of latitude.

And the next yéere, which was 1472. one Fernando da Poo discovered the Island now called after his name. Also about this time the Islands of Saint Thomas, and Del Principe were discovered, standing vnder the line, with the firme land also, wherein is the kingdome of Benin, reaching to the Cape de Santa Catarina, standing on the south side of the line in 3. degrés. The man that made this discoverie was a seruant of the kings, and his name was Sequeira.

Many suppose, that then also there were those places, countreyes and Islands discovered, which before were neuer knowne to vs since the flood.

In the yéere 1480. the valiant king Don Alphonso died, and left many things woorthy of memorie behinde him; and his sonne Don Iohn the second succeeded him. Who in the yéere 1481. gaue direction for the building of the castle De Mina to one Diego d'Azambuxa; who did so, and was made captaine of it.

In the yéere 1484. the foresaid king Iohn sent out one Diego Caon a knight of his Court to discover: and he went to the Riuer of Congo, standing on the south side in 7. or 8. degrés of latitude; where he erected a pillar of stone with the royall armes and letters of Portugall, wherein he wrote the commandement that he had receiued from the king, with the time and day of his being there. From thence he went vnto a riuer néere the Tropicke of Capricorne, setting still vp pillars of stone where he thought it conuenient, and so came backe againe vnto Congo, and to the king of that countrey: who thereupon sent an ambassadour and men of credite into Portugall.

In the next yéere or the second following, one Iohn Alonso d'Aueiro came from the kingdome of Benin, and brought home pepper with a taile: which was the first of that kinde séene in Portugall.

In the yéere 1487. king Iohn sent to discover India ouer land. In which iourney went one Pedro de Couillan a seruant of the kings, and Alfonso de Payua, because they could speake the Arabian toong. They went out in the moneth of May, and the same yéere they tooke shipping at Naples, and arriued in the Isle of Rhodes, and lodged in the house that was provided for the Portugall knights of that order: from thence they went to Alexandria, and so to Cayro, and thence to the hauen of Toro in the companie of the Carauans or carriers which were Moores. There they tooke shipping, and being on the Red sea they arriued at the citie of Aden, and there they separated themselues: for Alfonso de Payua went towards Ethiopia, and Pedro de Couillan into India. Who came vnto the cities of Cananor and Calicut, and came backe vnto Goa: where he tooke shipping vnto Sofala, being on the coast of Africa in the southerne latitude of 20. degrés, to see the mines that were of so great name. From Sofala he turned backe to Mosambique, and vnto the cities of Quiloa, Mombaza, and Melinde, till he came backe againe vnto the citie of Aden: where he and Alfonso de Payua deuided themselues: and thence he sailed againe through the Red sea vnto the citie of Cayro, where he thought to haue met with his companion: but there he heard that he was dead by the letters that he receiued from king Iohn his master; in which letters he was farther commanded to traualle into the countrey and dominions of Presbyter Iohn.

Vpon this commandement he provided for his farther iourney, and from Cayro went backe againe to the hauen of Toro, and from thence to Aden, where he had beene twice before: and there hearing of the fame of the citie of Ormuz, he determined to goe thither; and therefore went along the coast of Arabia vnto the Cape Razalgate standing vnder the Tropicke of Cancer, and from thence he went to Ormuz, standing in 27. degrés on that side. There he learned and vnderstood of the streight of Persia, and of that countrey: and entred there into the Red sea, and passed ouer to the realme of the Abassini, which commonly is called Presbyter Iohns countrey or Ethiopia: and there he was detained till the yéere 1520. when there

Ibidem.
La Mina.

Ibidem.
The Isle de Fernan de Poo.
Saint Thome.
Isla del Principe.
Benin.
Cape de Santa Catarina.

Don Iohn the second.
Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 2.
Castell de Mina built.
Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 3.
Rio de Congo.

Discoverie neere vnto the Tropicke of Capricorne.
An ambassadour from the king of Congo.

Pepper of Benin.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 3. cap. 5.
Pedro de Couillan and Alfonso de Payua sent to discover India.

Alexandria.
Cairo.
Toro.

Aden.
Cananor.
Calicut.
Goa.
Sofala.
Mosambique.
Quiloa.
Mombaza.
Melinde.

The voiage of Pedro de Couillan vnto the countrey of Prete Ianni.
Cape Razalgate.
Ormuz.

Abassini.

Pedro de Cou-
uillan the first
Portugall that
came into the
East India and
Ethiopia by the
Red sea.
Barros decad. 1.
lib. 2. cap. 9.

there came thither the ambassadour Don Roderigo de Lima : This Pedro de Couillan was the first Portugall that euer knew and saw the Indias and those seas, and other places adioyning thereunto.

In the yéere 1490. the king sent vnto Congo one Gonzalo de Sosa a gentleman with thrée ships, and in them sent home the ambassadour of Congo, which was sent into Portugall, whom Diego Caon had brought from thence : who at his being in Portugall was baptised both himselfe and others of his companie.

The aforesaid Gonzalo de Sosa died in that iourney by the way, and in his roome they chose his nephew Ruy de Sosa for their captaine ; and so being come vnto Congo, the king was very glad of their comming, and yéelded himselfe, and the greater part of his realme to be baptised : whereof the Portugals had good cause to reioyce, séeing by them so many Infidels were conuerted from gentilitie and paganisme to Christianitie.

A great part of
the kingdome of
Congo baptised.

The first beginning of the Discoveries of the Spanyards, with the continuation of the Discoveries of the Portugals.

IN the yéere 1492. in the time of Don Ferdinando king of Castile, he being at the siege of Granada, dispatched one Christopher Columbus a Genoway with thrée ships to goe and discover Noua Spagna : who first had offered his seruice for a westerne discoverie vnto king Iohn of Portugall ; but he would not entertaine him.

The first that in
sailing are
thought to haue
observed lati-
tudes.

The Isle of Gua-
nahany first dis-
covered.

He being sufficiently furnished for this enterprise departed from the towne of Palos the third day of August, hauing with him as captaines and pilots Martin Alfonso Pinzon, Francis Martinez Pinzon, Vincent Yannes Pinzon, and Bartholomew Columbus his brother, with 120. persons more in his companie : and some affirme that they were the first that sailed by latitudes. They tooke the Canaries in their way, and there refreshed themselves ; taking their course thence towards Cipango : but finding the sea by the way full of wéeds they were amazed, and with great feare arriued at the Antiles the tenth day of October, and the first Island that they descried was called Guanahany : where they went on land, and tooke possession of it, and named it San Saluador. This Island standeth in 25. degrés of northerly latitude. And after that they found many Islands, which they called the Princes because they were the first that they had discovered.

Lucaios Islands.

The Sauages of those parts call these Islands by the name of Lucaios, hauing in déede seuerall names for them. And they doe stand on the north side almost vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. As for the Island of S. Iames or Iamaica, it standeth betwéene 16. and 17. degrés.

Cuba.

Thence they went to the Island which the naturals of the countrey call Cuba, and the Spanyards call it Ferdinandina, bicause their kings name was Ferdinando, standing in 22. degrés : from whence the Indians conducted them vnto another Island, which they call Hayti, and the Spanyards called it Isabella, in the memorie of the Quéene of Castile, which was so called, and they named it also Hispaniola. In that Island the Admirall ship of Columbus was cast away : of the timber and planks whereof they made a forte, wherein they left 38 men, and a captaine called Roderigo de Arana, to learne the language and customes of the countrey. They brought from thence musters and shewes of gold, pearles, and other things, which that countrey yéelded ; and ten Indians also, whereof sixe died, the rest were brought home and baptized.

Hispaniola.

Hereupon there grewe such a common desire of trauaile among the Spanyards, that they were ready to leape into the sea to swim, if it had been possible, into those new found parts. The aforesaid company of Columbus at their comming home tooke in their way the Isles of the Açores, and the 4. day of March in the yéere 1493. they entred into the bar of Lisbon : which discoverie pleased not the king of Portugall. Whereupon rose a contention betwéene those two kings.

Contention be-
tweene the kings
of Spaine and
Portugall.

Christopher Columbus being arriued went presently into Castile with the newes of all things, and acquainted the king Fernando, with the discontentednes of the king of Portugall : whercupon he and the Quéene Isabella his wife sent streight word thereof vnto Pope Alexander the 6. whereat he and the Italians were in great admiration, maruailing that there was any

any more land besides that which was vnder the Romanes. But the end of this matter was this: Alexander the Pope gaue these countreies by his iudgement vnto the kingdomes of Leon and Castile; with this condition, That they should labour to extirpate idolatrie, and plant the Holy faith in those countreyes.

Fernando the king hauing receiued this answere, was glad of it, and sent Christopher Columbus againe on the former voiage, hauing made him admirall, and giuen him other honors, with particular armes, and a posie written about his armes to this effect.

For Castile and for Leon

A new world found out Colon.

In the yéere 1493. the 25. of the moneth of October Christopher Columbus went backe vnto the Antiles, and frō Cadiz he tooke his course, hauing in his companie 17. ships, and 1500. men in them, with his brethren Bartholomew Columbus, and Diego Columbus, with other knights, gentlemen, men of law, and religious men, with chalices, crosses, rich ornaments, and with great power and dignitie from Pope Alexander; & the 10. day after their setting forth, they arriued at the Canaries; & from thence in 25. or 30. daies they sailed vnto the Antiles; & the first Island that they saw standeth in 14. degrés towards the north, due west from Cape Verde on the coast of Africa. They say that the distance from thence to the Canaries is 800. leagues. The name they gaue it was Deseada, that is the Desired or wished Island, for the great desire which the companie had to come to sight of land. After that they discovered many more which they named the Virgines, which the naturals of the countrey call the Caribas, for that the men of that countrey are good warriors, and shoote well in bowes. They poison their arrowes with an herbe, whereof he that is hurt dieth, biting himselfe like as a mad dog doth.

From these Islands and others they went vnto the principall Island there, which they of the countrey doe call Boriquen, and the Spanyards call it S. Iohn, and thence to Hispaniola or Isabella, where they found all the men dead which there they had left. Here the Admirall left the most part of the people to plant it, and appointed his brethren to be gouernours there: and so tooke two ships, and went to discover the other side of the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Iamaica. All these Islands stand from 16. vnto 20. degrés of northerly latitude. In the meane time that the Admirall sailed about, his brethren and they that were left with them were much troubled, because the Sauages did rise against them. So that Christopher Colon went backe againe into Spaine, to tell the king and Quéene of his aduentures.

In the yé re 1494. and in the moneth of Ianuarie there was an agrément made of the differences which were betwéene the two kings of Spaine and Portugall. For the which agrément there were sent out of Portugall Ruy de Sosa, and Don Iohn his sonne, and the Doctor Ayres de Almada: and for the king of Spaine there were Don Henry Henriques, Don Iohn de Cardenas, and the Doctor Maldonado. All these met in the towne of Tordesillas, and they deuided the world frō the north to the south by a meridian which standeth west from the Islands of Cape Verde 300. leagues: so that the one halfe which lay vnto the east should belong vnto Portugall, and that which lay to the west to the king of Spaine, whereby notwithstanding libertie to trauell was left equall vnto both.

In the yeere following 1495. Iohn king of Portugall died, and Emmanuel his cosen began to reigne.

In the yéere 1496. there was a Venetian in England called Iohn Cabota, who hauing knowledge of such a new discoverie as this was, and perceiuing by the globe, that the Islands before spoken of stood almost in the same latitude with his countrey, and much néerer to England then to Portugall, or to Castile, he acquainted king Henrie the seuenth then king of England with the same, wherewith the saide king was greatly pleased, and furnished him out with two ships and thrée hundred men: which departed and set saile in the spring of the yéere, and they sailed westward til they came in sight of land in 45. degrés of latitude towards the north, and then went straight northwards till they came into 60. degrés of latitude, where the day is 18. howers long, and the night is very cléere and bright. There they found

The bull of donation.

Gomara historiam general. lib. 1. cap. 17.

Columbus second voiage.

Deseada discovered.

Caribas.

Boriquen or S. Iohn de porto ricco.

Iamaica.

The first line of partition.

The death of Don Iohn the second.

The great discoverie of Iohn Cabota and the English.

the aire cold, and great Islands of ice, but no ground in an hundred fathoms sounding : and so from thence finding the land to turne eastwards they trended along by it discovering all the Bay and riuers named Deseado, to see if it passed on the other side : Then they sailed backe againe till they came to 38. degrés toward the Equinoctiall line, and from thence returned into England. There be others which say, that he went as far as the Cape of Florida, which standeth in 25. degrés.

This is to the south of the Chesepian Bay.

Columbus third voyage.
Gomara historie general. lib. 1. cap. 21.

Trinidad.

Testigos.

Cubagua.

Frailles, Roques, Aruba, Curaçao, &c.

Cabo de Vela.

Beata.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 4. cap. 2. and to the end of the 11. chapter.

The Cape of Bona Sperança. Mosambique. Mombasa. Melinde.

Los Baxos de Padua.

Calicut.

Gomara historie general. lib.

The Cape of S. Augustine.

Rio de Maria Tambal.

In the yéere 1497. The king of Spaine Don Fernando sent out Christopher Columbus with sixe ships, and he himselfe provided two ships at his owne cost, and sending his brother before, he made saile from the Bay of Cadiz, carrying with him his sonne Don Diego Colon. It was then reported that he went to take the Island of Madera, because he mistrusted the French men, and therefore sent thither thrée ships: others say it was to the Canaries. But howsoever it was, this is true, that he and thrée more went vnto the Islands of Cape Verde, and ran along by the line finding great calmes and raine, and the first land which they came vnto of the Antiles was an Island standing in 9. degrés of latitude towards the north ioining fast vnto the maine land, which they called La Trinidad; and so he entred into the Gulfe of Paria, and came out of the mouth which they name Bocca de Dragone, or the Dragons mouth: and they tooke their course hard by the coast, where they found thrée small Islands, which they named Los Testigos, that is to say, The Witnesses, beyond which standeth the Island of Cubagua, where is great fishing of muscle pearles: where also, as they say, there springeth a Well of oile: and beyond that Island they came to the Isles of Frailes, Roques, Aruba, and Curaçao, with other small ones all along the Bay: and they came to the point of Cabo de Vela, and discovered along the coast almost 200. leagues, from whence they crossed ouer to Hispaniola, hauing had also sight of the Island called Beata.

In this same yéere 1497. on the 20. day of the moneth of Iune one Vasques de Gama sailed from Lisbon by the king Emmanuels commandement to India with 3. ships, wherein there went for captaines Vasques de Gama, Paulus de Gama his brother, and Nicolas Coello with 120. men; with whom also there went one ship laden only with vittailles, and in 14. daies they came vnto Cape Verde, vnto the Island of Saint Iago, where they refreshed themselves, and from thence they went along the coast beyond the Cape of Bona Sperança, whereupon they erectéd certaine pillers of stone, and so came vnto Mosambique standing in 15. degrés to the south of the line, where they staid not long, but went from thence to Mombaza, and vnto Melinde: where the king of that place gaue them pilots, which conducted them into India, in which discoverie they found out Los Baxos do Padua, that is to say, the flats of Padua.

In the yéere 1498. in the moneth of May they came to an anker before the citie of Calicut, and Panana, where they remained all the winter: and the first day of September they set saile towards the north discovering the coast all along till they came to the Island of Angediua, which standeth on that side in 15. degrés of latitude, where they came to an anker in the beginning of October, and so they departed from Angediua in Februarie in the yéere 1499. and came in sight of the coast of África about Melinde towards the north 3. or 4. degrés, & from thence they sailed vnto the said citie, and so vnto Mosambique againe, and to the Cape of Bona Sperança, sailing along by the coast, and then they came to the Islands of Cape Verde, and last of al to the citie of Lisbon in the moneth of September, hauing béene in the voiage 26. monethes.

In the yéere 1499 on the 13. day of the moneth of Nouember there departed frō Palos one Vincent Yannez Pinson and his nephew Aries Pinson with fower ships well appointed at their owne cost and charges, to discover the new world vnder the licence of the king of Castile, and with commandement not to touch there, where the Admirall Columbus had béene. And so they went to the Islands of Cape Verde, and passed the line to the southward, and discovered the Cape of Saint Augustine standing on that side in 8. degrés of latitude, and there they wrote on the rindes of pine trées the names of the king and of the Quéene, also the yéere and day when they arriued there. They fought with the people of Brasil, but got nothing, they tooke their course all along the coast towards the west vnto the riuers Maria Tambal,

Tambal,

Tambal, and at that time they had taken thirty and odde prisoners. The chiefe places where they touched were the Cape of S. Augustine, and the angle or point of S. Luke, and Tierra de los Humos, the riuers of Marannon, and of the Amazonas, and Rio dulce, or the Swéete riuier, and other places along the coast: and they came to ten degrés of latitude on the north side, where they lost two ships and their companie, and remained in that voiage of discovery ten moneths, and 15. daies.

In the yéere 1500. and in the moneth of March one Pedro Aluarez Cabral sailed out of Lisbon with 13. ships, with commandement not to come néere the coast of Africa to shorten his way; and he losing the sight of one of his ships, went to séeke her, and in séeeking of her lost his course, and sailed till he came within sight of the land. The Generall was so long in séeeking his ship, that the companie were wearie of it, and entreated him to leaue his enterprise. The next day they fell in sight of the coast of Brasil: whereupon the Generall commanded a barke to goe to land and séeke an hauen: which they did, and found a good and safe hauen, and they named it Puerto Seguro, that is to say, The Safe hauen, standing on the south side in 17. degrés of latitude. From thence they sailed towards the Cape of Bona Sperança, and Melinde, and crossed ouer to the riuier of Cochin, which before was not knowne, where they laded themselues with pepper, and at their returne Sancho de Thouar discovered the citie of Sofala vpon the coast of Africa.

In this same yéere 1500. it is reported that Gaspar Cortereal craued a generall licence of the king Emmanuel to discover the New found land. He went from the Island Terçera with two ships well appointed at his owne cost, and he sailed vnto that climate which standeth vnder the north in 50. degrés of latitude, which is a land nowe called after his name; and he came home in safetie vnto the citie of Lisbon: And making another time this voiage, the ship was lost wherein he went, and the other came backe into Portugall. Wherefore his brother Michael Cortereal went to séeke him with three ships well appointed at his owne cost; and when they came vnto that coast, and found so many entrances of riuers, and hauens, euery ship went into her seuerall riuier, with this rule and order, that they all thrée should meete againe the 20. day of August. The two other ships did so, and they séeing that Michael Cortereal was not come at the day appointed, nor yet afterwards in a certaine time, returned backe into the realme of Portugall, and neuer heard any more newes of him, nor yet any other memorie. But that countrey is called The land of Cortereall vnto this day.

In the yéere 1501. in the moneth of March Iohn de Noua departed from the citie of Lisbon with fower ships, and passed the line on the south side into 8. degrés of latitude, and he discovered an Island, which he called the Isle de Ascension: And he went vnto Mosambique, and to Melinde, and from thence he crossed ouer vnto the other side, where they tooke lading, and so came back and doubled the Cape, and found an Island called Santa Helena. being but a small thing, but yet of great importance in respect of the situation thereof.

In this same yéere 1501. and in the moneth of May there departed out of Lisbon thrée ships vpon the commandement of Emmanuel the king to discover the coast of Brasil: and they sailed in the sight of the Canaries, and from thence to Cape Verde, where they refreshed themselves in the towne of Bezequiche, and passed from thence beyond the line southward and fell with the land of Brasill in fiue degrés of latitude, and so went forward till they came in 32. degrés little more or lesse, according as they accounted it, and from thence they came backe in the moneth of Aprill, because it was there at that time cold and tempestuous. They were in that voiage fiteene monethes, and came to Lisbon againe in the beginning of September 1502.

In the yéere 1502. one Alfonso Hoieda went to discover Terra firma, and followed his course till he came to the prouince of Vraba.

The next yéere following also one Roderigo Bastidas of Siuill went out with two carauels at his owne cost, and the first land of the Antiles that he saw was an Island which he named Isla Verde, that is, the Gréene Island, standing fast by the Island of Guadalupe, towards the land: and from thence they tooke their course towards the west to Santa Martha, and Cape

Angla de San Lucas.
The riuers of Marannon, Amazonas, and Rio Dolce.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Puerto Seguro in Brasil.

Sofala.

Terra Corterealis.

Many entrances of riuers in the northwest.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Ilha de Ascension.

The Isle of Santa Helena.

Bezequiche.

Brasil discovered to 32. degrees.

Gomara historie general. lib. 2. Vraba.

De la Vela, and to Rio Grande, or the Great riuer, and they discovered the hauen of Zamba, the Coradas, Carthagen, and the Islands of S. Barnard, of Barú, and Islas de Arenas, and went forward vnto Isla fuerte, and to the point of Caribana standing at the end of the Gulfe of Vraha, where they had sight of the Farrallones standing on the other side hard by the riuer of Darien, and from Cape De la Vela vnto this place are two hundred leagues: and it standeth in 9. degrés and two parts of latitude. From thence they crossed ouer vnto the Island of Iamaica, where they refreshed themselves. In Hispaniola they graued their ships because of the holes which certaine wormes of the water had eaten in the planks. In that countrey they got fower hundred markes of golde, although the people there be more warlike then in Noua Spania: for they poison their arrowes which they shoote.

The fourth voyage of Columbus. Gomara historie general. lib. 1. cap. 24.

Cabo de Higuera. Cabo de Hunduras. Cabo Gracias a Dios. Veragua. Rio de Chagres.

Isla de Bastimentos. Puerto Bello. Nombre de Dios. The Cape of marble.

Barros decad. 1. lib. 6. cap. 2.

The Island of Mosambique.

Cattell and camels fed with dried fish.

Socotora. Cape de Guardafu.

Carthagen.

Codego.

The death of Queene Isabella 1504.

In this same yéere 1502. Christopher Columbus entred the fourth time into his discoverie with fower ships at the commandement of Don Fernando to seeke the Streight, which as they said did diuide the land from the other side, and he carried with him Ferdinando his sonne. They went first to the Island of Hispaniola, to Iamaica, to the riuer Azua, to the Cape of Higuera, and vnto the Islands Gamares, and to the Cape of Hunduras, that is to say, the Cape of the Depthes: from thence they sailed towards the east vnto the Cape Gracias a Dios, and discovered the prouince and riuer of Veragua, and Rio Grande, and others, which the Indians call Hienra. And from thence he went to the riuer of Crocodiles, which now is called Rio de Chagres, which hath his springs néere the South sea, within fower leagues of Panama, and runneth into the North Sea: and so he went vnto the Island which he called Isla de Bastimentos, that is the Isle of Victuailles, and then to Puerto Bello, that is the Faire hauen, and so vnto Nombre de Dios, and to Rio Francisco, and so to the hauen of Retrete, and then to the Gulfe of Cabesa Cattiua, and to the Islands of Caperosa, and lastly to the Cape of Marble, which is two hundred leagues vpon the coast: from whence they began to turne againe vnto the Island of Cuba, and from thence to Iamaica, where he grounded his ships being much spoiled and eaten with wormes.

In this yéere also 1502 Don Vasques de Gama being now Admirall went againe into India with 19. or 20. Carauels. He departed from Lisbon the tenth day of Februarie, and by the last day of that moneth he came to an anker at Cape Verde, and from thence he went vnto Mosambique, and was the first that crost from that Island into India: and he discovered another in 4. degrés of latitude, which he called the Island of the Admirall, and there he tooke his lading of pepper and drugs, and left there one Vincent Sodre to kéepe the coast of India with fíue ships.

These were the first Portugals, that with an armie did run along the coast of Arabia Fœlix. It is there so barren, that their cattell and camels are onely maintained with drie fish brought from the sea; whereof there is such plenty and abundance, that the cats of the countrey doe vse to take them.

In the yeere following, as it is reported, one Antonie de Saldania discovered the Island which in old time was called Coradis, and now Socotora, and the Cape of Guardafu, which adioineth vnto that countrey.

Roderigo de Bastidas obtained licence of king Ferdinando, and by the meanes of Iohn de Ledesma and others of Siuill armed and furnished out two ships, hauing for his pilot one Iohn de Cosa of Saint Marie Port, and he went to discover that part of Tierra firma where now standeth Carthagen, being in ten degrés and a halfe of northerly latitude. And it is said that they found the capitaine Luis de la Guerra; and they together tooke land in the Isle of Codego, where they tooke sixe hundred persons of the Sauages: And going farther along the coast they entred into the Gulfe of Vraha, where they found sand mingled with gold, being the first that was brought to the king Don Ferdinando: from thence they returned to the citie of Santo Domingo laden with slaues without victuailles, because they of the countrey would not bargain with them, which grew to their great trouble and grieve.

In the later end of this yéere died Ladie Isabella Quéene of Castile: Which Quéene while she liued would not suffer any man of Arragon, Catalunia, Valencia, nor any borne in the

the country of Don Fernando her husband to enter into these discoveries, saue those which were their seruants, or by speciall commandement, but only the Castillians, Biscaines, & those which were of her owne Signiories, by whom all the lands aforesaid were discovered.

In the yéere 1505. vpon our Lady day in March Francisco de Almeida Viceroy of India tooke his course with 22. sailes towards India as now is accustomed. He came vnto the citie of Quiloa, where he built a fort, appointing one Peter Fereira to be capitaine thereof: and beyond Melinde he trauesed to the Island of Angediu, where he placed as capitaine one Emmanuell Passauia. In Cananor also he built another fort, giuing the captainship of it to Laurence de Brito. In Cochin he did the like, where Don Alfonso de Noronia was made capitaine. This yéere one Peter de Anhaya did build the fortresse of Sofala, whereof also himselfe was made capitaine.

In the later end of this yéere the Viceroy commanded his sonne, whose name was Don Laurengo to make some entrie vpon the Islands of Maldiu, and with contrarie weather he arriued at the Islands, which of ancient time were called Traganæ, but the Moores called them Ytterubenero, and we call them Ceilan: where he went on land, and made peace with the people there, and afterward came backe vnto Cochin, sailing along the coast and fully discovering it. In the midst of this Island there stands a rocke of stone very high hauing the signe of the foote of a man vpon the top of it, which they say to be the footstep of Adam, when he went vp into the heauens, and the Indians haue it in great reuerence.

In the yéere 1506. after the death of the Quéene of Spaine, king Philip and Quéene Ioan his wife came into Spaine to take possession thereof, and king Don Fernando went into Aragon being his owne patrimonie. In this same yeere the said king Philip died, and then Fernando came againe to gouerne Spaine, and he gaue licence vnto all Spanyards to goe vnto the New land, and to the Antiles, but not to the Portugals. In this yéere and in the moneth of May Christopher Columbus died, and his sonne Don Diego Columbus succeeded in his roome.

In the yéere 1506. and entring into the moneth of March Tristan de Acunna and Alfonso de Albuquerque went into India with 14. ships in their companie, and sailed till they came to an anker at the towne of Bezequiche, where they refreshed themselues: and before they came to the Cape of Bona Sperança in 37. degrés they found certaine Islands, which now are named the Isles of Tristan de Acunna, where they had such a tempest that therewithall the fléete was dispersed. Tristan de Acuña and Alfonso de Albuquerque went vnto Mosambique, and Alvaro Telez ran so far that he came to the Island of Samatra, and so backe againe vnto the Cape of Guardafu; hauing discovered many Islands, sea, and land neuer séene before that time of any Portugall. Emmanuel Telez de Meneses was also driuen without the great Island of S. Laurence, and he ran along the coast thereof, and arriued at last at Mosambique, and there met with Tristan de Acuña, who was the first capitaine that wintred there; and by them it was told, that in this Island was much Ginger, Cloues and siluer: whereupon he went and discovered much of it within the land; but finding nothing he came backe againe vnto Mosambique; from whence he sailed vnto Melinde, and ran along that coast and entred into Braua, and from thence they crost ouer to the Island of Socotora, where they built a fortresse, and made one Don Antonio de Noronia capitaine thereof.

In the yéere 1507. in the moneth of August Tristan de Acuña tooke shipping for India, and Alfonso de Albuquerque remained there with fíue or sixe ships to kéepe the coast and entrie of the Streight; but being not therewith satisfied he tooke his course ouer vnto Arabia, and running along that coast he doubled the Cape of Rosalgate standing vnder the Tro-picke of Cancer.

In the yéere 1509. one Diego Lopez de Sequeira went out of Lisbon with fower sailes vnto the Island of Saint Laurence, and continued in his voiage almost a yéere, and in the moneth of May the same yéere he arriued in Cochin, where the Viceroy gaue him one ship more: and in the beginning of the moneth of September he tooke his course vnto Malacca passing betwene the Islands of Nicubar, and many others: He went also to the land of Sa-

Barros decad. 1.
lib. 8. cap. 3.
A fort built in
Quiloa.

Angediu pos-
sessed.
Forts build in
Cananor and in
Cochin.
A fort build in
Sofala.

Ceilan.

The death of
Philip the first
king of Spaine
1506.
The death of
Christopher Co-
lumbus.

Barros decad. 2.
lib. 1. cap. 1.

Bezequiche is by
Cape Verde.

The Isles of
Tristan de
Acunna in 37.
degrées.
Samatra disco-
uered.

The inland of S.
Laurence disco-
uered.

Braua.
A fortresse
build in Soco-
tora.

Barros decad. 2.
lib. 2. cap. 1.

The Cape of
Rosalgate.

Barros decad. 2.
lib. 4. cap. 3.
The Isle of S.
Laurence.

The Islands of
Sa-
1. Samatra.

luoreira,

Quéene
borne in
the

The Isle of A
Poluoreira.
The flats of Ca-
pacia.
Malacca,
Rarities in Sa-
matra.

In Samatra
buffes, kine, and
hennes haue
flesh as blacke as
inke.
People hauing
tailes like
sheepe.

Gold coined in
Samatra.

Gomara historie
general. lib. 3.
cap. 7.
Castilia del oro.

The booke of the
Bachiler Anciso
of these disco-
ueries.

Beata is a pro-
uince in the west
part of Hispa-
niola.

Gomara gen.
hist. lib. 3. c. 6.

Nuestra Sennora
de la antigua
buildd.

Many gentlewo-
men went to
dwell in Hispa-
niola.

Cuba peopled.

Barros decad. 2.
lib. 5. cap. 10. &
lib. 6. cap. 2.
Barros decad. 2.
lib. 6. cap. 5.

luoreira, and the flats of Capacia: and from thence he went ouer vnto Malacca standing in 2. degrés of latitude towards the north: but in that citie the people killed and tooke as prisoners some of his men: and thereupon he turned backe againe into India, hauing discovered in this voiage five hundred leagues. This Island of Samatra is the first land wherein we knew mans flesh to be eaten by certaine people which liue in the mountaines called Bacas, who vse to gilde their teeth. They hold opinion that the flesh of the blacke people is swéeter then the flesh of the white. The buffes, kine, and hennes which are in that countrey are in their flesh as blacke as any inke. They say that there are certaine people there called Daraqui Dara, which haue tailes like vnto sheepe; and some of their welles yéeld oile.

The king of Pedir is reported to haue a riuier in his land running with oile: which is a thing not to be maruelled at, séeing it is found written, that in Bactria there is also a well of oile: it is farther said that there groweth here a trée, the iuice whereof is strong poison, and if it touch the blood of a man, he dieth immediately: but if a man doe drinke of it, it is a soueraine remedie against poison, so seruing both for life and death. Here also they doe coine péesces of gold, which they call Drachmas, brought into the land as they say by the Romanes: which scéemeth to haue some resemblance of truth: because that from that place forward there is no coined gold: but that which is thus coined doth run currant in the buying of marchandise and other things.

In the yéere 1508. one Alfonso de Hoieda with the fauour of Don Fernando purposed to goe vnto Tierra firma to conquer the prouince of Darien. He went forth at his owne charges, & discovered The Firme land, where it is called Vraba, which he named Castilia del Oro, that is Golden Castilia, because of the gold which they found among the sand along the coast: And they were the first Spanyards that did this. Alfonso de Hoieda went first from the Island of Hispaniola and the citie of San Domingo with fower ships and thrée hundred soldiers, leauing behinde him the bachiler Anciso, who afterwards compiled a booke of these disco- ueries. And after him there went also one ship with victuals, munition, and 150. Spanyards. He went on land at Carthagená: but there the people of the countrey tooke, slew and eate 70. of his soldiers, whereupon he grew very weake.

In this yéere 1508. one Diego de Niquesa prepared seuen ships in the port of Beata to goe vnto Veragua, and carried in them almost 800. men. When he came to Carthagená he found there Alfonso de Hoieda sore spoiled with his former losse: but then they both ioined together, and went on land and auenged themselues of the people. And in this voiage Diego de Niquesa went and discovered the coast called Nombre de Dios, and went vnto the sound of Darien, and called it Puerto de Misas, which is vpon the riuier of Pito. When they were come vnto Veragua, he went on shore with his armie, his soldiers being out of hope to retorne to Hispaniola. Alfonso de Hoieda began a fortesse in Caribana against the Caribes; which was the first towne that the Spanyards builded in the Firme land: and in Nombre de Dios they built another, and called it Nuestra Sennora de la Antigua. They builded also the towne of Vraba. And there they left for their capitaine and lieutenant one Francis Pizarro, who was there much troubled. They builded other towns also, whose names I here omit. But these captaines had not that good successe which they hoped for.

In the yéere 1509. the second Admirall Don Diego Columbus went into the Island of Hispaniola with his wife and houshold: And she being a gentlewoman carried with her many other women of good families, which were there married, and so the Spanyards and Castilians began to people the countrey: for Don Fernando the king had giuen them licence to discover and people the townes of Hispaniola; so that the same place grew to be famous and much frequented. The foresaid Admirall also gaue order to people the Island of Cuba, which is very great and large, and placed there as his lieutenant one Diego Velasques, who went with his father in the second voiage.

In the yéere 1511. in the moneth of Aprill Alfonso de Albuquerque went from the citie of Cochin vnto Malacca. In which yéere and moneth the Chineans went from Malacca into their owne countrey, and Alfonso sent with them for master a Portugall called Duarte Fernandes,

nandes, with letters also and order vnto the king of the Mantias, which now is called Sian standing in the South. They passed through the streight of Cincapura, and sailed towards the north, went along the coast of Patane vnto the citie of Cuy, and from thence to Odia which is the chiefe citie of the kingdome, standing in 14. degrés of northerly latitude. The king greatly honoured and welcomed Duarte Fernandes, being the first Portugall that he had séene, and with him he sent backe ambassadours to Albuquerque. They passed ouer land towards the west vnto the citie of Tanaçerim standing vpon the sea on the other side in 12. degrés, where they imbarcked themselues in two ships, and sailed along the coast vnto the citie of Malacca, leauing it all discovered.

The Streight of Cincapura. Odia the chiefe citie of Sian.

Tanaçerim.

The people of this countrey of Sian are people that eate of all kinde of beastes, or vermine. They haue a delight to carrie round bels within the skin of their priuie members: which is forbidden to the king and the religious people. It is said that of all other people of those parts they be most vertuous and honest. They commend themselues much for their chastitie and pouertie. They bring no hennes nor doues vp in their houses. This kingdome hath in length 250. leagues, and in bredth 80. Of this only kingdome the king may bring forth into the field thirtie thousand elephants, when he goeth to warre, besides those which remaine in the cities for the garde of them. The king much esteémeth a white elephant, and a red one also, that hath eies like vnto flaming fire.

M. Ralph Fitch which had bene in this countrey brought diuers of these bels into England.

There is in this countrey a certaine small vermine, which vseth to cleaue fast to the trunk of the elephant, and draweth the blood of the elephant, and so he dieth thereof. The skull of this vermine is so hard, that the shot of an handgun cannot enter it: they haue in their liuers the figures of men and women, which they call Toketa, and are much like vnto a mandrake. And they affirme that he which hath one of them about him cannot die with the stroke of any iron. They haue also wilde kine in this countrey, in the heads of whome they finde stones, which are of vertue to bring good hap and fortune to marchants.

The liuer of a little beast good against any wound of iron.

After that Duarte Fernandes had béen with the Mantales or people of Sian, Alfonso de Albuquerque sent thither a knight called Ruy Nunnez de Acunna with letters and ambassage vnto the king of the Seguiues, which we call Pegu. He went in a lunco of the countrey in sight of the Cape Rachado, and from thence went vnto the citie of Pera which standeth fast by the riuier Salano, and many other villages standing all along this riuier, where Duarte Fernandes had béene before, vnto the cities of Tanaçerim and of Martauan, standing in 15. degrés toward the north, and the citie of Pegu standeth in 17. This was the first Portugall, which trauailed in that kingdome: and he gaue good information of that countrey, and of the people, which vse to were bels in their priuities euen as the Mantales doe.

Pegu.

Pera.

Master Ralph Fitch saw this in Pegu also.

In the end of this yéere 1511. Alfonso de Albuquerque sent thrée ships to the Islands of Banda, and Maluco. And there went as Generall of them one Antonio de Breu, and with him also went one Francis Serrano: and in these ships there were 120. persons. They passed through the Streight of Saban, and along the Island of Samatra, and others, leauing them on the left hand, towards the east: and they called them the Salites. They went also to the Islands of Palimbam and La Suparam; from whence they sailed by the noble Island of Iaua, and they ran their course east, sailing betwéene it and the Island of Madura. The people of this Island are very warlike and strong, and doe little regard their liues. The women also are there hired for the warres: and they fall out often together, and kill one another, as the Mocós doe, delighting onely in shedding of blood.

Barros decadi. 2. lib. 6. cap. 7. The Isles of Banda and Maluco.

The Salites.

Iaua. Madura.

Beyond the Island of Iaua they sailed along by another called Bali: and then came also vnto others called Aujaue, Cambaba, Solor, *Galao, Mallua, Vitara, Rosalanguin, & *Arus, from whence are brought delicate birds, which are of great estimation because of their feathers: they came also to other Islands lying in the same parallele on the south side in 7. or 8. degrés of latitude. And they be so nere the one to the other, that they séeme at the first to be one entire and maine land. The course by these Islands is aboue fíue hundred leagues. The ancient Cosmographers call all these Islands by the name Iaos: but late experience hath found their names to be very diuers, as you séc. Beyond these there are other Islands toward the north, which are inhabited with whiter people going arraigned in shirts, doublets

Bali.

* Or Guliam. * Or Aru.

The people of
the Isles of Ma-
luco wear such
apparell.

Gouvernours car-
rying red staues
like those of
China.
Ternate.

Burro.
Amboino.
Guliguli.

Cloues, nutmegs,
and mace in 8.
degreas toward
the south.

Mindanao.
Maluco.

Monstrous men.
Batochina.

The flowers of
Xistus and
Arbor tristia are
such.

Barros deced. 2.
lib. 7. cap. 1.

doublets and slops like vnto the Portugals, hauing also money of siluer. The gouernours among them doe carrie in their hands red staues, whereby they seéme to haue some affinitie with the people of China. There are other Islands and people about this place, which are redde; and it is reported that they are of the people of China.

Antonie de Breu and those that went with him tooke their course toward the north, where is a smal Island called Gumnape or Ternate, from the highest place whereof there fall continually into the sea flakes or streames like vnto fire; which is a woonderfull thing to behold. From thence they went to the Islands of Burro and Amboino, and came to an anker in an hauen of it called Guliguli, where they went on land and tooke a village standing by the riuier, where they found dead men hanging in the houses; for the people there are eaters of mans flesh. Here the Portugals burnt the ship wherein Francis Serrano was, for she was old and rotten. They went to a place on the other side standing in 8. degrées toward the south, where they laded cloues, nutmegs, and mace in a lunco or barke which Francis Serrano bought here.

They say that not farre from the Islands of Banda there is an Island, where there bréedeth nothing else but snakes, and the most are in one caue in the midst of the land. This is a thing not much to be woondred at; for as much as in the Leuant sea hard by the Isles of Maiorca and Minorca there is another Island of old named Ophiusa, and now Formentera, wherein there is great abundance of these vermine: and in the rest of the Islands lying by it there are none.

In the yéere 1512. they departed from Banda toward Malacca, and on the baxos or flats of Lucapinho Francis Serrano perished in his lunke or barke, from whence escaped vnto the Isle of Mindanao nine or ten Portugals which were with him, and the kings of Maluco sent for them. These were the first Portugals that came to the Islands of Cloues, which stand from the Equinoctiall line towards the north in one degré, where they liued seuen or eight yéeres.

The Island of Gumnape now called Ternate is much to be admired, for that it casteth out fire. There were some princes of the Moores and couragious Portugals which determined to goe néere to the fire place to see what it was; but they could neuer come néere it. But Antonie Galuano hearing of it, vnderooke to goe vp to it, and did so, and found a riuier so extreme cold, that he could not suffer his hand in it, nor yet put any of the water in his mouth: And yet this place standeth vnder the line, where the sunne continually burneth. In these Islands of Maluco there is a kinde of men that haue spurres on their ankles like vnto cocks. And it was told me by the king of Tydore, that in the Islands of Batochina there were people that had tailes, and had a thing like vnto a dug between their cods, out of the which there came milke. There are smal hennes also which lay their egges vnder the ground about a fathome and an halfe, and the egges are bigger then ducks egges, and many of these hennes are blacke in their flesh. There are hogs also with hornes, and parats which prattle much, which they call Noris. There is also a riuier of water so hot, that whatsoever liuing creature cometh into it, their skins will come off, and yet fish bréede in it. There are crabs which be very swéete, and so strong in their clawes, that they will breake the iron of a pikeaxe. There be others also in the sea little and hairie, but whosoever eateth of them dieth immediately. There be likewise certaine oisters, which they doe call Bras, the shels whereof haue so large a compasse, that they doe Christen in them. In the sea also there are liuely stones, which doe grow and increase like vnto fish, whereof very good lime is made: and if they let it lie when it is taken out of the water, it looseth the strength, and it neuer burneth after. There is also a certaine trée, which beareth flowers at the sunne set, which fall downe as soone as they be growne. There is a fruit also, as they say, whereof if a woman that is conceaued of childe eateth, the childe by & by moueth. There is further a kinde of herbe there growing, which followeth the sunne, and remooueth after it, which is a very strange and maruailous thing.

In the yéere 1512. in the moneth of Ianuarie Alfonsus de Albuquerque went backe from Malaca vnto Goa, and the ship wherein he went was lost, and the rest went from his companie.

panie. Simon de Andrada, and a few Portugals were driuen vnto the Islands of *Saldina*, Th. des of Saldina. being many & full of palme trées: and they stand lowe by the water: which staied there till they knew what was become of their gouernour. These were the first Portugals that had sene those Islands, wherein there growe Cocos, which are very good against all kinde of poison.

In this yéere 1512.* there went out of Castile one Iohn de Solis borne in Lisbon, and chiefe pilot vnto Don Fernando. And he hauing licence went to discouer the coast of Brasill. He tooke the like course that the Pinsons had done: he went also to the Cape of S. Augustine, and went forwards to the south, coasting the shore and land, and he came vnto The Port de Lagoa: and in 35. degrés of southerly latitude he found a riuer which they of Brasill call Parana-guaçu, that is, The great Water. He sawe there signes of siluer, and therefore called it Rio de Plata, that is, The Riuer of siluer. And it is said that at that time he went farther because he liked the countrey well: but he returned backe againe into Spaine, and made account of all things to Don Fernando, demanding of the king the gouernment thereof, which the king granted him. Whereupon he provided thrée ships and with them in the yéere 1515. he went againe into that kingdome; but he was there slaine. These Solisses were great discoverers in those partes, and spent therein their liues and goods. Iohn de Solis. Rio de Plata. Pet. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 10.

In the same yéere 1512. Iohn Ponce of Leon, which had béene gouernour of the Isle of S. Iohn armed two ships and went to séeke the Isle of Boyuca, where the naturals of the countrey reported to be a Wel, which maketh old men yoong. Whereupon he laboured to finde it out, and was in searching of it the space of sixe monethes, but could finde no such thing. He entred into the Isle of Bimini; and discouered a point of the firme land standing in 25. degrés towards the north vpon Easter day, and therefore he named it Florida. And because the land seemed to yeeld gold and siluer and great riches, he begged it of the king Don Fernando, but he died in the discouerie of it, as many more haue done. Pet. Martyr. decad. 2. cap. 10. Gomara historia general. lib. 2. cap. 10. Bimini Islands. Florida. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 10.

In the yéere 1513. Vasco Nunnes de Valboa hearing spéech and newes of The south sea, determined to goe thither, although his companie dissuaded him from that action. But being a man of good valure with those soldiers that he had, being 290. he resolved to put himselfe into that ieopardie. He went therefore from Dariene the first day of September, carrying some Indians of the countrey with him to be his guides, and he marched ouerthwart the land sometimes quietly, sometimes in war: and in a certaine place called Careca he found Negroes captiues with curled haire. This Valboa came to the sight of the South Sea on the 25. day of the said moneth, and on Saint Michaels day came vnto it: where he imbarcked himselfe against the will of Chiapes, who was the Lord of that coast, who wished him not to doe so, because it was very dangerous for him. But he desirous to haue it knowne, that he had béene vpon those seas, went forwards, and came backe againe to land in safetie, and with great contentment, bringing with him good store of gold, siluer, and pearles, which there they tooke. For which good seruice of his Don Ferdinando the king greatly fauoured and honoured him. The South sea discouered.

This yéere 1513. in the moneth of Februarie Alfonsus de Albuquerque went frō the citie of Goa towards the streight of Mecha with twenty ships. They arriued at the citie of Aden and battered it, and passed forward and entred into the Streight. They say that they saw a crosse in the element and worshipped it. They wintered in the Island of Camaran. This was the first Portugall capitaine that gaue information of those seas, and of that of Persia, being things in the world of great account. Barros decad. 2. lib. 7. cap. 7. The streight of Mecha or of the Red sea discouered. The Isle of Camaran.

In the yéere 1514. and in the moneth of May there went out of Saint Lucar one Pedro Arias de Auila at the commandement of Don Ferdinando. He was the fourth gouernour of Castillia del Oro or Golden Castile: for so they named the countreyes of Dariene, Carthagena, and Vraba, and that countrey which was newly conquered. He carried with him his wife the Lady Elizabeth and 1500 men in seuen ships; and the king appointed Vasco Nunnez de Valboa gouernour of the South Sea and of that coast. Pet. Martyr. decad. 3. cap. 5.

* According to Herrera this was in 1508. "In the year 1508," says he, "John Diaz de Solis, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon sailed from Sevil, in the two Caravels the King had fitted out, and from the Islands of Cabo Verde passed over directly to Cape St. Augustin, and proceeding thence to the Southward, coasting along the Continent, came into about forty degrees of South Latitude, erecting Crosses wheresoever they landed, and took possession in the most solemn Manner." See Herrera's History of the West Indies. Vol. i. p. 332. Edit.

The Island of
Tararequi or of
pearles in the
South sea.
Martyr. decad. 3.
cap. 10.
Gomara historie
general. lib. 6.
cap. 3.

In the beginning of the yéere 1515. the gouernour Pedro Arias de Auila sent one Gaspar Morales with 150. men vnto the Gulfe of S. Michael to discover the Islands of Tararequi Chiapes, and Tumaccus. There was a Casique Valboas friend which gaue him many Canoas or boates made of one trée to rowe in, wherein they passed vnto The Island of pearles: the Lord whereof resisted them at their coming on land. But Chiapes and Tumaccus did pacifie him in such order, that the capitaine of the Isle had them home vnto his house, and made much of them, and receiued baptisme at their hands, naming him Pedro Arias after the gouernours name, and he gaue vnto them for this a basket full of pearles waying 110. pounds, whereof some were as big as hasell nuts of 20. 25. 26. or 31. carats: & euery carat is fower graines. There was giuen for one of them 1200 ducats. This Island of Tararequi standeth in 5. degrés of latitude towards the north.

Pet. Martyr.
decad. 3. cap. 10.

In this yéere 1515. in the moneth of March the gouernour sent one Gonsaluo de Badaios with 80. soldiers to discover new lands, and they went from Dariene to Nombre de Dios, where came vnto them one Lewis de Mercado with fiftie men more, which the gouernour sent to aide him. They determined to discover toward the South, saying that that countrey was the richest. They tooke with them Indians to be their guides, and going along the coast they found slaues marked with irons as the Portugals doe vse; and hauing marched a good way through the countreyes with great trauaile they gathered together much golde and fortie slaues to doe them seruice: but one Casique named Pariza did set vpon them and slue and tooke the most part of them.

Cape de Guerra.

Punta de Borica.
Cape Blanco.
Panama peopled.
Barros decad. 2.
lib. 10. cap. 5.
Orosius lib. 10.
pag. 277.
An ambassage to
Ismael king of
Persia.

The gouernour hearing of these newes, the same yéere 1515. sent forth his sonne Iohn Arias de Auila to be reuenged and to discover also by sea and by land: They went westward to Cape de Guerra standing in little more than sixe degrés towards the north, and from thence vnto Punta de Borica, and to Cape Blanco or the White Cape standing in 8. degrés and an halfe: they discovered 250. leagues as they affirme, and peopled the citie of Panama.

In this very yéere 1515. in the moneth of May Alfonsus de Albuquerque gouernour of India sent from the citie of Ormuz one Fernando Gomes de Lemos as ambassadour vnto Xec or Shaugh Ismael king of Persia: and it is declared that they trauailed in it 300. leagues, and that it is a pleasant countrey like vnto France. This Xec or Shaugh Ismael went on hunting and fishing for troutes, whereof there are many. And there be the fairest women in all the world. And so Alexander the great affirmed, when he called them The women with golden eies. And this yéere this woorthy Viceroy Alfonsus de Albuquerque died.

Pepper a principall
merchandise
in China.

In the yéere 1416. and one hundred yéeres after the taking of Ceuta in Barbarie, Lopez Suares being gouernour of India, there was a dispatch made by the commandement of the kings highnes vnto one Fernando Perez de Andrada to passe to the great countrey and kingdome of China. He went from the citie of Cochín in the moneth of Aprill. They receiued pepper, being the principal merchandise to be sold in all China of any value: And he was farther commanded by the king Don Emmanuel to goe also to Bengala with his letter and dispatch to a knight called Iohn Coelo. This was the first Portugall, as farre as I know, which drunke of the water of the riuer Ganges.

The death of
Fernando king
of Spaine.
Orosius lib. 11.
fol. 312.
China discover-
ed.

Canton.

*Or Pakin.

This yéere 1516. died Don Fernando king of Spaine.

In the yéere 1517. this Fernando Perez went vnto the citie of Malacha, and in the moneth of Iune he departed from thence towards China with eight sailes fower Portugals and the others Malayans. He arriued in China: And because he could not come on land without an ambassage, there was one Thomas Perez which had order for it: and he went from the citie of Canton, where they came to an anker: They went by land fower hundred leagues, and came vnto the citie of *Pekin, where the king was, for this prouince and countrey is the biggest that is in the worlde. It beginneth at Sailana in twentie degrés of latitude towards the north, and it endeth almost in 50. degrés. Which must be 500. leagues in length: and they say that it containeth 300. leagues in bredth. Fernando Perez was 14. moneths in the Isle Da Veni- niaga, learning as much as he could of the countrey, according as the king his master had commanded him. And although one Raphael Perestrello had bene there in a Iunke or barke of certaine marchants of Malaca, yet vnto Fernando Perez there ought to be giuen the praise of this discoverie: as well for that he had commandement from the king, as in discovering so much

Ilha da Veni-
niaga or Tama accord-
ing to Orosius.

much with Thomas Perez by land, and George Mascarenhas by sea, and for coasting vnto the citie of Bequiem standing in 24. degrees of latitude.

In this same yéere 1517. Charles, which afterward was Emperour, came into Spaine, and tooke possession thereof. And in the same yéere Francis Fernandes de Cordoua, Christopher Morantes, and Lopez Ochoa armed threé ships at their owne proper charges from the Island of Cuba. They had also with them a barke of Diego Velasques, who then was gouernour: They came on land in Iucatan standing in 20. degrés of latitude at a point which they called Punta de las Duennas, that is to say, The point of Ladies, which was the first place wherein they had seen Temples and buildings of lime and stone. The people here goe better apparelled then in any other place. They haue crosses which they worship, setting them vpon their tombes when they be buried. Whereby it seemeth that in times past they had in that place the faith of Christ among them. And some say that thereabouts were The seven Cities. They went round about it towards the north which is on the right hand: from whence they turned backe vnto the Island of Cuba with some examples of gold, and men which they had taken. And this was the first beginning of the discouerie of New Spaine.

In the yéere 1518. Lopez Suares commanded Don Iohn de Silueira to goe to the Islands of Maldiua: and he made peace with them: and from thence he went to the citie of Chatigam situated on the mouth of the riuer Ganges vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. For this riuer, and the riuer Indus, which standeth an hundred leagues beyond the citie of Diu, and that of Canton in China doe all fall into the sea vnder one parallele or latitude. And although before that time Fernan Perez had been commanded to goe to Bengala, yet notwithstanding Iohn de Silueira ought to beare away the commendation of this discouerie: because he went as capitaine generall, and remained there longest, learning the commodities of the countrey, and maners of the people.

In the said yéere 1518. the first day of May Diego Velasques gouernour of the Island of Cuba sent his nephew Iohn de Grisalua with fower ships & two hundred soldiers to discover the land of Iucatan. And they founde in their way the Island of Cosumel standing towards the north in 19. degrés, and named it Santa Cruz, because they came to it the third of May. They coasted the land lying vpon the left hand of the Gulfe, and came to an Island called Ascension, because they came vnto it vpon Ascension day: They went vnto the end of it standing in 16. degrees of latitude: from whence they came backe because they could finde no place to goe out at: and from hence they went round about it to another riuer, which they called The riuer of Grisalua standing in 17. degrés of latitude: the people thereabout troubled them sore, yet notwithstanding they brought from thence some gold, siluer and feathers, being there in great estimation, and so they turned backe againe to the Island of Cuba.

In the same yéere 1518. one Francis Garay armed threé ships in the Isle of Iamaica at his owne charges, and went towards the point of Florida standing in 25. degrés towards the north, seeming to them to be an Island most pleasant, thinking it better to people Islands than the firme land, because they could best conquere them and keepe them. They went there on land, but the people of Florida killed many of them, so that they durst not inhabite it. So they sailed along the coast, and came vnto the riuer of Panuco, standing 500. leagues from the point of Florida in sailing along the coast; but the people resisted them in euery place. Many of them also were killed in Chila, whom the Sauages flaid and eate, hanging vp their skinnés in their Temples in memoriall of their valiantnes. Notwithstanding all this Francis de Garay went thither the next yéere and begged the gouernment of that countrey of the Emperour, because he sawe in it some shew of gold and siluer.

In the yéere 1519. in the moneth of Februarie Fernando Cortes went from the Island of Cuba to the land which is called Noua Spania with 11. ships and 550. Spanyards in them. The first place where he went on land was the Island of Cosumel; where they immediately destroyed all the Idols, and set crosses on the altars and the images of the virgine Marie. From this Island they went and arriued on the firme land of Iucatan, at the point De las Duennas, or the point of Ladies, and went thence to the riuer of Tauasco, and set vpon a citie fast by called Potoncian inuironed with wood, and the houses were built with lime and stone, and

Foquem.

The coming of Charles the 5th into Spaine.

Gomar.hist.gen. lib. 3. cap. 2.

Iucatan.

The seven Cities.

Castagnedolib. 4. cap. 36. and 37. Orosius lib. 11. fol. 315. pag. 3. Chatigam in Bengala.

Pet. Martyr. deead. 4. cap. 3. Gomar.hist.gen. lib. 2. cap. 14. & cap. 17.

Or Acusamil.

The Isle of Ascension. The Bay of Honduras.

Rio de Grisalua.

Gomar.hist.gen. lib. 2. cap. 18. & 61.

Panuco.

Pet. Martyr. deead. 4. cap. 6.

Gomar.hist.gen. lib. 2. cap. 18. &c.

Tauasco. Potoncian now called Victoria.

S. Iohn de Vill-
hua.

and couered with tile: they fought there egarly; and there appeered vnto them S. Iames on horsebacke, which increased their courage. They called that citie Victoria: and they were the first people which were subdued to the Spanyards obedience in all Newe Spaine. From hence they went discovering the coast till they came vnto a place named S. Iohn de Villhua, distant as they said from Mexico where the king Muteçuma was, 60. or 70. leagues: and there was a seruant of his that gouerned that prouince, named Tendilli, which gaue them good entertainment, although they vnderstood not one another. But Cortes had 20. women, whereof one was called Marine borne in that countrey: They were the first that were baptized in New Spaine. And from that time forward Marine and Aguilar serued as interpreters. Tendilli presently gaue knowledge of this vnto Muteçuma, that a kinde of bearded people were arriued in his countrey: for so they called the Castillians. But he was troubled vpon that newes: for his Gods, (which are to be thought to be diuels) had told him, that such people as the Spanyards were shoud destroy his law and countrey, and be Lords thereof. And therefore he sent gifts vnto Cortes, in value 20. thousand ducats, but would not come to him.

Gomara historie
general. lib. 2.
cap. 21. 22. 23.
24.

Zempoallan.

Chiauitlan.

Villa rica de la
vera Cruz.

Because S. Iohn de Villhua was then no place for a nauie to ride in, Cortes sent Francis de Monteio, and the pilot Antonie Alaminos in two brigandines to discover that coast; who came to a place where they might ride without danger. They came to Panuco standing in 23. degrés northward: from whence they came backe vpon an agreement to goe vnto Cu-luacan being an hauen of more safetie. They set saile, but Cortes went by land westward with the most part of his men on horsebacke, and they came vnto a citie called Zempoallan, where they were well receiued. And from thence he went to another towne called Chiauitlan: with the Lord of which towne as with all the countrey besides he made league to be against Muteçuma. And when he knew that his ships were come, he went vnto them, and there builded a towne, and called it Villa rica de la vera cruz. From whence he sent vnto Charles the Emperour a present, and made report of all that he had done, and how he determined to goe to Mexico, and to visite Muteçuma: and besought the Emperour to giue him the gouernment of that countrey. And because his people should not rise in mutinie, as they began, he destroyed all his ships.

Gomara historie
general. lib. 2.
cap. 61.

Gomara. hist. gen.
lib. 2. cap. 25.

Zalapan.
Sicuchimatl.

Zaclotan.

Tlaxcallan.

Muteçuma
prisoer.

Cortes presently went from Villa rica de la vera Cruz, leauing there 150. Spanish horsemen, and many Indians to serue them; and the villages round about became his friends. He went vnto the citie of Zempoallan: there he heard newes that Francis Garay was on the coast with four ships to come on land: And by subtiltie he got nine of his men; of whom he vnderstood, that Garay had béene in Florida, and came vnto the riuer Panuco, where he got some golde, determining to stay there in a towne which is now called Almeria.

Cortes ouerthrew the idols in Zempoallan, & the tombes of their kings, whome they worshipped as Gods, and tolde them that they were to worship the true God. From thence he went toward Mexico the 16. day of August 1519. and trauiled thrée daies iourney, and came to the citie of Zalapan, and to another beyond it named Sicuchimatl, where they were well receiued, and offered to be conducted to Mexico, because Muteçuma had giuen such commandement. Beyond this place he passed with his companie a certaine hill of thrée leagues high, wherein there were vines. In another place they found aboue a thousand loades of wood ready cut; and beyond they met with a plaine countrey, and in going through the same, he named it Nombre de Dios. At the bottome of the mountaine he rested in a towne called Teuhixuacan, and from thence they went through a desolate countrey, and so came to another mountaine that was very colde and full of snow, and they lay in a towne named Zaclotan: And so from towne to towne they were well receiued and feasted till they came into another realme named Tlaxcallan, which waged warre against Muteçuma, and being valiant they skirmished with Cortes; but in the end they agréed and entred into league with him against the Mexicans: and so they went from countrey to countrey till they came within sight of Mexico. The king Muteçuma fearing them, gaue them good entertainment with lodging and all things necessarie: and they were with this for a time contented: but mistrusting that he and his should be slaine, he tooke Muteçuma prisoner and brought him to
his

his lodging with good garde. Cortes demanded how farre his realme did extend, and sought to know the mines of gold and siluer that were in it, and how many kings neighbours to Muteçuma dwelled therein, requiring certaine Indians to be informed thereof, whereof he had eight prouided: and he ioined to them eight Spanyards, and sent them two and two into fower countreys, namely into Zuçolla, Malinaltepec, Tenich, & Tututepec. They which went vnto Zuçolla went 80. leagues: for so much it was from Mexico thither: They which went to Malinaltepec, went 70. leagues, séeing goodly countries, and brought examples of gold, which the naturals of the countrey tooke out of great riuers: and all this prouince belonged vnto Muteçuma.

Zuçolla.
Malinaltepec.
Tenich.
Tututepec.

The countrey of Tenich and vp the riuier were not subiect to Muteçuma, but had warre with him, and would not suffer the Mexicans to enter into their territorie. They sent ambassadors vnto Cortes with presents, offering him their estate, and amitie; whereof Muteçuma was nothing glad. They which went to Tututepec standing néere the South sea did also bring with them examples of gold, and praised the pleasantnes of the countrey, and the multitude of good harbours vpon that coast, shewing to Cortes a cloth of cotton wooll all wouen with goodly workes, wherein all the coast with the hauens and créekes were set forth. But this thing then could not be prosecuted by reason of the comming of Pamphilus de Naruæz into the countrey, who set all the kingdome of Mexico in an vprore.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 2. cap.
48.

Pamphilus de
Naruæz.
Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 4. cap. 2.

The discoverie
of Magal-
lanes from the
riuier of Plate
forward.

In this yéere 1519. the tenth day of August one Fernande de Magallanes departed from Siuill with fise ships toward the Islands of Maluco: he went along the coast of Brasill till he came vnto the riuier of Plate, which the Castillians had before discovered. From thence therefore he began his discoverie, and came vnto an hauen which he called The Porte of Saint Iulian standing in 49. degrés, and there he entred and wintred: they endured much cold by reason of snow and ice: the people of that countrey they found to be of great stature, and of great strength, taking men by the legs and renting them in the middest as easily as one of vs will rent an hen: they liue by fruits and hunting. They called them Patagones, but the Brasilians doe call them Morcas.

Patagones

In the yéere 1520. in the beginning of the moneth of September growing then somewhat temperate they went out of the port and riuier of Saint Iulian, hauing lost in it one of their ships, and with the other fower he came vnto the Streights named after the name of Magallanes standing in 52. degrés and a halfe. From thence one of the ships returned backe vnto Castile, whereof was capitaine and pilot one Stephen de Porto a Portugall, and the other threé went forward, entring into a mightie sea called Pacificum, without séeing any inhabited land till they came in 13. degrés towards the north of the Equinoctiall: in which latitude they came vnto Islands which they called Los Iardines, and from thence they sailed to the Archipelagus of S. Lazarus, and in one of the Islands called Matan Magallanes was slaine, and his ship was burnt, and the other two went vnto Borneo, and so from place to place they went backe vntill they came to the Islands of Malucos, leauing many others discovered, which I reherse not because I finde not this voiage exactly written.

Los Iardines.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 4. cap. 3.

Pet. Martyr.
decad. 5. cap. 7.

About this time Pope Leo. the tenth sent one Paulus Centurio as ambassadour to the great Duke of Moscouie to wish him to send into India an armie along the coast of Tartarie. And by the reasons of this ambassadour the said Duke was almost persuaded vnto that action, if other inconueniences had not letted him.

Gomar. lib. 4.
cap. 17.
Ramusius 1. vol.
fol. 374.

In this same yéere 1520. in Februarie Diego Lopes de Sequeira gouernour of India went towards the Streight of Mecha and carried with him the ambassadour of Presbyter Iohn, and Roderigo de Lima who also went as ambassadour to him. They came vnto the Island of Ma-
qua standing in the Red sea on the side of Africa in 17. degrés towards the north: where he set the ambassadours on land, with the Portugals that should goe with them. Peter de Couillan had béene there before, being sent thither by king Iohn the second of Portugall; but yet Francis Aluarez gaue principall light and knowledge of that countrey.

Maqua.

Ramusius 1. vol.
fol. 190.

In the yeere 1520. the licentiate Lucas Vasques de Aillon and other inhabitants of S. Domingo furnished two ships, and sent them to the Isles of Lucayos to get slaues, and finding none they passed along by the firme land beyond Florida vnto certaine countreyes called

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Chicora

Chicora.
Gualdapé.

Chicora and Gualdapé, vnto the riuer Iordan and the Cape of Saint Helena standing in 32. degrees toward the north. They of the countrey came downe to the sea side to see the ships, as hauing neuer before scene the like: The Spanyards went on land where they receiued good entertainment, and had giuen vnto them such things as they lacked. But they brought many of them into their ships and then set saile and brought them away for slaues: but in the way one of their ships sunke, and the other was also in great hazard. By this newes the Licentiate Aillon knowing the wealth of the countrey, begged the government thereof of the Emperour, and it was giuen him: whither he went to get money to pay his debt.

Gomara hist.
gen.lib. 3. cap. 48.

About this time Diego Velasques gouernour of Cuba hearing the good successe of Cortes, and that he had begged the gouernment of New Spaine, which he held to be his, he furnished out thither against Cortes 18. ships with 1000. men and 80. horses, whereof he sent as General one Pamphilus de Naruaez. He came vnto the towne called Villa rica de la vera Cruz, where he tooke land, and commanded those of the countrey to receiue him as gouernour thereof: But they tooke his messenger prisoner, and sent him to Mexico where Cortes was. Which thing being knowne of Cortes, he wrote letters vnto Naruaez not to raise any vprore in the countrey which he had discovered, offering him obedience if he had any commission from the Emperour; but he corrupted the people of the countrey with money: Whereupon Cortes went from Mexico and tooke Naruaez prisoner in the towne of Zampoallan, and put out one of his eies.

The result of the
Mexicans in ab-
sence of Cortes.

Naruaez being thus taken prisoner, his armie submitted themselves to Cortes, and obeyed him. Whereupon presently he dispatched 200. soldiers vnto the riuer of Garay, and he sent Iohn Vasquez de Leon with other two hundred vnto Cosaalco, and withall sent a Spanyard with the newes of his victorie vnto Mexico. But the Indians being in the meane time risen, hurt the messenger. Which being knowne to Cortes, he mustered his men, and found a thousand footemen and two hundred horsemen, with the which he went towards Mexico, where he found Peter de Aluarado, and the rest which he had left there alieue & in safetie, wherewith he was greatly pleased, and Muteçuma made much of him. But yet the Mexicans ceased not but made warre against him: and the warre grew so hot that they killed their king Muteçuma with a stone, and then there rose vp another king such an one as pleased them, till such time as they might put the Spanyards out of the citie, being no more than 504. footemen, and fortie horsemen. The Spanyards with great losse being driuen out of Mexico, retired themselves with much adoe to Tlaxcallan, where they were well receiued: and so they gathered together 900. Spanyards, 80. horsemen, and two hundred thousand Indians, their friends, and allies: and so they went backe againe to take Mexico in the moneth of August in the yéere 1521.

Muteçuma
slaine.

Gomara hist. gen.
lib. 3. cap. 50.

Cortes obtaining still more and more victories determined to see further within the countrey: and for this purpose in the yéere 1521. and in October he sent out one Gonsalo de Sandoual with 200. footemen and 35 horsemen, and certaine Indians his friends vnto Tochtepec and Coazacoalco, which had rebelled, but at length yéelded. And they discovered the countrey, and built a towne 120. leagues from Mexico, and named it Medelin, and another towne they made naming it Santo Spirito fower leagues from the sea vpon a riuer; and these two townes kept the whole countrey in obedience.

Emmanuel
death.
Orosius lib. 2.
fol. 366.
Gomara historie
general. lib. 4.
cap. 8.
Burro.
Timor.
Eude.

This yéere 1521. in December Emmanuell king of Portugall died, and after him his sonne king Iohn the 3. reigned.

In the yéere 1521. there went from Maluco one of Magellans ships laden with cloues: they victualled themselves in the Island of Burro, and from thence went to Timor which standeth in 11. degrés of southerly latitude. Beyond this Island one hundred leagues they discovered certaine Islands and one named Eude, finding the places from thence forward peopled. Afterward passing without Samatra they met with no land till they fell with the Cape of Bona Sperança, where they tooke in fresh water and wood: So they came by the Islands of Cape Verde, and from thence to Siuill, where they were notably receiued, as well for the cloues that they brought, as that they had compassed about the world.

Gomara hist.
gen.lib. 6. cap. 4.

In the yéere 1522. in Ianuarie one Gilgonzales armed fower ships in the Island of Tara-requi standing in the South sea with intent to discover the coast of Nicaragua, and especially a streight

a streight or passage from the South sea into the North sea. And sailing along the coast he came vnto an hauen called S. Vincent, and there landed with 100. Spanyards and certaine horsemen, and went within the land 200. leagues, and he brought with him 200. pesos of gold, and so came backe againe to S. Vincent: where he found his pilot Andrew Nigno, who was as far as Tecoaatepec in 16. degrés to the north, and had sailed three hundred leagues: from whence they returned to Panama, and so ouer land to Hispaniola.

In the same yéere 1522. in the moneth of Aprill the other ship of Magallanes called The Trinitie went from the Island of Tidore, wherein was capitaine Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, shaping their course toward Noua Spania: and because winde was scant they stirred toward the northeast into 16. degrés, where they found two Islands, and named them the Isles of Saint Iohn, and in that course they came to another Island in 20. degrés, which they named La Griega, where the simple people came into their ships, of whom they kept some to shew them in Noua Spania: They were in this course fower monethes, vntil they came into 42. degrés of northerly latitude, where they did see sea fishes called Seales and Tunies. And the climate seemed vnto them comming newly out of the heat, to be so cold and vntemperate, that they could not well abide it, and therefore they turned backe againe to Tidore, being thereunto enforced also by contrarie windes. These were the first Spanyards which had bene in so high a latitude toward the north. And there they found one Antonie de Britto building a fortresse, which tooke from them their goods, and sent 48. of them prisoners to Malaca.

In this yéere 1522. Cortes desirous to haue some hauens on the South sea, and to discover the coast of Noua Spania on that side, whereof he had knowledge in Muteçuma his time, (because he thought by that way to bring the drugs from Maluco and Banda, and the spicerie from Iaua, with lesse trauaile and danger) he sent fower Spaniards with their guides to Tecoaatepec, Quahutemallan, and other hauens: where they were wel receiued, and brought some of the people with them to Mexico: And Cortes made much of them; and afterwards sent ten pilots thither to search the seas there about. They went 70. leagues in the sea but found no hauen. One Casique or Lord called Cuchataquir vsed them well, & sent with them to Cortes 200. of his men with a present of gold and siluer, and other things of the countrey: and they of Tecoaatepec did the like: and not long after, this Casique sent for aide to Cortes against his neighbours which did warre against him.

In the yéere 1523. Cortes sent vnto him for his aide Peter de Aluarado, with two hundred soldiers footemen, and thirtie horsemen, and the Caciques of Tecoaatepec and Quahutemallan asked them for the monsters of the sea which came thither the yéere past, meaning the ships of Gil Gonsales de Auila, being greatly amazed at the sight of them, and woondring much more when they heard, that Cortes had bigger then those: and they painted vnto them a mighty Carake with sixe masts, and sailes and shroudes, and men armed on horsebacke. This Aluarado went through the countrey and buildd there the city of Sant Iago or Saint Iames, and a towne which he called Segura leauing certaine of his people in it.

In the same yeere 1523. in the moneth of May Antonie de Britto being capitaine of the Isles of Maluco sent his cosen Simon de Breu to learne the way by the Isle of Borneo to Malaca: They came in sight of the Islands of Manada and Panguansara: They went through the straight of Treminao and Taguy: and to the Islands of Saint Michael standing in 7. degrés, and from thence discovered the Islands of Borneo, and had sight of Pedra branca or the White stone, and passed through the straight of Cincapura, & so to the citie of Malaca.

In this same yéere 1523. Cortes went with 300. footemen and 150. horsemen and 40000. Mexicans to Panuco both to discover it better, and also to inhabite it, and withall to be reuenged vpon them which had killed and eaten the soldiers of Francis Garay. They of Panuco resisted him, but Cortes in the end ouerthrew them, and conquered the countrey: And hard by Chila vpon the riuier he built a towne and named it Santo Stephano del puerto, leauing in it 100. footemen, and thirtie horsemen and one Peter de Valleio for lieutenant. This journey cost him 76. thousand Castillians, besides the Spanyards, horses, and Mexicans which died there.

Tecoaatepec.
Gomara historien
general. lib. 6.
cap. 12.

Castagneda Hist.
toria delle Indie
Orientali lib. 6.
cap. 41.
Gomara. hist.
gen. lib. 4. cap. 8.
& 12.
Two Islands in
16. degrees of
northerly lati-
tude.
42. degrees of
northerly lati-
tude.

Gomara. hist. gen.
lib. 6. cap. 12.

The South sea
first searched by
Cortes his pilots.

Tecoaatepec.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 6. cap. 12.

A wittie straw-
tageme.

Sant Iago built.

Castagneda hist.
delle Indie Ori-
entali lib. 6. c. 42.
Manada.
Panguansara.
The Islands of
S. Michael.
Borneo.
Pedra branca.

Gomara hist. gen.
lib. 2. cap. 61.

Santo Stephano
del puerto.

Gomara hist. gen.
lib. 2. cap. 61. &
en la Conquista
de Mexico.

Rio de las
Palmas.

Rio Montalto.

Chila.

Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 226.

Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 242.
San Gil de buena
Vista in the Bay
of Honduras.
Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 229.
& in sequentibus.

Oile distilling
out of hills.
Ibidem fol. 230.

Sant Iago de
Quahutemallan.

Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 233.
Villa del Espi-
ritu santo.
Chamolla.

Gomara en la
Conquista de
Mexico fol. 234.

In this yeere 1523. Francis de Garay made nine ships and two brigandines to goe to Panuco and to Rio de las Palmas to be there as gouernour: for that the Emperour had granted vnto him from the coast of Florida vnto Panuco, in regard of the charges, which he had béene at in that discouerie. He carried with him 850. soldiers, and 140. horses, and some men out of the Island of Iamaica, where he furnished his flect with munition for the warre: and he went vnto Xagua an hauen in the Island of Cuba, where he vnderstood that Cortes had peopled the coast of Panuco: and that it might not happen vnto him as it did to Pamphilus de Naruaez, he determined to take another companion with him, and desired the Doctor Zuazo to goe to Mexico and procure some agréement betwéene Cortes and him. And they departed from Xagua each one about his busines. Zuazo came in great ieopardie, and Garay went not cléere without. Garay arriued in Rio de las Palmas on S. Iames his day, and then he sent vp the riuer one Gonsaluo de Ocampo, who at his returne declared that it was an euill and desert countrey: but notwithstanding Garay went there on land with 400. footemen and some horsemen; and he commanded one Iohn de Grijalua to search the coast, and he himselfe marched by land towards Panuco, and passed a riuer which he named Rio Montalto; he entred into a great towne where they found many hennes, wherewith they refreshed themselves, and he tooke some of the people of Chila which he vsed for messengers to certaine places: And after great trauaile comming to Panuco they found no victuailes there by reason of the warres of Cortes and the spoile of the soldiers. Garay then sent one Gonçalo de Ocampo to Sant Isteuan del puerto to know whether they would receiue him or no. They had a good answer. But Cortes his men priuily by an ambushment tooke 40. of Garayes horsemen, alleaging that they came to vsurpe the gouernment of another: and besides this misfortune he lost fower of his ships: whereupon he left off to procéde any farther.

While Cortes was preparing to set forward to Panuco: Francis de las Casas, and Roderigo de la Paz arriued at Mexico with letters patents, wherein the Emperour gaue the gouernment of Nueua Spagna and all the countrey which Cortes had conquered to Cortes, and namely Panuco. Whereupon he staid his iourney. But he sent Diego de Ocampo with the said letters patents, and Pedro de Aluarado with store of footemen and horsemen. Garay knowing this thought it best to yéeld himselfe vnto Cortes his hands, and to go to Mexico; which thing he did hauing discovered a great tract of land.

In this yeere 1523. Gil Gonçales de Auila made a discouerie, and peopled a towne called San Gil de buena vista standing in 14. degrés toward the north, and almost in the bottome of the Bay called the Ascension or the Honduras. He began to conquere it because he best knew the secrets thereof, and that it was a very rich countrey.

In this yeere 1523. the sixt day of December Peter de Aluarado went from the citie of Mexico by Cortes his commandement to discover & conquere Quahutemallan, Vtlatlan, Chiapa, Xochnuxco, and other townes toward the South sea. He had with him thrée hundred soldiers, 170. horsemen, foure field péeces, and some noble men of Mexico, with people of the countrey to aide him as well in the warre, as by the way being long. He went by Tecantepec to Xochnuxco, and other places aboue said with great trauaile and losse of his men: but he discovered and subdued all the countrey. There are in those parts certaine hills that haue Alume in them, and out of which distilleth a certaine liquor like vnto oile, and sulphur or brimstone, whereof the Spanyards made excellent gunpowder. He trauailed 400. leagues in this voiage, and passed certaine riuers which were so hot, that they could not well endure to wade through them. He builded a citie calling it Sant Iago de Quahutemallan. Peter de Aluarado begged the gouernment of this countrey, and the report is that it was giuen him.

In the yeere 1523. the 8. day of December Cortes sent Diego de Godoy with 100. footemen and 30. horsemen, two field péeces, and many of his friends Indians vnto the towne Del Espiritu santo: He ioined himselfe with the captaine of that towne, and they went to Chamolla the head citie of that prouince, and that being taken all the countrey grew quiet.

In the yeere 1524. in Februarie Cortes sent one Roderigo Rangel with 150. Spaniards and many of the Tlaxcallans and Mexicans against the Zapotecas and Nixticas and vnto other prouinces and

and countreyes not so well discovered: they were resisted at the first, but quickly put the people to the worst, and kept them for euer after in subiection.

In this same yéere 1524. one Roderigo de Bastidas was sent to discouer, people, and gouerne the countrey of Santa Martha: where he lost his life because he would not suffer the soldiers to take the spoile of a certaine towne. They ioined with Peter Villa-forte, and he being sometimes his entire friend did helpe to kill him with daggers lying in his bed. Afterward Don Pedro de Lugo, and Don Alfonso his sonne were gouernours of that place, which vsed themselves like couetous tyrants; whereof grew much trouble.

In this same yéere also 1524. after that the Licenciado Lucas Vasques de Aillon had obtained of the Emperour the government of Chicora, he armed for that purpose certaine ships from the citie of Santo Domingo and went to discouer the countrey, and to inhabite it: but he was lost with all his companie, leauing nothing done woorthy of memorie. And I cannot tell how it commeth to passe, except it be by the iust iudgement of God, that of so much gold and precious stones as haue béene gotten in the Antiles by so many Spaniards, little or none remaineth, but the most part is spent and consumed, and no good thing done.

In this yéere 1524. Cortes sent one Christopher de Olid with a flete to the Island of Cuba to receiue the vitales and munition which Alonso de Contreras had prepared and to discouer and people the countrey about Cape De Higueras and the Honduras; and to send Diego Hurtado de Mendoza by sea, to search the coast from thence euen to Darien to finde out the Streith which was thought to run into the South sea, as the Emperour had commanded. He sent also two ships from Panuco to search along the coast vnto Florida. He commanded also certaine brigandines to search the coast from Zacatullan vnto Panama. This Christopher de Olid came to the Island of Cuba, and made a league with Diego Velasquez against Cortes, and so set saile and went on land hard by Puerto de Cauillos standing in 10. degrés to the north, and built a towne which he called Triumpho de la Cruz. He tooke Gil Gonzales de Auila prisoner, and killed his nephew and the Spaniards that were with him all sauing one childe, and shewed himselfe an enimie to Cortes, who had spent in that expedition thirty thousand Castellans of gold to doe him pleasure withall.

Cortes vnderstanding hereof the same yéere 1524. and in the moneth of October he went out of the citie of Mexico to seeke Christopher de Olid to be reuenged of him, and also to discouer, carrying with him thrée hundred Spanish footemen and horsemen, and Quahutimoc king of Mexico, and other great Lords of the same citie. And comming to the towne called La villa del Espiritu santo, he required guides of the Lords of Tauasco and Xicalanco: and they sent him ten of their principall men for guides: who gaue him also a map of cotton wooll, wherein was painted the situation of the whole countrey from Xicalanco vnto Naco, and Nito, and euen as farre as Nicaragua, with their mountaines, hils, fields, meadows, valies, riuers, cities and townes. And Cortes in the meane time sent for thrée ships which were at the hauen of Medellin to follow him along the coast.

In this yeere 1524. they came to the citie of Izancanac, where he vnderstood that the king Quahutimoc and the Mexicans that were in his companie were conspired against him and the Spanyards: for the which he hanged the king and two others of the chiefe: and so came to the citie of Mazatlan, and after that to Tiaca the head citie of a prouince so called standing in the midst of a lake: and here about they began to finde the traine of the Spanyards, which they went to seeke, and so they went to Zuzullin, and at length came to the towne of Nito: from Nito Cortes with his owne companie and all the Spanyards that he found there departed to the shore or strand called La Baia de Sant Andres, and finding there a good hauen he builded a towne in that place and called it Natividad de nuestra Señora.

From hence Cortes went to the towne of Truxillo standing in the hauen of the Honduras, where the Spanyards dwelling there did entertaine him well: and while he was there, there arriued a ship which brought newes of the stirre in Mexico in Cortes his absence: whereupon he sent word to Gonsalo de Sandoual to march with his companie from Naco to Mexico by land toward the South sea vnto Quahutemallan, because that is the vsuall plaine and safest way, and he left as capitaine in Truxillo Fernando de Saavedra his cosen: and he himselfe

went by sea along the coast of Iucatan to Chalhicoeca now called Sant Iuan de Villhua, and so to Medellin, and from thence to Mexico, where he was well receiued, hauing béene from thence 18. monethes, and had gone fīue hundred leagues trauailing often out of his way, and enduring much hardnes.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 5. cap.
1. & 2. Peru.

In the yéere 1525. Francis Pizarro and Diego de Almagro went from Panama to discover Peru standing beyond the line towarde the South, which they called Nueva Castilia. The gouernour Pedro Arias would not entermeddle with this expedition, because of the euill newes which his captaine Francis Vezerra had brought.

Francis Pizarro went first in a ship hauing with him 124. soldiers, and Almagro went after him in another ship with 70. men. He came to Rio de San Iuan standing in thrée degrées where he got two thousand pesos of gold; and not finding Pizarro, he went to séeke him, repenting his doings by reason of a mishap that he had. But he went first to an Island called

Isla del Gorgona.
Isla del Gallo.
Rio del Peru.
Cabo de Passaos.
Puerto vejo.
Tumbes.
Payta.

Isla del Gorgona, and afterward to another called Isla del Gallo, and to the riuier called Rio del Peru standing in two degrées northward, whereof so many famous countreyes take their name. From thence they went to Rio de San Francisco, and to Cabo de Passaos, where they passed the Equinoctiall line, and came to Puerto Vejo standing in one degré to the south of the line: from whence they sailed to the riuers of Chinapanpa, Tumbes, and Payta standing in 4. or 5. degrées, where they had knowledge of king Atabalipa and of the exceeding wealth and riches of his palace. Which newes moued Pizarro speedily to returne home againe to Panama, and so into Spaine, and to request the gouernment of that countrey of the Emperour: which he also obtained. He had spent about thrée yéeres before in this discoverie not without enduring great trauaile and perils.

Pet. Martyr.
decad. 8. cap. 9.
Gomara hist. gen.
lib. 4. cap. 12.

The Isle of S.
Matthew.

Gomara in the
Conquest of
Mexico pag. 281.

In the same yéere 1525. there was sent out of Spaine a fléete of seuen ships, whereof was captaine generall Don Garsia de Loaisa to the Islands of Maluco. They went from the citie of the Groine and passed by the Islands of the Canaries, and went to Brasill, where they found an Island in two degrées, and named it S. Matthew: and it seemed to be inhabited, because they found in it orange trées, hogs, and hennes in caues, and vpon the rindes of most of the trées there were grauen Portugall letters, shewing that the Portugals had béene there 17. yéeres before that time. A patache or pinnesse of theirs passed the streight of Magellane hauing in her one Iohn de Resaga, and ran all along the coast of Peru and Noua Spagna: They declared all their successe vnto Cortes, and told him, that frier Garsia de Loaisa was passed to the islands of cloues. But of this fléete the Admirall onely came thither, wherein was captaine one Martine Mingues de Carchoua: for Loaisa and the other captaines died by the way. All the Moores of Maluco were found well affectioned to the Spaniards.

Pet. Martyr.
decad. 8. pag.
601. Gomara
historiæ general.
lib. 1. cap. 5.

In the same yéere 1525. the pilot Stephen Gomes went from the port of the Groine toward the north to discover the streight vnto the Malucos by the north, to whom they would giue no charge in the fléete of frier Garsia de Loaisa. But yet the Earle Don Fernando de Andrada, and the Doctor Beltram, and the marchant Christopher de Sarro furnished a gallion for him, and he went from the Groine in Galicia to the Island of Cuba, and to the point of Florida, sailing by day because he knew not the land. He passed the bay Angra, and the riuier Enseada, and so went ouer to the other side. It is also reported that he came to Cape Razo in 46. degrées to the north: from whence he came backe againe to the Groine laden with slaues. The newes hereof ran by and by through Spaine, that he was come home laden with cloues as mistaking the word: and it was carried to the Court of Spaine: but when the truth was knowne it turned to a pleasant iest. In this voiage Gomes was ten monethes.

In this yéere 1525. Don George de Meneses captaine of Maluco, and with him Don Garcia Henriques sent a foyst to discover land towards the north, wherein went as captaine one Diego de Rocha, and Gomez de Sequeira for pilot. In 9. or 10. degrées they found certaine Islands standing close together, and they called them the Islands of Gomes de Sequeira, he being the first pilot that discovered them. And they came backe againe by the Island of Batochina.

The Isle of Ba-
tochina by Gi-
bolo.
Gomara historiæ
general. lib. 3.
cap. 39.

In the yéere 1526. there went out of Siuill one Sebastian Cabota a Venetian by his father, but

but borne at Bristol in England, being chiefe pilote to the Emperour, with fower ships toward Maluco. They came to Pernambuco, and staied there thrée monethes for a winde to double the Cape of Saint Augustine. In the Bay of Patos or of ducks the Admirall ship perished; and being without hope to get to the Isles of Maluco they there made a pinnesse to enter vp the riuier of Plate, and to search it. They ran 60. leagues vp before they came to the barre: where they left their great ships, and with their small pinneses passed vp the riuier Parana, which the inhabitants count to be the principall riuier. Rio Parana. Hauling rowed vp 120. leagues, they made a fortresse and staied there about a yéere: and then rowed further till they came to the mouth of another riuier called Paragios, and perceiuing that the countrey Rio Paragios. yéelded gold and siluer they kept on their course, and sent a brigandine before; but those of the countrey tooke it: and Cabote vnderstanding of it thought it best to turne backe vnto their forte, and there tooke in his men which he had left there, and so went downe the riuier where his ships did ride, and from thence he sailed home to Siuill in the yéere 1530. leauing discovered about two hundred leagues within this riuier, reporting it to be very nauigable, and that it springeth out of a lake named Bombo. It standeth in the firme land of the kingdom of Peru, running through the vallies of Xauxa, and méeteth with the riuers Parso, Bulcasban, Cay, Parima, Hiucax, with others which make it very broad and great. It is said also, that out of this lake runneth the riuier called Rio de San Francisco; and by this meane the riuers come to be so great. For the riuers that come out of lakes are bigger then those which procéede from a spring.

In the yéere 1527. one Pamphilus de Naruaez went out of S. Lucar de Barameda to be generall of the coast and land of Florida as farre as Rio de las Palmas, and had with him fife ships, 600. soldiers, 100. horses, besides a great summe and quantitie of victuailes, armour, clothing and other things. He could not goe on land where his desire was, but went on land somewhat néere to Florida with thrée hundred of his companie, some horses, and some victuailes, commanding the ships to goe to Rio de las Palmas; in which voiage they were almost all lost: and those which escaped passed great dangers, hunger and thirst in an Island called Xamo and by the Spaniards Malhada being very drie and barren, where the Spaniards killed one another, and the people also of the countrey did the like. Naruaez and those which went with him sawe some golde with certaine Indians, and he demanded of them where they gathered it: and they answered that they had it at Apalachen. They therefore searched this gold, and in searching came to the saide towne, where they found no gold nor siluer: they saw many Bay trées, and almost all other kinde of trées with beasts, birds, and such like. The men and women of this place are high and strong, very light and so swift runners, that they will take déere at their pleasure, and will not grow wearie though they run a whole day. From Apalachen they went to a towne called Aute; and from thence to Xamo a poore countrey with small sustinance. These people bring vp their children very tenderly, and make great lamentation when any of them dieth; they neither wéepe nor lament at the death of any olde bodie. Here the people desired the Spaniards to cure their sicke folks, for they had many diseased: and certaine of the Spaniards being in extreme pouertie assaied it, and vsed praier, and it pleased God that they did indéede recouer as well those that were hurt, as those which were otherwise diseased; in so much, that one which was thought verily to be dead, was by them restored to life, as they themselues reporte. They affirme that they passed through many countreies and many strange people differing in language, apparell, and customes. And because they plaied the physitions, they were as they passed greatly esteemed and held for Gods, and the people did no hurt vnto them, but would giue them part of such things as they had. Therefore they passed quietly, and trauailed so farre till they came to a people, that vse continually to lue in heards with their cattel as the Arabians doe. They be poore, and eate snakes, lizards, spiders, ants, and al kinde of vermine, and herewith they lue so well contented that commonly they sing and dance. They buie the women of their enemies, and kill their daughters, because they would not haue them marrie with them, whereby they might increase. They trauailed through certaine places, where the women gaue sucke vnto their children til they were ten or twelue yéeres of age; and where certaine

The fontaine
of the Riuier of
Plata.

The biggest
riuers procéede
from lakes.
Ramusius 3. vol.
fol. 310.

The Isle of
Xamo or Mal-
hada.

Apalachen.

Aute.
Xamo.

men being Hermaphrodites doe marrie one another. These Spaniards trauailed about 800. leagues; and there escaped aliue in this iourney not about seven or eight of them. They came vpon the coast of the South sea vnto a citie called Saint Michael of Culucan standing in 23. degrés and vpward toward the north.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 2. cap. 72.
and in the Con-
quest of Mexico
fol. 282.

Isle de los Reyes

Candiga.

This yéere 1527. when Cortes vnderstood by the pinnesse aforesaide that Don Garcia de Loaisa was passed by the Streight of Magelan toward the Islands of cloues, he provided three ships to goe seeke him, and to discouer by that way of New Spaine as farre as the Isles of Maluco. There went as gouernour in those ships one Aluaro de Saavedra Ceron, cosen vnto Cortes, a man fit for that purpose. He made saile from Cuatlanejo, now named S. Christopher standing in 20. degrés toward the north on All Saints day. They arriued at the Islands which Magelan named The Pleasures: and from thence sailed to the Islands, which Gomes de Sequeira had discovered, & not knowing thereof, they named the Islas de los Reyes, that is to say, The Isles of the kings, because they came vnto them on Twelue day. In the way Saavedra lost two ships of his company, of which they neuer after heard newes. But from Island to Island he still sailed and came to the Island of Candiga, where he bought two Spaniards for 70. ducats, which had béene of the companie of Frier Loaisa, who was lost thereabout.

In the yéere 1528. in March Saavedra arriued at the Islands of Maluco, and came to an anker before the Isle of Gilolo: he found the sea calme and winde at will, without any tempests: and he tooke the distance from thence to Noua Spagna to be 2050. leagues. At this time Martin Yniguez de Carquicano died, and Fernando de la Torre was chosen their Generall, who then was in the citie of Tidore, who had there erected a gallows and had fierce warre with Don George de Meneses capitaine of the Portugals: and in a fight which they had the fourth day of May Saavedra tooke from him a galiotte and slew the capitaine thereof called Fernando de Baldaya, and in Iune he returned towards New Spaine, hauing with him one Simon de Brito Patalin and other Portugals, and hauing béene certaine monethes at sea, he was forced backe vnto Tidore, where Patalin was beheaded and quartered, and his companions hanged.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 2.
cap. 73.

In this yéere 1528. Cortes sent two hundred footemen and 60. horsemen, and many Mexicans to discouer and plant the cuntry of the Chichimecas, for that it was reported to be rich of gold. This being done he shipped himselfe, and came into Castile with great pompe, & brought with him 250000. marks of gold and siluer: and being come to Toledo where the Emperour then lay, he was entertained according to his deserts, and the Emperour made him Marques Del Valle, and married him to the Lady Iane de Zuniga daughter vnto the Earle de Aguilar, and then the Emperour sent him backe againe to be Generall of New Spaine.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 2.
cap. 73.
Noua Guinea.

Os Papuas are
blacke people
with frised haire.

Isla de los
Pintados.

In the yéere 1529. in May Saavedra returned back againe towards New Spaine, and he had sight of a land toward the South in two degrés, and he ran East along by it about fise hundred leagues till the end of August. The coast was cleane and of good ankerage, but the people blacke and of curled haire; from the girdle downward they did weare a certaine thing plaited to couer their lower parts. The people of Maluco call them Papuas, because they be blacke and friseled in their haire: and so also doe the Portugals call them.

Saavedra hauing sailed 4. or 5. degrés to the South of the line, returned vnto it, and passed the Equinoctiall towards the north, and discovered an Island which he called Isla de los Pintados, that is to say, The Isle of painted people: for the people thereof be white, and all of them marked with an iron: and by the signes which they gaue he conceaued that they were of China. There came vnto them from the shore a kinde of boate full of these men, making tokens of threatnings to the Spanyards; who seeing that the Spanyards would not obey them, they began to skirmish with slinging of stones, but Saavedra would suffer no shot to be shot at them, because their stones were of no strength, and did no harme.

Los Iardines.

A little beyond this Island in 10. or 12. degrés they found many small low Islands full of palme trées and grasse, which they called Los Iardines, and they came to an anker in the midst of them, where they taried certaine daies. The people seemed to descend from them

them of China, but by reason of their long continuance there they are become so brutish, that they haue neither law, nor yet giue themselves to any honest labour. They weare white clothing which they make of grasse. They stand in maruailous feare of fire, because they neuer saw any. They eate Cocos in stéede of bread, breaking them before they be ripe, and putting them vnder the sand, and then after certaine daies they take them out and lay them in the sunne, and then they will open. They eate fish which they take in a kinde of boate called a Parao, which they make of pine wood, which is driuen thither at certaine times of the yéere, they know not how, nor from whence, and the tooles wherewith they make their boates are of shels.

Saavedra perceiuing that the time and weather was then somewhat better for his purpose, made saile towards the firme land and citie of Panama, where he might vnlade the cloues and marchandise which he had, that so in cartes it might be carried fower leagues to the riuer of Chagre, which they say is nauigable running out into the North sea not far from Nombre de Dios, where the ships ride, which come out of Spaine: by which way all kinde of goods might be brought vnto them in shorter time, and with lesse danger, then to saile about the Cape of Bona Sperança. For from Maluco vnto Panama they saile continually betweene the Tropickes and the line: but they neuer found winde to serue that course, and therefore they came backe againe to Maluco very sad, because Saavedra died by the way: who if he had liued meant to haue opened the land of Castillia del Oro and New Spaine from sea to sea. Which might haue béene done in fower places: namely from the Gulfe of S. Michael to Vraba, which is 25. leagues, or from Panama to Nombre de Dios being 17. leagues distance: or through Xaquator a riuer of Nicaragua, which springeth out of a lake thrée or fower leagues from the South sea, and falleth into the North sea; whereupon doe saile great barks and crayers. The other place is from Tecoaatepec through a riuer to Verdadera Cruz in the Bay of the Honduras, which also might be opened in a streight. Which if it were done, then they might saile from the Canaries vnto the Malucos vnder the climate of the Zodiacke in lesse time and with much lesse danger, then to saile about the Cape de Bona Sperança, or by the streight of Magelan, or by the Northwest. And yet if there might be found a streight there to saile into the sea of China, as it hath béene sought, it would doe much good.

Fower narrow passages from sea to sea in the West Indies. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 14.

The northwest passage very beneficiall.

In this yéere 1529, one Damian de Goes a Portugal being in Flanders, after that he had trauailed ouer all Spaine, was yet desirous to see more countreyes, and fashions, and diuersities of people; and therefore went ouer into England and Scotland, and was in the courts of the kings of those parts: and after that came againe into Flanders, and then trauailed through Zealand, Holland, Brabant, Luxenburge, Suiszerland, and so through the cities of Colen, Spyres, Argentine, Basill, and other parts of Alemaine, & then came backe againe into Flanders: and from thence he went into France through Picardie, Normandie, Champagne, Burgundie, the dukedome of Borbon, Gascoigne, Languedoc, Daulphinie, the dukedome of Sauoy, and passed into Italy into the dukedome of Millaine, Ferrara, Lombardie, and so to Venice, and turned backe againe to the territorie of Genoa, and the dukedome of Florence through all Tuscan: and he was in the citie of Rome, and in the kingdome of Naples from the one side to the other.

From thence he went into Germanie to Vlmes, and other places of the Empire, to the dukedome of Sueuia and of Bauier, and the Archdukedome of Austrich, the kingdome of Boeme, the dukedome of Morauia, and the kingdome of Hungarie, and so to the confines of Græcia. From thence he went to the kingdome of Poland, Prussia, and the dukedome of Liuania, and so came into the great dukedome of Moscouia. From whence he came backe into High Alemayne, and through the countreyes of the Lantzgrau, the dukedome of Saxonie, the countreyes of Denmarke, Gotland, and Norway, trauailing so farre, that he found himselfe in 70. degrés of latitude towards the North. He did see, speake and was conuersant with all the kings, princes, nobles and chiefe cities of all Christendome in the space of 22. yéeres: So that by reason of the greatnes of his trauell, I thought him a man woorthie to be here remembred.

In the yéere 1529. or 1530. one Melchior de Sosa Tauarez went from the citie of Ormuz vnto

vnto Balsera and the Islands of Gissara with certaine ships of warre, and passed vp as farre as the place, where the riuers Tygris and Euphrates méete one with the other. And although other Portugals had discovered and sailed through that streight, yet neuer any of them sailed so farre vpon the fresh water till that time, when he discovered that riuier from the one side to the other, wherein he saw many things which the Portugals knew not.

Not long after this one Ferdinando Coutinho a Portugall came vnto Ormuz, and being desirous to see the world, he determined to goe into Portugall from thence ouer land to see Asia and Europe; And to doe this the better he went into Arabia, Persia, and vpwards the riuier Euphrates the space of a moneth; and saw many kingdomes and countreies, which in our time had not béene séene by the Portugals: He was taken prisoner in Damasco, and afterward crost ouer the prouince of Syria, and came vnto the citie of Alepo. He had béene at the holy Sepulchre in Ierusalem, and in the citie of Cayro, and at Constantinople with the Great Turke; and hauing séene his court he passed ouer vnto Venice, and from thence into Italie, France, Spaine, and so came againe to Lisbon. So that he and Damian de Goes were in our time the most noble Portugals, that had discovered and séene most countreies and realmes of their owne affections.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 5. cap. 3.

In the same yéere 1530. little more or lesse, one Francis Pizarro, which had been in Spaine to obtaine the gouernment of Peru, turned backe againe to the citie of Panama with all things that he desired: he brought with him fower brethren, Ferdinand, Iohn, Gonzaluo, and Francis Martines de Alcantara: They were not well receiued by Diego de Almagro, and his friends; for that Pizarro had not so much commended him to the Emperour as he looked for, but omitted the discouerie, wherein he had lost one of his cies, and spent much: yet in the end they agreed, and Diego de Almagro gaue vnto Pizarro 700. pezoës of golde, victuailes and munition, wherewith he prepared himselfe the better for his iourney.

Much gold and
emeralds.

Not long after this agréement Francis Pizarro and his brethren went in two ships with the most of their soldiers and horses; but he could not arriue at Tumbes as he was minded, and so they went on land in the riuier of Peru; and went along the coast with great paines, because there were many bogs and riuers in their way, wherein some of his men were drowned: They came to the towne of Coaché, where they rested, where they found much gold and emeralds, of which they brake some to see if they were perfect. From thence Pizarro sent to Diego de Almagro twentie thousand pezoës of gold to send him men, horses, munition, and victuailes; and so he went on his iourney to the hauen named Porto Viejo: and thither came vnto him one Sebastian de Benalcazar, with all such things as he had sent for, which pleased and pleased him very much.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 5. cap.
4.
The Isle of
Puna.

In the yéere 1531. he hauing this aide, passed ouer into a rich Island called Puna, where he was well receiued of the gouernour: yet at last he conspired to kil him and all his men: but Pizarro preuented him, and tooke many of the Indians, and bound them with chaines of gold and siluer. The gouernour caused those that kept his wiues to haue their noses, armes, and priue members to be cut off, so iealous was he. Here Pizarro found aboute sixe hundred men prisoners belonging to the king Attabalipa, who waged warre against his eldest brother Guascar to winne reputation. These he set at libertie and sent them to the citie of Tombez, who promised to be a meane that he should be well receiued in those partes. But when they saw themselves out of bondage, they forgat their promise, and incited the people against the Spaniards. Then Pizarro sent thrée Spaniards to Tombez to treat for peace, whome they tooke and slew and sacrificed, and their priestes wept not for pitie but of custome. Pizarro hearing of this cruell fact, passed ouer to the maine, and set vpon the citie one night suddenly and killed many of them, so that they presented him with gifts of gold and siluer and other riches, and so became friends. This done, he builded a towne vpon the riuier of Cira, and called it Saint Michael of Tangarara, which was the first towne inhabited by Christians in those partes; whereof Sebastian de Benalcazar was appointed capitaine. Then he searched out a good and sure hauen for his ships, and found that of Payta to be an excellent harbour.

St. Michael of
Tangarara.

Payta an excel-
lent harbour in
5. degrees to the
South of the
Ile.

In this same yéere 1531. there went one Diego de Ordas to be gouernour in the riuier of Maragnon,

Maragnon, with thrée ships, sixe hundred soldiers, and 35. horses. He died by the way, so Gomara historie general. lib. 3. cap. 37.
 that the intention came to none effect. After that in the yéere 1534. there was sent thither one Hierome Artal with 130. soldiers, yet he came not to the riuer, but peopled Saint Michael de Neueri, and other places in Paria. Also there went vnto this riuer Maragnon a Portugall gentleman named Aries Dacugna, and he had with him ten ships, nine hundred Portugals, and 130. horses. He spent much, but he that lost most was one Iohn de Barros. The famous riuer Maragnon.
 This riuer standeth in thrée degrés toward the South, hauing at the entrance of it 15. leagues of breadth and many Islands inhabited, wherein grow trées that beare incence of a greater bignes then in Arabia, gold, rich stones, and one emeraud was found there as big as the palme of a mans hand. Iohn de Barros factor of the house of India.
 The people of the countrey make their drinke of a kinde of dates, which are as big as quinces.

In the yéere 1531. one Nunnez de Gusman went from the citie of Mexico towards the northwest to discouer and conquer the countreies of Xalisco, Ceintilquipac, Ciametlan, To-ualla, Cnixco, Ciamolla, Culhuacan, and other places. And to doe this he caried with him 250. horses, and five hundred soldiers. He went through the countrey of Mechuacon, where he had much gold, ten thousand marks of siluer, and 6000. Indians to carrie burdens. He conquered many countreyes, called that of Xalisco Nueva Galicia, because it is a ragged countrey, and the people strong. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 16.
 He builded a citie which he called Compostella, and another named Guadaluara, because he was borne in the citie of Guadaluara in Spaine. He likewise builded the townes of Santo Espirito, de la Concepcion, and de San Miguel standing in 24. degrés of northerly latitude. Nueva Galicia, Compostella, Guadaluara, Santo Espirito, de la conception, San Miguel.

In the yéere 1532. Ferdinando Cortes sent one Diego Hurtado de Mendoza vnto Acapulco 70. leagues from Mexico, where he had prepared a small fléete to discouer the coast of the South sea as he had promised the Emperour. And finding two ships readie, he went into them, and sailed to the hauen of Xalisco, where he would haue taken in water and wood: but Nunnez de Gusman caused him to be resisted, and so he went forward: but some of his men mutined against him, and he put them all into one of the ships, and sent them backe into New Spaine. They wanted water, and going to take some in the bay of the Vandas, the Indians killed them. But Diego Hurtado sailed 200. leagues along the coast, yet did nothing worth the writing. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 74.

In the yéere 1533. Francis Pizarro went from the citie of Tumbes to Caxamalca, where he tooke the king Attabalipa, who promised for his ransome much gold and siluer: and to accomplish it there went to the citie of Cusco standing in 17. degrés on the South side Peter de Varco, and Ferdinando de Sotto, who discouered that iourney being 200. leagues all causies of stone, and bridges was made of it, and from one iourney to another, lodgings made for the Yngas: for so they call their kings. Their armies are very great and monstrous. For they bring aboue an hundred thousand fighting men to the field. They lodge vpon these causies; and haue there prouision sufficient and necessarie, after the vse and custome of China, as it is said. Ferdinando Pizarro with some horsemen went vnto Pacacama 100. leagues from Caxamalca, and discouered that prouince: And comming backe he vnderstood how Guascar brother to Attabalipa was by his commandement killed, and how that his captaine Ruminaguy rose vp in armes with the citie of Quito. After this Attabalipa was by the commandement of Pizarro strangled. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 7. & 8. Guascaraine, Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 11. Attabalipa strangled.

In the yéere 1534. Francis Pizarro séeing that the two kings were gone, began to enlarge himselfe in his signiories, and to build cities, forts, and townes to haue them more in subiection. Likewise he sent Sebastian de Benalcazar the captaine of S. Michael of Tangarara against Ruminaguy vnto Quito. He had with him two hundred footemen and 80. horsemen: He went discouering and conquering 120. leagues from the one citie to the other east not farre from the Equinotiall line: where Peter Aluarado found mountaines full of snow, and so cold, that 70. of his men were frozen to death. When he came vnto Quito, he began to inhabite it, and named it S. Francis. In this countrey there is plentie of wheate, barlie, cattell and plants of Spaine, which is very strange. Pizarro went straight to Gomara historie general. lib. 5. cap. 18. Cruell snowe vnder the line. Gomara historie general. lib. 5. cap. 19.

to

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 3. cap. 16.

to the citie of Cusco, and found by the way the capitaine Quisquiz risen in armes, whome shortly he defeated. About this time there came vnto him a brother of Atabalipa named Mango, whom he made Ynga or king of the countrey. Thus marching forward on his journey after certaine skirmishes he tooke that excéeding rich and wealthie citie of Cusco.

Cusco taken.

The bay of S. Laurence discovered.

In this same yéere 1534. a Briton called Iaques Cartier with thrée ships went to the land of Cortereal, and the Bay of Saint Laurence, otherwise called Golfo Quadrato, and fell in 48. degrés and an halfe towards the north; and so he sailed till he came vnto 51. degrés hoping to haue passed that way to China, and to bring thence drugs and other marchandise into France. The next yéere after he made another voiage into those partes, and found the countrey abounding with victuailes, houses and good habitations, with many and great riuers. He sailed in one riuier toward the southwest 300. leagues, and named the countrey thereabout Noua Francia: at length finding the water fresh he perceiued he could not passe through to the South sea, and hauing wintered in those parts, the next yéere following he returned into France.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 2. cap. 74. & lib. 2. cap. 98.

In the yéere 1535. or in the beginning of the yéere 1536. Don Antonie de Mendoça came vnto the citie of Mexico as Viceroy of New Spaine. In the meane while Cortes was gone for more men to continue his discouerie, which immediately he set in hand sending forth two ships from Tecoaatepec which he had made readie. There went as capitaines in them Fernando de Grijalua, and Diego Bezerra de Mendoça, and for pilots there went a Portugal named Acosta, and the other Fortunio Ximenez a Biscaine. The first night they deuided themselues. Fortunio Ximenez killed his capitaine Bezerra and hurt many of his confederacie: and then he went on land to take water and wood in the Bay of Santa Cruz, but the Indians there slue him, and about 20. of his companie. Two mariners which were in the boate escaped, and went vnto Xalisco, and told Nunnez de Gusman that they had found tokens of pearles: he went into the ship, and so went to séeke the pearles: he discouered along the coast about 150. leagues. They said that Ferdinando de Grijalua sailed thrée hundred leagues from Tecoaatepec without séeing any land, but onely one Island which he named The Isle of Saint Thomas, because he came vnto it on that Saints day: it standeth in 20. degrés of latitude.

Plaia de Santa Cruz.

The Isle of S. Thomas.

Lima builded. Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 23. Lib. 5. cap. 22. Truxillo.

In this yéere 1535. Pisarro builded the citie de los Reyes vpon the riuier of Lima. The inhabitants of Xauxa went to dwell there, because it was a better countrey, standing in 12. degrés of southerly latitude. In this same yéere of 1535. he caused the citie of Truxillo to be builded on a riuers side vpon a fruitfull soile, standing in 8. degrés on that side. He built also the citie of Saint Iago in Porto Viejo: besides many others along the sea coast and within the land: where there bréede many horses, asses, mules, kine, hogs, goates, shéepe, and other beasts; also trées and plants, but principally rosemary, oranges, limons, citrons, and other sower fruits, vines, wheate, barlie, and other graines, radishes and other kinde of herbage and fruits brought out of Spaine thither to be sowne and planted.

S. Iago de Porto Viejo.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 5. cap. 24. Chili.

In the same yéere 1535. one Diego de Almagro went from the citie of Cusco to the provinces of Arequipa and Chili, reaching beyond Cusco towards the South vnto 30. degrés. This voiage was long, and he discouered much land, suffering great hunger, cold, and other extremities, by reason of the abundance of ice, which stoppeth the running of the riuers; so that men and horses die in those parts of the colde. About this time Ferdinando Pisarro came out of Spaine to the citie de los Reyes, and brought with him the title of Marquisate of Atanillos for his brother Francis Pisarro, & vnto Diego de Almagro he brought the gouernment of 100. leagues ouer and besides that which was discouered, and named it The New kingdome of Toledo. Ferdinando Pisarro went straight to the citie of Cusco: and one Iohn de Rada went to Almagro into Chili with the Emperours patents.

Lib. 5. cap. 25.

Lib. 5. cap. 27.

Diego de Almagro hauing receiued the letters patents which the Emperour had sent him, went straight from Chili vnto Cusco, to haue it séeing it did appertaine vnto him. Which was the cause of a ciuill warre. They were mightily oppressed with want of victuailes and other

other things in this their returne, and were enforced to eate the horses, which had died fower moneths and a halfe before, when they passed that way.

In this same yéere 1535. Nunnez Dacuña being gouvernour of India, while he was making a fortresse at the citie of Din he sent a fléete to the riuér of Indus, being frō thence 90. or 100. leagues towards y north vnder the Tropicke of Cancer. The Capitaines name was Vasques Perez de San Paio: also he sent another armie against Badu the king of Cambaia, the capitaine whereof was Cosesofar a renegado. They came to the barre of that mighty riuér in the moneth of December, of the water whereof they found such trial as Quintus Curtius writeth of it, when Alexander came thither.

In this yéere 1535. one Simon de Alcazaa went from Siuill with two ships and 240. Spaniards in them. Some say they went to New Spaine, others that they went to Maluco, but others also say to China, where they had béene with Ferdinando Perez de Andrada. Howsoever it was, they went first vnto the Canaries, and from thence to the streight of Magelan, without touching at the land of Brasill or any part at all of that coast. They entred into the streight in the moneth of December with contrarie windes and cold weather. The soldiers would haue had him turne backe againe, but he would not. He went into an hauen on the South side in 53. degrés: There the capitaine Simon of Alcazaa commanded Roderigo de Isla with 60. Spaniards to goe and discover land: but they rose vp against him and killed him, and appointed such capitaines and officers as pleased them, and returned. Comming thwart of Brasil they lost one of their ships vpon the coast, and the Spaniards that escaped drowning were eaten by the Sauages. The other ship went to Saint Iago in Hispaniola, and from thence to Siuill in Spaine.

In this same yéere 1535. Don Pedro de Mendoza went from Cadiz towards the riuér of Plate with twelue ships, and had with him two thousand men: which was the greatest number of ships and men, that euer any capitaine carried into the Indies. He died by the way returning homewards. The most part of his men remained in that riuér, and builded a great towne containing now two thousand houses, wherein great store of Indians dwell with the Spaniards. They discovered and conquered the countrey till they came to the mines of Potosi and to the towne La Plata, which is 500. leagues distant from them.

In the yéere 1536. Cortes vnderstanding that his ship wherein Fortunio Ximenez was pilote was seized on by Nunnez de Guzman, he sent forth thrée ships to the place where Guzman was, and he himselfe went by land well accompanied, and found the ship which he sought all spoiled and rifled. When his thrée other ships were come about, he went aboard himselfe with the most part of his men and horses, leauing for capitaine of those which remained on land one Andrew de Tapia. So he set saile, and comming to a point the first day of May he called it Saint Philip, and an Island that lieth fast by it he called Saint Iago. Within three daies after he came into the bay where the pilot Fortunio Ximenez was killed, which he called La plaia de Santa Cruz, where he went on land, and commanded Andrew de Tapia to discover. Cortes tooke shipping againe and came to the riuér now called Rio de San Pedro y San Paulo, where by a tempest the ships were separated, one was driuen to the bay de Santa Cruz, another to the riuér of Guajual, and the third was driuen on shore hard by Xalisco, and the men thereof went by land to Mexico.

Cortes long expected his two ships that he wanted: but they not comming he hoised saile & entred into the Gulfe now called Mar de Cortes, Mar Vermejo, or the Gulfe of California, and shot himselfe 50. leagues within it: where he espied a ship at anker & sailing towards her he had béene lost, if that ship had not succored him. But hauing graued his ship, he departed with both the ships from thence. Héé bought victuals at a déere rate at Saint Michael of Culhuacan; and from thence he went to the hauen of Santa Cruz, where héé heard that Don Antonio de Mendoza was come out of Spaine to be Viceroy. He therefore left to be capitaine of his men one Francis de Villosa, to send him certaine ships to discover that coast. While he was at Acapulco messengers came vnto him from Don Antonio de Mendoza the Viceroy, to certifie him of his arriual: and also he sent him the coppie of a letter, wherein Francis Pizarro wrote, that Mango Ynga was risen against him, and was come

The fortresse of
Diu.
Badu king of
Cambaia.

Gomarahist. gen.
lib. 4. cap. 13.

Gomara historiar.
general. lib. 3.
cap. 39.

The riuér of
Plata runneth vp
to Potosi.
Gomarahist. gen.
lib. 2. cap. 74. &
98.

Saint Iago Isc.

La plaia de Santa
Cruz.
Rio de S. Pedro
y san Paulo.
Guajual Rio.

Mar Vermejo
or the Gulfe of
California.
Gomara in the
conquest of
Mexico folio
290. 291. 292.

to the citie of Cusco with an hundred thousand fighting men, and that they had killed his brother Iohn Pizarro, and about 400. Spaniards and 200. horses, and he himselfe was in danger, so that he demanded succour and aide. Cortes being informed of the state of Pizarro, and of the arrivall of Don Antonio de Mendoza, because he would not as yet be at obediēce; First he determined to sende to Maluco to discover that way a long vnder the Equinoctial line, because The Islands of Cloues stand vnder that paralele: And for that purpose he prepared 2. ships with prouision, victuals & men, besides all other things necessarie. He gaue the charge of one of these ships to Ferdinando de Grijalua, and of the other vnto one Aluarado a Gentleman. They went first to Saint Michael de Tangarara in Peru to succour Francis Pizarro, and from thence to Maluco all along néere the line as they were commanded. And it is declared that they sailed about a thousand leagues without sight of land, on the one side nor yet on the other of the Equinoctiall. And in two degrés toward the north they discovered one Island named Asea, which seemeth to be one of the Islands of Cloues: 500. leagues little more or lesse as they sailed, they came to the sight of another which they named Isla de los Pescadores. Going still in this course they sawe another Island called Hayme towards the south, and another named Apia: and then they came to the sight of Seri: turning towards the north one degré, they came to anker at another Island named Coroa, and from thence they came to another vnder the line named Meosum, and from thence vnto Bufu standing in the same course.

Asea Island.

Isla de los Pescadores.
Hayme Island.
Apia Island.
Seri.
Coroa.
Meosum.
Bufu.

Os Papuas.

These seeme to be like Ostriches.

Guelles Islands.

Terenate.

Moro.

Moluccen.

Antonie Galuano, the author of this booke.

The case now is much altered.

Pedro de Cieca parte primera de la Chronica del Peru cap. 9. & cap. 107.

La Plata.

The mountaines of Abibe.

The people of all these Islands are blacke, and haue their haire frised, whom the people of Maluco do call Papuas. The most of them eate mans flesh, and are witches, so giuen to diuillishnes, that the diuels walk among them as cōpanions. If these wicked spirits do finde one alone, they kill him with cruell blowes or smother him. Therefore they vse not to goe, but when two or thrée may be in a companie. There is héere a bird as bigge as a Crane: he flieth not, nor hath any wings wherewith to flée, he runneth on the ground like a Déere: of their small feathers they do make haire for their idols. There is also an herbe, which being washed in warme water, if the leafe thereof be laide on any member and licked with the toong, it will draw out all the blood of a mans body: and with this leafe they vse to let themselues blood.

From these Islands they came vnto others named the Guelles standing one degree towards the north, east, and west from the Isle Terenate, wherein the Portugals haue a fortresse: these men are haired like the people of the Malucoes. These Islands stande 124. leagues from the Island named Moro; and from Terenate betwéene 40. and 50. From whence they went to the Isle of Moro, & the Islāds of Cloues, going from the one vnto the other. But the people of the countrey would not suffer them to come on lande, saying vnto them: Go vnto the fortresse where the captain Antonie Galuano is, and we will receiue you with a good will: for they would not suffer them to come on land without his licence: for he was factor of the countrey, as they named him. A thing woorthie to be noted, that those of the countrey were so affectioned to the Portugals, that they would venter for them their liues, wiues, children and goods.

In the yéere 1537. the licenciante Iohn de Vadillo gouernour of Cartagena, went out with a good armie from a porte of Vraba called Saint Sebastian de buena Vista, being in the gulf of Vraba, and from thence to Rio verde, & from thence by land without knowing any way, nor yet hauing any carriages, they went to the end of the countrey of Peru, and to the towne La plata, by the space of 1200. leagues: a thing woorthie of memorie. For from this riuer to the mountaines of Abibe the countrey is full of hils, thicke forrests of trées, and many riuers: and for lacke of a beaten way, they had pierced sides. The mountaines of Abibe as it is recorded haue 20. leagues in bredth. They must be passed ouer in Ianuarie, Februarie, March, and Aprill. And from that time forward it raineth much, and the riuers will be so greatly encreased, that you cannot passe for them. There are in those mountaines many heards of swine, many dantes, lyons, tygers, beares, ounses, and great cats, and monkeis, and mightie snakes and other such vermine. Also there be in these mountaines abundance of partridges, quails, turtle doues, pigeons, and other

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other birdes and foules of sundrie sorts. Likewise in the riuers is such plentie of fish, that they did kill of them with their staues: and carrying canes and nets they affirme that a great army might be sustained that way without being distressed for want of victuals. Moreouer they declared the diuersities of the people, toongs, and apparell that they obserued in the countries, kingdomes, and prouinces which they went through, and the great trauels and dangers that they were in till they came to the towne called Villa de la Plata, and vnto the sea thereunto adioyning. This was the greatest discoverie that hath béene heard of by land, and in so short a time. And if it had not béene done in our daies, the credite thereof would haue béene doubtfull.

In the yéere 1538. there went out of Mexico certaine friers of the order of Saint Francis towards the north to preach to the Indians the Catholicke faith. He that went farthest was one frier Marke de Nizza, who passed through Culucan, and came to the prouince of Sibola, where he found seven cities: and the farther he went, the richer he found the countrie of gold, siluer, precious stones, and shéepe bearing very fine wool. Vpon the fame of this welth the viceroy don Antonio de Mendoça, and Cortes, determined to send a power thither. But when they could not agréé thereupon Cortes went ouer into Spaine in the yéere 1540. where afterward he died.

In this yeere 1538. began the ciuil warre betweene Pizarro and Almagro, wherein at the last Almagro was taken and beheaded.

In the same yéere 1538. Antonie Galuano being chiefe captaine in the isles of Maluco sent a ship towards the north, whereof one Francis de Castro was captaine, hauing commandement to conuert as many as he could to the faith. He himselfe christened many, as the lords of the Celebes, Macasares, Amboyinos, Moros, Moratax, and diuers other places. When Francis de Castro arriued at the Island of Mindanao, sixe kings receiued the water of Baptisme, with their wiues, children and subiects: and the most of them Antonie Galuano gaue commandement to be called by the name of Iohn, in remembrance that king Iohn the third reigned then in Portugall.

The Portugals and Spaniards which haue béene in these Islands affirme, that there be certaine hogs in them, which besides the téeth which they haue in their mouthes, haue other two growing out of their snouts, and as many behinde their eares of a large span and an halfe in length. Likewise they say there is a trée, the one halfe whereof, which standeth towards the east is a good medicine against all poyson, & the other side of the trée which standeth toward the west is very poison; and the fruite on that side is like a bigge pease; and there is made of it the strongest poyson that is in all the world. Also they report that there is there another trée, the fruite whereof whosoever doth eate, shall be twelue houres besides himselfe, and when he commeth againe vnto himselfe he shall not remember what he did in the time of his madnes. Moreouer there are certaine crabs of the land, whereof whosoever doth eate shall be a certaine space out of his wits. Likewise the countrey people declare that there is a stone in these Islands whereon whosoever sitteth shall be broken in his bodie. It is farther to be noted, that the people of these Islands do gild their téeth.

In the yéere 1539. Cortes sent thrée ships with Francis Vilhoa to discover the coast of Culucan northward. They went from Acapulco, and touched at S. Iago de buena speranza, and entred into the gulfe that Cortes had discovered, and sailed till they came in 32. degrés, which is almost the farthest end of that gulfe, which place they named Ancon de Sant Andres, because they came thither on that saints daie: Then they came out a long the coast on the other side, and doubled the point of California and entred in betweene certaine Islands and the point and so sailed along by it, till they came to 32 degrés, from whence they returned to newe Spaine, enforced thereunto by contrarie windes and want of victuals; hauing béene out about a yéere. Cortes according to his account, spent 200000. ducates in these discoveries.

From Cabo del Enganno to another cape called Cabo de Liampo in China there are 1000. or 1200. leagues sayling. Cortes and his captaines discovered new Spaine, from 12. degrés to 32. from south to the north, being 700. leagues, finding it more warme then cold,

Villa de la Plata.

Ramusius 3 vol. fol. 356.

Frier Marke de Nizza. Sibola.

Gomarabist.gen. lib. 5. cap. 34. Antonie Galuano chiefe captaine of Maluco author of this worke.

Gomarabist.gen. lib. 2. cap. 74. & Ramusius 3 vol. fol. 339. The bottome of the gulfe of California discovered. California doubled.

Cabo del Enganno. The distance betweene America and China in 31. degrees is 1000. leagues.

Gomar. hist. gen.
lib. 6. cap. 17.

Metl an excel-
lent tree.

although snow do lie vpon certaine mountaines most part of the yéere. In new Spaine there be many trées, flowers and fruits of diuers sorts and profitable for many things. The principall trée is named Metl. It groweth not very high nor thicke. They plant and dresse it as we do our vines. They say it hath fortie kinde of leaues like wouen clothes, which serue for many vses. When they be tender, they make conserues of them, paper, and a thing like vnto flaxe: they make of it mantles, mats, shooes, girdles, and cordage. These trées haue certaine prickles so strong and sharpe, that they sewe with them. The roots make fire and ashes, which ashes make excellent good lie. They open the earth from the roote and scrape it, and the iuice which commeth out is like a sirrupe. If you do séeth it, it will become honie; if you purifie it it will be sugar. Also you may make wine and vineger thereof. It beareth the Coco. The rinde roasted and crushed vpon sores and hurts healeth and cureth. The iuice of the tops and roots mingled with incense are good against poyson, and the biting of a viper. For these manifold benefits it is the most profitable trée knowne to growe in those parts.

The reuiued
birds.

Also there be there certaine small birds named Vicmalim, their bill is small and long. They liue of the dewe, and the iuice of flowers and roses. Their feathers be verie small and of diuers colours. They be greatly estéemed to worke golde with. They die or sléepe euerie yéere in the moneth of October sitting vpon a little bough in a warme and close place: they reuiue or wake againe in the moneth of Aprill after that the flowers be sprung, and therefore they call them the reuiued birds.

Likewise there be snakes in these parts, which sound as though they had bells when they créepe. There be other which engender at the mouth, euen as they report of the viper. There be hogges which haue a nauell on the ridge of their backs, which as soone as they be killed and cut out, will by and by corrupt and stinke.

Snorting fishes.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 5. cap.
35.

Chili.

Besides these there be certaine fishes which make a noyse like vnto hogs, and will snort, for which cause they be named snorters.

This might be
the temple in
the lake of Ti-
ticaca.
Ciego cap. 103.

In the yéere 1538. and 1539. after that Diego de Almagro was beheaded, the Marques Francis Pizarro was not idle. For he sent straight one Peter de Baldiua with a good companie of men to discouer and conquere the countrey of Chili. He was wel receiued of those of the countrey, but afterwards they rose against him and would haue killed him by treason. Yet for all the warre that he had with them, he discovered much land, and the coast of the sea toward the southeast, till he came into 40. degrés and more in latitude. While he was in these discoveries he heard newes of a king called Leucengolma, which commonly brought to the field two hundred thousand fighting men against another king his neighbour, and that this Leucengolma had an Island, and a temple therein with two thousand priestes: and that beyond them were the Amazonas, whose Quéene was called Guanomilla, that is to say, The golden heauen. But as yet there are none of these things discovered. About this time Gomez de Aluarado went to conquer the prouince of Guanuco: and Francis de Chaez went to subdue the Conchincos, which troubled the towne of Truxillo, and the countreys adioyning. Peter de Vergara went to the Bracamores, a people dwelling toward the north from Quito. John Perez de Vergara went against the Ciaciapoians: Alfonsus de Mercadiglio went vnto Mulubamba. Ferdinando and Gonzaluo Pizarros went to subdue Collao, a countrey very rich in gold. Peter de Candia went to the lower part of Collao. Peranzures also went to conquer the said countrey. And thus the Spanyards dispersed themselues, and conquered aboue seuen hundred leagues of countrey in a very short space, though not without great traualles and losse of men.

The mountaynes
of Andes.

The countreyes of Brasill and Peru stand east and west almost 800. leagues distant. The néerest is from the Cape of Saint Augustine vnto the hauen of Truxillo: for they stand both almost in one parallele and latitude. And the farthest is 950. leagues, reckoning from the riuer of Peru to the streits of Magellan, which places lie directly north & south, through which countrey passe certaine mountaines named the Andes, which diuide Brasill from the empire of the Ingas. After this maner the mountaines of Taurus and Imaus diuide Asia into two parts: which mountaines begin in 36. and 37. degrés of northerly latitude at the end of the

the Mediterran sea ouer against the Isles of Rhodes and Cyprus, running still towards the East vnto the sea of China. And so likewise the mountaines of Atlas in Africa diuide the tawnie Moores from the blacke Moores which haue frised haire, beginning at mount Meies about the desert of Barca, and running along vnder the Tropicke of Cancer vnto the Atlanticke Ocean.

The mountains of the Andes be high, ragged, and in some places barren without trées or grasse, whereon it raineth and snoweth most commonly. Vpon them are windes and sudden blastes; there is likewise such scarcitie of wood, that they make fire of turfes, as they do in Flanders. In some places of these mountaines and countries the earth is of diuers colours, as blacke, white, red, gréene, blew, yellow, and violet, wherewith they die colours without any other mixture. From the bottomes of these mountaines spring many small and great riuers, principally from the east side, as appéereth by the riuers of the Amazones, of S. Francis, of Plata, and many others which runne through the countrey of Brasil, being larger then those of Peru, or those of Castilia del oro. There grow on these mountaines many turneps, rapes, and other such like rootes and herbes. One there is like vnto Aipo or Rue which beareth a yellow flower, and healeth all kinde of rotten sores, and if you apply it vnto whole and cleane flesh it will eate it vnto the bone: so that it is good for the vnsound and naught for the whole.

Earth of diuers
colours good to
dy withall.

They say there be in these mountains tigers, lions, beares, woolues, wilde cats, foxes, Dantes, Ounces, hogs and déere: birdes as well rauenuous as others, and the most part of them are blacke, as vnder the North both beasts & birdes be white. Also there be great & terrible snakes which destroyed a whole armie of the Ingas passing that way, yet they say that an olde woman did inchant them in such sort that they became so gentle, that a man might sit vpon one of them. The countrey of Peru adioining vnto the mountaines of Andes westward toward the sea, and containing 15. or 20. leagues in bredth is all of very hot soil yet fresh, bringing forth many good trées and fruites because it is well watered: here growe abundance of flags, rushes, herbes, and trées so slender and loose, that laying your hands vpon them the leaues will fall off. And among these herbes and fresh flowers the men and women lue and abide without any houses or bedding, euen as the cattell doe in the fields: and some of them haue tailes. They be grosse, and weare long haire. They haue no beards, yet haue they diuers languages.

Those which lue on the tops of these mountains of Andes betwéene the cold and the heate for the most part be blinde of one eie, and some altogether blinde, and scarce you shall finde two men of them together, but one of them is halfe blinde. Also there groweth in these fields, notwithstanding the great heate of the sand good Maiz, and Potatos, and an herbe which they name Coca, which they carrie continually in their mouthes (as in the East India they vse another herbe named Betele) which also (they say) satisfieth both hunger and thirst. Also there are other kindes of graines and rootes whereon they féede. Moreover there is plentie of wheate, barley, millet, vines, and fruitful trées, which are brought out of Spaine and planted there. For all these things prooue well in this countrey, because it is so commodiously watered.

An herbe named
Coca which sa-
tisfieth hunger
and thirst.

Also they sow much cotton wooll, which of nature is white, red, blacke, gréene, yellow, orange tawnie, and of diuers other colours.

Likewise they affirme, that from Tumbez southward it doth neither raine, thunder, nor lighten, for the space of fife hundred leagues of land: but at some times there falleth some little shower. Also it is reported, that from Tumbez to Chili there breede no peacocks, hennies, cocks, nor eagles, falcons, haukes, kites, nor any other kinde of rauening fowles, and yet there are of them in all other regions and countreies: but there are many duckes, géese, herons, pigeons, partridges, quails, and many other kindes of birdes. There are also a certaine kinde of fowle like vnto a ducke which hath no wings to flie withall, but it hath fine thinne feathers which couer all the body. Likewise there are bitters that make war with the seale or sea wolfe: for finding them out of the water they will labour to picke out their eies, that they may not see to get to the water againe, and then they doe kill them.

They

They say it is a pleasant sight to behold the fight betwene the said bitters and seales. With the beards of these seales men make cleane their téeth, because they be wholesome for the toothach. There are certaine beastes which those of the country call Xacos, and the Spaniards shéepe, because they beare wooll like vnto a shéepe, but are made much like vnto a déere, hauing a saddle backe like vnto a camell. They will carrie the burthen of 100. weight. The Spaniards ride vpon them, and when they be wearie they will turne their heads backward, and void out of their mouthes a woonderful stinking water.

Xacos a kinde of
great sheepe that
reen ride vpon.

From the riuer of Plata and Lima southward there bréede no crocodiles nor lizards, no snakes, nor any kinde of venemous vermine, but great store of good fishes bréede in those riuers. On the coast of Saint Michael in The South sea there are many rocks of salt couered with egges. On the point of Saint Helena are certaine Well springs which cast forth a liquor, that serueth in stead of pitch and tarre. They say that in Chili there is a fountaine, the water whereof will conuert wood into stone. In the hauen of Truxillo there is a lake of fresh water, and the bottome thereof is of good hard salt. In the Andes beyond Xauxa there is a riuer of fresh water, in the bottome whereof there lieth white salt. Also they affirme by the report of those of the country, that there haue dwelt giants in Peru, of whose statures they found in Porto-viejo, and in the hauen of Truxillo, bones and iawes with téeth, which were thrée and fower fingers long.

Ramusius 3. vol.
fol. 363.

In the yéere 1540. the capitaine Ferdinando Alorchon went by the commandement of the Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoga with two ships to discouer the bottome of the gulfe of California, and diuers other countries.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. cap.
36.

In this yéere 1540. Gonsaluo Pizarro went out of the citie of Quito to discouer the country of Canell or Cinamome, a thing of great fame in that country. He had with him two hundred Spaniards horsemen and footemen, and thrée hundred Indians to carrie burthens. He went forward til he came to Guixos, which is the farthest place gouerned by the Ingas: where there happened a great earthquake with raine and lightning, which sunke 70. houses. They passed ouer cold and snowie hils, where they found many Indians frozen to death, maruelling much of the great snowe that they found vnder the Equinoctiall line. From hence they went to a prouince called Cumaco, where they tarried two monethes because it rained continually. And beyond they sawe the Cinamome trées, which be very great, the leaues thereof resembling bay leeuies, both leaues, branches, rootes, and all tasting of Cinamome. The rootes haue the whole taste of Cinamome. But the best are certaine knops like vnto Alcornoques or acornes, which are good marchandise. It appéereth to be wilde Cinamome, and there is much of it in the East Indies, and in the Islands of Iaoa or Iaua.

Wild Cinamom
in the Islands of
Iaua.
Coca.

From hence they went to the prouince and citie of Coca, where they rested fifty daies. From that place forwards they trauailed along by a riuers side being 60. leagues long, without finding of any bridge, nor yet any soorde to passe ouer to the other side. They found one place of this riuer, where it had a fall of 200. fathoms déepe, where the water made such a noise, that it would make a man almost deafe to stand by it. And not far beneath this fall, they say they found a chanell of stone very smooth, of two hundred foote broad, and the riuer runneth by: and there they made a bridge to passe ouer on the other side, where they went to a country called Guema, which was so poore, that they could get nothing to eate but onely fruits and herbes. From that place forward they found a people of some reason, wearing certaine clothing made of cotton wooll, where they made a brigandine, & there they found also certaine Canoas, wherein they put their sicke men, and their treasure and best apparell, giuing the charge of them to one Francis de Orellana: and Gonsaluo Pizarro went by land with the rest of the companie along by the riuers side, and at night went into the boates, and they trauailed in this order two hundred leagues as it appéereth. When Pizarro came to the place where he thought to finde the brigandine and Canoas, and could haue no sight of them nor yet heare of them, he thought himselfe out of all hope, because he was in a strange country without victuales, clothing, or any thing else: wherefore they were faine to eate their horses, yea and dogs also, because the country was poore and barren, and the iourney long, to goe to Quito. Yet notwithstanding taking a good hart to themselves

El pongo, a
mighty fall of a
riuier.

Guema.

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themselves they went on forwards in their iourney, trauailing continually 18. monethes, and it is reported, that they went almost 5. hundred leagues, wherein they did neither see sunne nor any thing else whereby they might be comforted, wherefore of two hundred men which went fourth at the first, there returned not backe past ten vnto Quito, and these so weake, ragged, and disfigured that they knew them not. Orellana went fife hundred or sixe hundred leagues downe the riuer, seeing diuers countreyes and people on both sides thereof, among whom he affirmed some to be Amazones. He came into Castile, excusing himselfe, that the water and streames draue him downe perforce. This riuer is named The riuer of Orellana, & Rio de Orellana. other name it the riuer of the Amazones, because there be women there which liue like vnto them.

In the yéere 1510. Cortes went with his wife into Spaine where he died of a disease seuen yéeres after.

In the yéere 1541. it is recorded that Don Stephan de Gama gouernour of India sailed toward the streit of Mecca. He came with al his fléete vnto an anker in the Island of Maçua, and Maçua. from thence vpwards in small shipping he went along the coast of the Abassins and Ethiopia, till he came to the Island of Suachen, standing in 20. degrés towards the north, and from Suachen. thence to the hauen of Cossir, standing in 27. degrés, and so he crossed ouer to the citie of Cossir. Toro standing on the shore of Arabia, and along by it he went vnto Suez, which is the Toro. farthest ende of the streit, and so he turned backe the same way, leauing that countrey and Suez. coast discouered so far as neuer any other Portugall captaine had done, although Lopez Suarez gouernour of India went to the hauen of Iuda, and the hauen of Mecca standing on the coast of Arabia in 23. degrés of latitude, and 150. leagues from the mouth of the streit. Don Stephan de Gama crossing ouer from Cossir to the citie of Toro, as it is reported found an Island of Brimstone, which was dispeopled by the hand of Mahumet, wherein many crabs An Island of brimstone in the Red sea. doe bréede, which increase nature : wherefore they be greatly estéemed of such as are vnchaste. Also they say that there are in this streit many roses which open when women are in their labour.

John Leo writeth in the very end of his Geographie which he made of Africa, that there is in the mountaines of Atlas a roote called Surnag, ouer which if a maid chance to make water shée shall léese her virginittie.

In the same yéere 1541. Don Diego de Almagro killed the Marques Francis Pizarro, and his brother Francis Martinez of Alcantara in the citie de los Reyes, otherwise called Lima, and made himselfe gouernour of that countrey.

In the yéere 1540. the Viceroy Don Antony de Mendoza sent one Francis Vasquez de Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 17. Coronado by land vnto the prouince of Sibola, with an armie of Spaniards and Indians. Sibola. They went out of Mexico, and came to Culucan, and from thence to Sibola, which standeth in 30. degrés of latitude. They required peace with the people and some victuals, being thereof destitute. But they answered that they vsed not to giue any thing to those that came vnto them in warlike manner. So the Spaniards assalted the towne and tooke it, and called it Nueva Granada, because the generall himselfe was borne in Granada. The soldiers found themselves deceiued by the words of the Friers, which had béene in those parts before ; and because they woulde not returne backe to Mexico againe with emptie hands, they went to the towne of Acuco, where they had knowledge of Axa and Quiuira, where there was a king Acuco. very rich, that did worship a crosse of golde, and the picture of the quéene of Heauen. They indured many extremities in this iourney, and the Indians fled away from them, and in one morning they found thirtie of their horses dead. From Cicuic they went to Quiuira, Circuic. Quiuira. which was two hundred leagues off, according to their account, passing all through a plaine country, and making by the way certaine hillocks of cowe dung, because thereby they might not loose their way in their returne. They had there haile-stones as bigge as Oranges. Now when they were come to Quiuira, they found the king called Tatarax, which they sought for, with a iewell of copper hanging about his necke, which was all his riches. They saw neither any crosse, nor any image of the quéene of Heauen, nor any other token of Christian religion. It is written of this countrey that it is but smally inhabited, Gomara hist. gen. lib. 6. cap. 18. & 19. princially

Sheepe as big as
horses.

Dogs carrying 50
pound weight
on their backs.

Japan discovered
by chance.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 6. cap.
18.

Gomara hist.
gen. lib. 4. cap.
13.
Ramusius 1. vol.
fol. 375, pag. 2.

Saint Thomas.

La Nublada.

Roca Partida.

Baxos.

Los Reyes.

pally in the plaine and champion places, because the men and women goe in herds with their cattell, whereof they haue great plentie, euen as the Arabians do in Barbarie, and they remooue from place to place, euen as the season serueth, and the pastures to fée their cattle. In these parts are certaine beasts almost as bigge as horses, they haue very great hornes, and they beare wooll like vnto shéepe, and so the Spaniards call them. They haue abundance of oxen verie monstrous, being camel backed, and hauing long beards, and on their necke long manes like vnto horses. They liue with eating of these oxen and drinking of their blood, and apparell themselves with the skins of the same. The most part of the flesh that they do eate is rawe, or euill roasted, for they lacke pots to séeth it in. They cut their meat with certaine kniues made of flint stone. Their fruite are damsons, hasel-nuts, walnuts, melons, grapes, pines, and mulberries. There be dogges so bigge, that one of them alone will hold a bull, though he be neuer so wilde. When they remooue, these dogs do carrie their children, wiues, and stuffe vpon their backes, and they are able to carrie fiftie pound weight. I passe ouer many things, because the order which I follow will not permit me to be long.

In the yéere of our Lord 1542. one Diego de Freitas being in the realme of Siam, and in citie of Dodra as captaine of a ship, there fled from him thrée Portugals in a Iunco (which is a kind of ship) towards China. Their names were Antony de Mota, Francis Zeimoro, and Antony Pexoto, directing their course to the citie of Liampo, standing in 30. and odde degrés of latitude. There fell vpon their sterne such a storme, that it set them off the land, and in fewe daies they sawe an Island towards the east standing in 32. degrés, which they do name Japan, which seemeth to be the Isle of Zipangri, whereof Paulus Venetus maketh mention, and of the riches thereof. And this Island of Japan hath gold, siluer, and other riches.

In this yéere 1542. Don Antonio de Mendoça Viceroy of Nueua Spagna, sent his capitaines and pilots to discover the coast of Cape del Enganno, where a fléete of Cortez had been before. They sailed till they came to a place called Sierras Neuadas, or The snowie mountaines, standing in 40. degrés toward the north, where they saw ships with merchandises, which carried on their stems the images of certaine birdes called Alcatrazzi, and had the yards of their sailes gilded, and their prowesse laid ouer with siluer. They seemed to be of the Isles of Iapan, or of China; for they said that it was not about thirtie daies sailing vnto their country.

In the same yéere 1542. Don Antony de Mendoça sent vnto the Islands of Mindanao a fléete of sixe ships with fower hundred soldiers, and as many Indians of the countrey, the generall whereof was one Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, being his brother in law and a man in great estimation. They set saile from the haven of Natiuidad standing in 20. degrés towards the north, vpon All Saints éeue, and shaped their course towards the west. They had sight of the Island of S. Thomas, which Hernando de Grijalua had discovered, and beyond in 17. degrés they had sight of another Island which they named La Nublada, that is, The cloudie Island. From thence they went to another Island named Roca partida, that is, The clouen Rocke. The 3. of December they found certaine Baxos or flates of sixe or seuen fathoms déepe. The 15. of the same moneth they had sight of the Islands, which Diego de Roca, and Gomez de Sequeira, and Aluaro de Saavedra had discovered, and named them Los Reyes, because they came vnto them on Twelue day. And beyond them they found other Islands in 10. degrés all standing round, and in the midst of them they came to an anker, where they tooke fresh water and wood.

In the same yéere 1542. Don Diego de Almagro was slaine in Peru by the hands of one Don Vaca de Castro.

In the yéere 1543. in Ianuarie they departed from the foresaid Islands with all the fléete, and had sight of certaine Islands, out of which there came vnto them men in a certaine kinde of boats, and they brought in their hands crosses, and saluted the Spaniards in the Spanish toong saying, Buenas dias, Matelotes, that is to say, Good morrow, companions; whereat the Spaniards much marueiled, being then so farre out of Spaine, to see the men of that countrey with

with crosses, and to be saluted by them in the Spanish toong, and they seemed in their behaviour to incline somewhat to our Catholique faith. The Spaniards not knowing, that many thereof had been Christened by Francis de Castro, at the commandement of Antony Galuano, some of them named these Islands, *Islas de las cruces*, and others named them *Islas de los Matelotes*.

In the same yeere 1543. the first of February Rui Lopez had sight of that noble Island Mindanao standing in 9. degrés: they could not double it nor yet come to an ancre as they would, because the christened kings and people resisted them, hauing giuen their obedience to Antonie Galuano, whom they had in great estimation, and there were fīue or sixe kings that had receiued baptisme, who by no meanes would incurre his displeasure. Rui Lopez perceiuing this, and hauing a contrary winde, sailed along the coast to finde some aide; and in 4. or 5. degrés he found a small Island which they of the countrey call Sarangam, which they tooke perforce, and in memory of the vizeroy who had sent them thither they named it Antonia, where they remained a whole yeere, in which time there fell out things worthie to be written; but because there are more histories that intreat of the same I leaue them, meaning to meddle with the discoueries onely.

In the same yeere 1543. and in the moneth of August the generall Rui Lopez sent one Bartholomew de la Torre in a smal ship into new Spaine, to acquaint the vizeroy don Antonio de Mendoza with all things. They went to the Island of Siria, Gaonata, Bisaia, and many others standing in 11. and 12. degrés towards the north, where Magellan had beene, and Francis de Castro also, who there baptized many, and the Spaniards called the Philippinas in memory of the prince of Spaine. Here they tooke victuals and wood, and hoised sailes, they sailed for certaine daies with a fore-winde, till it came vpon the skanting, and came right vnder the tropique of Cancer. The 25 of September they had sight of certaine Islands, which they named Malabrigos, that is to say, The euil roads. Beyond them they discouered Las dos Hermanas, that is The two sisters. And beyond them also they saw 4. islands more, which they called los Volcanes. The second of October they had sight of Farfana, beyond which there standeth an high pointed rock, which casteth out fire at 5. places. So sayling in 16. degrés of northerly latitude, from whence they had come, as it seemeth wanting winde, they arriued againe at the Islands of the Philippinas. They had sight of 6. or 7. Islands more, but they ankered not at them. They found also an Archipelagus of Islands well inhabited with people, lying in 15. or 16. degrés: the people be white, and the women well proportioned, and more beautifull and better arraied than in any other place of those parts, hauing many iewels of gold, which was a token, that there was some of that metal in the same countrey. Here were also barkes of 43. cubits in length, and 2. fathomes and a halfe in bredth, and the planks 5. inches thicke, which barkes were rowed with oares. They told the Spaniards, that they vsed to saile in them to China, and that if they would go thither they should haue pilots to conduct them, the countrey not being about 5. or 6. daies sayling from thence. There came vnto them also certaine barkes or boates handsomely decked, wherein the master and principall men sate on high, and vnderneath were very blacke moores with frizled haire: and being demanded where they had these black moores, they answered, that they had them from certaine Islands standing fast by Sebut, where there were many of them, a thing that the Spaniards much maruailed at, because from thence it was about 300. leagues to the places where the black people were. Therefore it seemed, that they were not naturally borne in that climate, but that they be in certaine places scattered ouer the whole circuite of the world. For euen so they be in the Islands of Nicobar and Andeman, which stand in the gulf of Bengala, and from thence by the space of 500. leagues we doe not know of any blacke people. Also Vasco Nunez de Valboa declareth that as he went to discouer The South sea, in a certaine land named Quareca he found black people with frizled haire, whereas there were neuer any other found either in Noua Spagna, or in Castilia del Oro, or in Peru.

In the yeere 1544. Don Gutierre de Vargas bishop of Placenza sent a fleet from the city of Siuil vnto the streits of Magellan: which is reported to haue beene done by the counsel of

The Isles of Matelotes.

Mindanao.

Sarangam.

The relation of John Gaetan in the first vol. of Ramusius fol. 376. The Philippinas.

Malabrigos.

Las dos Hermanas. Los Volcanes. La Farfana.

Sixe or seuen islands more. An Archipelagus of Islands.

Pilots for China.

Gomara hist. gen. lib. 4. cap. 44. the

the vizeroy Don Antonie de Mendoça his cousin. Some suspected, that they went to Maluco, others to China, others, that they went onely to discover the land betwixt the streite and the land of Peru on the other side of Chili, because it was reported to be very rich in gold and siluer. But this fléete by reason of contrary windes could not passe the streit, yet one small barke passed the same, and sailed along the coast, and discovered all the land, till he came vnto Chirimai, and Arequipa, which was aboue 500. leagues, for the rest was alreadie discovered by Diego de Almagro, and Francis Pizarro, and their captaines and people at diuers times. By this it appéereth, that from The streit of the Equinoctial line on both sides is wholly discovered.

The Isle of
Moro.

Antonie Galua-
no gon out of
the Malucas.

In the yéere 1545. & in the moneth of Ianuarie Rui Lopez de villa Lobos, and Giraldo with the Castilians came to the Island of Moro, and the citie of Camafo, where they were well receiued of the kings of Gilolo and Tidore, and of the people of the country (because Antony Galuano was gone) and put the Captaine Don George de Castro to great trouble, as appéered by those things which passed betwéene him and the Portugals, and the great expences whereunto he put the fortresse.

Os Papuas.

Nueua Guinea.

In the same yéere 1545. Rui Lopez de villa Lobos sent from the Island of Tidore another ship towards New Spaine by the south side of the line, wherein was captaine one Inigo Ortez de Rotha, and for pilot one Iaspar Rico. They sailed to the coast of Os Papuas, and ranged all along the same, and because they knew not that Saauedra had béene there before, they chalenged the honor and fame of that discoverie. And because the people there were blacke and had frised haire, they named it Nueua Guinea. For the memorie of Saauedra as then was almost lost. As all things else do fall into obliuion, which are not recorded and illustrated by writing.

The Isle of
Luçones.

Siluer more
esteemed then
gold.

Moscouie dis-
covered by sea,
by the English.

In this yéere 1545. and in the moneth of Iune, there went a Iunk from the citie of Borneo, wherein went a Portugall called Peter Fidalgo, and by contrary windes he was driuen towards the north; where he founde an Island standing in 9. or 10. degrés, that stretched it selfe to 22. degrés of latitude, which is called The Isle of the Luçones, because the inhabitants thereof were so named. It may haue some other name and harborowes, which as yet we know not: it runneth from the north vnto the southwest, and standeth betwéene Mindanao and China. They say they sailed along by it 250. leagues, where the land was fruitfull and well couered, and they affirme, that there they will giue two Pezos of gold for one of siluer: and yet it standeth not farre from the country of China.

In the yéere 1553. there went out of England certaine shipping, and as it appéered they sailed northward along the coast of Norway and Finmark, and from thence east, till they came betwéene 70. and 80. degrés vnto Moscouie, for so far one of the ships went: but I know not what became of the rest: & this was the last discoverie made vntil this time. From this lande of Moscouie eastward you saile vnto Tartary, and at the farther end of it standeth the country and prouince of China. It is said that betwéene China and Tartary there is a wall aboue 200. leagues in length, standing néere vnto 50. degrés of latitude.

Now I gather by all the precedent discoveries, that the whole earth is in circuite 360. degrés according to the Geometrie thereof: and to euery degré the ancient writers allow 17. leagues & a halfe, which amount vnto 6300. leagues yet I take it that euery degré is iust 17. leagues. Howsoeuer it be, all is discovered and sailed from the east vnto the west almost euen as the sunne compasseth it: but from the south to the north there is great difference; for towards the north pole there is found discovered no more than 77. or 78. degrés, which come to 1326. leagues: and towards the south pole there is discovered from the Equinoctial to 52. or 53. degrees, that is, to the streit which Magellan passed through, which amounted to about 900. leagues; and putting both these saide maine sums together, they amount to 2226. leagues. Now take so many out of 6300. leagues, there remaineth as yet vndiscovered north and south aboue the space of 4000. leagues.

THE
Worldes Hydrographical Discription.

WHEREIN IS PROUED

NOT ONELY BY AUTHORITY OF WRITERS;

BUT ALSO

BY LATE EXPERIENCE OF TRAUELLERS

AND

REASONS OF SUBSTANTIALL PROBABILITIES,

THAT

THE WORLDE IN ALL HIS ZONES, CLYMATS AND PLACES,
IS HABITABLE AND INHABITED, AND THE SEAS LIKEWISE VNIUERSALLY NAUGABLE
WITHOUT ANY NATURALL ANOYANCE TO HINDER THE SAME

WHEREBY APPEARES

THAT FROM ENGLAND THERE IS A SHORT AND SPEEDIE PASSAGE INTO THE SOUTH SEAS,
TO CHINA, MOLUCCA, PHILIPPINA, AND INDIA, BY NORTHERLY NAVIGATION
TO THE RENOWNE, HONOUR AND BENEFIT
OF HER MAIESTIES STATE, AND COMMUNALTY.

PUBLISHED BY

J. DAUIS OF SANDRUDG BY DARTMOUTH
IN THE COUNTIE OF DEUON. GENTLEMAN.

ANNO 1595. MAY 27.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON

BY THOMAS DAWSON
DWELLING AT THE THREE CRANES IN THE VINETREE.

AND ARE THERE TO BE SOLD,

1595.

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TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE

LORDES OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONORABLE PRIUE COUNSAILE.

MY most honorable good Lords for as much as it hath pleased God, not only to bestow vpon your Lordships, the excellent gifts of natures benefite, but hath also beutified the same with such speciall ornamentes of perfection: As that thereby the mindes and attentiuie industrie of all, haue no small regard vnto your honorable proceedings. And so much the rather, because to the great content of all her maiesties most louing subiectes, it hath pleased her highnes in her stately regard of gouernment, to make choise of your honours as speciall members in the regall disposition of the mightinesse of her imperiall command: Emboldeneth me among the rest to humble my selfe at your honorable feete, in presenting vnto the fauour of your excellent iudgements this short treatise of the Worldes Hydrographicall bands. And knowing that not onely your renowned places, but also the singulartie of your education, by the prudent care of your noble progeniters hath and still doth induce and drawe you to fauour and imbrace whatsoever beareth but a seeming of the commonweales good: Much more then that which in substantiall truth shal be most beneficiall to the same. I am therefore the more encouraged not to slacke this my enterprise, because that through your honorable assistance when in the ballance of your wisdomes this discouery shall haue indifferent consideration, I knowe it will be ordered by you to bee a matter of no small moment to the good of our countrie. For thereby wee shall not onely haue a copious and rich vent for al our naturall and artificiall comodities of England, in short time by safe passage, and without offence of any, but also shall by the first imployment retourne into our countrey by spedie passage, all Indian commodities in the ripenes of their perfection, whereby her Maiesties dominions should bee the storehouse of Europe, the nurse of the world and the glory of nations, in yielding all forrayne naturall benefites by an easie rate: In communicating vnto all whatsoever God hath vnto any one assigned: And by the increase of all nations through the mightinesse of trade. Then should the merchant, tradesman, and poore artificer, haue imployment equall to their power and expedition, whereby what notable benefites would growe to her Maiestie, the state, and communalitie, I refer to your perfect iudgements. And for that I am desirous to auoyde the contradiction of vulgar concepts, I haue thought it my best course, before I make profe of the certaintie of this discouerie, to lay downe whatsoever may against the same be obiected, and in the ouerthrowe of those conceived hinderances the safenes of the passage shall most manifestly appeare, which when your wisdomes, shall with your patience peruse, I doe in no sort distrust your fauorable acceptance and honorable assistance of the same. And although for diuers considerations I doe not in this treatis discouer my ful knowledge for the place and altitude of this passage, yet whensoever it shall so please your honours to commaund I will in few wordes make the full certainty thereof knowne vnto your honours being alwaies redie with my person and poore habilitie to prosecute this action as your honours shall direct, beseeching God so to support you with all happines of
this

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

this life, fauour of her Maiestie, loue of her highnes subiectes, and increase of honour as
may be to your best content.

I most humbly take my leaue from Sandrudg by Dartmouth
this 27. of May 1595.

Your Honore in all dutifull seruice to command

I. D.

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THE
WORLDS HYDROGRAPHICALL
OBJECTIONS

AGAINST
AL NORTHERLY DISCOUERIES.

ALL *impediments in nature, and circumstances of former practises duly considered. The Northerly passage to China seme very improbable. For first it is a matter very doubtfull whether there bee any such passage or no, sith it hath beene so often attempted and neuer performed, as by historical relation appeareth, whereby wee may fully perswade our selues that America and Asia, or some other continent are so conioyned together as that it is impossible for any such passage to be, the certaintie whereof is substantially proued vnto vs by the experience of Sebastian Gabota an expert Pylot, and a man reported of especiall iudgement, who being that wayes employed returned without successe. Iasper Corteriallis a man of no meane practise did likewise put the same in execution, with diuers others, all which in the best parte haue concluded ignorance. If not a full consent of such matter. And therefore sith practise hath reproved the same, there is no reason why men should dote vpon so great an incertayntie, but if a passage may bee proued and that the contentenes are disioyned whereof there is small hope, yet the impedimentes of the clymate (wherein the same is supposed to lie) are such, and so offensiuie as that all hope is thereby likewise vtterly secluded, for with the frozen zone no reasonable creature will deny, but that the extremitie of colde is of such forceable action, (being the lest in the fulnes of his owne nature without mitigation,) as that it is impossible for any mortall creature to indure the same, by the vertue of whose working power, those Northerly Seas are wholly congealed, making but one mas or contenten of yse, which is the more credible because the ordenary experience of our fishermen geueth vs sufficient notice thereof, by reason of the great quantitie of yse which they find to be brought vpon the coast of newefound land from those Northerne regions. By the abundance whereof they are so noysomly pestred, as that in many weekes they haue not beene able to recouer the shore, yea and many times recouer it not vntill the season of fishing bee ouer passed. This then being so in the Septentrionall latitude of 46, 47 and 48 degrees, which by natures benifit are latitudes of better temperature than ours of England, what hope should there remayne for a nauegable passing to be by the norwest, in the altitude of 60, 70 or 80 degrees, as it may bee more Northerly, when in these temperate partes of the world the shod of that frozen sea breadeth such noysome pester: as the pore fishermē doe continually sustain. And therefore it seemeth to be more then ignorance that men should attempt Nauigation in desperate clymates and through seas congeled that neuer dissolue, where the stiffnes of the colde maketh the ayre palpably grosse without certainty that the landes are disioyned.

* Hakluyt has published an extract from this treatise in his Collection of Voyages; but the original work is so very rare and occupieth so small a space that it has been deemed eligible to reprint it entire. EDIT.

All which impediments if they were not, yet in that part of the world, Nauigation cannot be performed as ordenarily it is vsed, for no ordenarie sea chart can describe those regions either in the partes Geographicall or Hydrographically, where the Meridians doe so speedily gather themselues together, the parallels beeing a verie small proportion to a great circle, where quicke and vncertayne variation of the Compasse may greatly hinder or vtterly ouerthrow the attempt. So that for lack of Curious lyned globes to the right vse of Nauigation; with many other instruments either vnknowne or out of vse, and yet of necessitie for that voyage, it should with great difficultie be attained. All which the premises considered I refer the conclusion of these obiections and certainty of this passage to the generall opinion of my louing countrymen, whose dangerous attempts in those desperate vncertainties I wish to be altered, and better employed in matters of great probabilitie.

To prove a passage by the Norwest, without any land impediments to hinder the same, by authoritie of writters, and experience of trauellers, contrary to the former obiections.

Homer an ancient writer affirmeth that the world being deuided into Asia, Africa, and Europe is an Iland, which is likewise so reported by Strabo in his first book of Cosmographie, Pomponius Mela in his third booke, Higinius, Solinus, with others. Whereby it is manifest that America was then vndiscovered and to them vnknowne, otherwise they would haue made relation of it as of the rest. Neither could they in reason haue reported Asia, Africa and Europa to be an Iland vnles they had knowne the same to be conioyned and in all his partes to be inuironed with the seas. And further America being very neere of equall quantitie with all the rest could not be reported as a parte either of Africa, Asia, or Europa in the ordenarie lymites of discretion. And therefore of necessitie it must be concluded that Asia, Africa and Europa the first reueiled world being knowne to be an Iland, America must likewise be in the same nature because in no parte it conioyneth with the first.

By experience of Trauellers to proue this passage.

And that wee neede not to range after forrayne and ancient authorities, whereat curious wittes may take many exceptions, let vs consider the late discoueries performed, within the space of two ages not yet passed, whereby it shall so manifestly appeare that Asia, Africa, and Europa are knit together, making one continent, & are wholly inuironed with the seas, as that no reasonable creature shall haue occasion thereof to doubt. And first beginning at the north of Europe, from the north cape in 71 degrees, whereby our merchantes passe in their trade to S. Nicholas in Rouscia descending towards the South, the Nauigation is without impediment to the cape of Bona Esperanca, ordenarily traded & daily practised. And therefore not to be gaynesayd: which two capes are distant more then 2000 leagues by the neerest tract, in all which distaunces America is not founde to be any thing neere the coastes either of Europe or Afric, for from England the chefest of the partes of Europa to Newfoundland being parte of America it is 600. leagues the neerest distance that any part thereof beareth vnto Europa. And from cape Verde in Gynny being parte of Africa, vnto cape Saint Augustine in Brasill beeing parte of America, it wanteth but little of 500 leagues, the neerest distance betweene Africa and America. Likewise from the sayd North Cape to Noua Zemla by the course of East and West neerest, there is passable sayling, and the North partes of Tartaria are well knowne to be banded with the Scithian Seas to the promontory Tabin so that truely it is apparant that America is farre remooued & by a great sea diuided from any parte of Africa or Europa. And for the Southerne partes of the firste reueiled worlde it is most manifest that from the cape of Bona Esperanca towards the east, the coastes of Safalla, Mosambique, Melinde, Arabia, and Persia, whose gulfes lye open to the mayne ocean: And all the coastes of East India to the capes of Callacut & Malacca, are banded with a mightie sea vpon the South whose lymmates are yet vndiscovered. And from the cape of Malacca towards the North so high as the Ile of Iapan, & from thence the coast of China being part of Asia continueth still North to the promontory Tabin, where the Scithian sea &
this

this Indian sea have recourse together, no part of America being nere the same by many 100 leagues to hinder this passage.

For from the Callafornia being parte of America, to the yles of Philippina bordering vpon the coastes of China being parte of Asia is 2100 leagues and therefore America is farther separated from Asia, then from any the sea coastes either of Europe or Africa. Wherby it is most manifest that Asia, Africa & Europa are conioyned in an Iland. And therefore of necessity followeth that America is contained vnder one or many ylands, for from the septentrionall lat. of 75 deg. vnto the straights of Magilan it is knowne to be nauigable & hath our west occian to lyment the borders thereof, & through the straights of Magillane no man doubteth but there is Nauigable passage, from which straights, vpon all the Western borders of America, the costs of Chili, Chuli, Rocha, Baldiua, Peru to the ystmos of Dariena & so the whole West shores of Noua Hispania are banded out by a long & mightie sea, not hauing any shore neere vnto it by one thousand leagues towards the West, howe then may it be possible that Asia & America should make one contentment:

To proue the premisses by the attemptes of our owne Countreyemen, besides others.

BUT least it should be objected that the premisses are conceites, the acting authours not nominated, I will vse some boldnes to recyte our owne countreyemen by whose paynefull trauels these trutthes are made manifest vnto vs. Hoping & intreating that it may not bee offensiuie, though in this sorte I make relation of their actions. And firste to begin with the North partes of Europe, it is not vnkowne to all our countreyemen, that from the famous citie of London Syr Huge Willobie, knight, gaue the first attempt for the North estren discoueries, which were afterward most notably accomplished by master Borrowes, a Pylot of excellent iudgemente & fortunate in his actions, so farre as Gologoua Vaygats and Noua Zemla, with trade thereby procured to S. Nicholas in Rouscia. Then succeded master Ginkinson who by his land trauell discouered the Scithian sea to lymit the North coastes of Tartaria, so farre as the riuier Ob. So that by our countreyemen the North partes of Europe are at full made knowne vnto vs: & prooued to ioyn with no other continent to hinder this passage. The common & ordenary trade of the Spanyard & Portingall from Lysbome to the coastes of Guyny, Bynny, Mina, Angola, Manicongo, & the cost of Ethiopia to the cape of Bona Esperanca, & all the cost of Est India & Illes of Molucca, (by which wonderfull & copious trade, they are so mightily enriched, as that now they challeng a monarchy vnto themselves vpon the whole face of the earth) that their trade I say, prooueth that America is farre sepeparated from any parte of Africa or the South of Asia. And the same Spaniard trading in the Citie of Canton within the kingdome of China, hauing layd his storehouse of abundance in Manellia a Citie by him erected in Luzon one of the Illes of Philippa bordring vpon the cost of China, doth by his common & ordenarie passages to Iapan & other the borders of the coast, knowe that the Est continent of Asia lieth due North & South so high as the promontory Tabin, wher the Scithian sea & his maine occian of China are conioyned. But with what care they labour to conceale that matter of Hydrographie for the better preseruati- on of their fortunate estate, I refer to the excellent iudgement of statesmen, that painefull labour in the glorious administration of a well gouerned Common weale, so that by them Africa & Asia are proued in no parte to ioyn with America, thereby to hinder this passage.

By late experience to proue that America is an Iland, & may be sayled round about contrary to the former obiection.

ASIA, Africa & Europa being prooued to be conioyned & an Iland, it now resteth to bee knowne by what authoritie America is proued to be likewise an Iland, so that thereby all land impedimentes are remoued, which might brede the dread or vncertaynty of this passage. The first Englishman that gaue any attempt vpon the coastes of West India being parte of America was syr Iohn Hawkins knight: who there & in that attempt as in many others sithins, did and hath prooued himselfe to be a man of excellent capacity, great gouernment, & perfect

fect resolution. For before he attempted the same it was a matter doubtfull & reported the extremest lymit of danger to sayle vpon those coastes. So that it was generally in dread among vs, such is the slownes of our nation, for the most part of vs rather ioy at home like Epicures to sit & carpe at other mens hassardes, our selues not daring to giue any attempt. (I meane such as are at leisure to seeke the good of their countrie not being any wayes imployed as paynefull members of a common weale,) then either to further or giue due commendations to the deseruers, howe then may Syr Iohn Hawkins bee esteemed, who being a man of good account in his Country, of wealth & great imployment, did notwithstanding for the good of his Countrey, to procure trade, giue that notable & resolute attempt. Whose steps many hundreds following sithins haue made themselves men of good esteeme, & fit for the seruice of her sacrid maiestie.

And by that his attempt of America (wherof West India is a parte) is well proued to be many hundred leagues distant from any part of Afric or Europe.

Then succeeded Syr Francis Drake in his famous & euer renowned voyage about the world, who departing from Plimouth, directed his course for the straightes of Magillane, which place was also reported to be most dangerous by reason of the continuall violent & vnresistable current that was reported to haue continuall passage into the straightes, so that once entering therein there was no more hope remayning of returne, besides the perill of shelles, straightness of the passage & vncertayne wyndinges of the same, all which bread dread in the highest degree, the distance & dangers considered. So that before his revealing of the same the matter was in question, whether there were such a passage or no, or whether Magillane did passe the same, if there was such a man so named, but Syr Francis Drake, considering the great benefit that might arise by his voyage through that passage, & the notable discoueries, that might be thereby performed, regarded not these dastardly affections of the idle multitude, but considering with iudgement that in nature there could be no such perpetuities of violence where the occian is in no sorte straighted, proceeded with discreet prouision & so departing from England arriued vnto the same, & with good successe (through Gods most fauorable mercy passed through) wherein his resolution hath deserued everlasting commendations. For the place in viewe is dangerous & verry vnpleasing, & in the execution to passe Nothing may seeme more doubtful, for 14 leagues west within the cape of Saint Maria lyeth the first straight, where it floweth & ebbeth with violent swiftnes, the straight not half a mile broad, the first fall into which straight is verry dangerous & doubtfull. This straight lasteth in his narrownes, 3 leagues, then falling into another sea 8 leagues broad & 8 leagues through there lyeth the second straight due west South West from the firste, which course being vnknowne it is no small perill in finding this second straightes, & that agayne is not a myle broad & continueth the bredth 3 or 4 leagues Southwest, with violent swiftnes of flowing & reflowing, & there agayne he falleth into another Sea, through which due, South South West, lyeth the cape Froward, & his straight (so rightly named in the true nature of his peruersnes, for be the wind neuer so fauorable, at that cape it will be directly agaynst you with violent & daungerous flaughes) where there are three places probable to continue the passage. But the true straight lyeth from this cape West Nor West, where the land is very high all couered with snowe, & full of dangerous counter-windes, that beate with violence from those huge mountaines, from which cape the straight is neuer broder then 2 leagues & in many places not halfe a mile, without hope of ancorage, the channell beeing shore deepe more then tow hundreth fadomes, & so continueth to the South sea forty leagues only to bee releued in little dangerous coues, with many turnings & chang of courses; how perillous then was this passage to Syr Francis Drake, to whom at that time no parte thereof was knowne. And being without reliefe of ancorage was inforced to follow his course in the hell darke nights, & in all the fury of tempestious stormes. I am the bolder to make this particuler relation in the praise of his perfect constancy & magnanimitie of spirit, because I haue thrise passed the same straightes & haue felt the most bitter & mercyles fury thereof. But now knowing the place as I doe (for I haue described euery creke therein) I know it to be a voiage of as great certaynty, pleasure & ease, as any whatsoeuer that beareth but $\frac{1}{4}$ the distaunce from England that these straightes

straighes doe. And this straight is founde to be 1200 leages from any parte of Africa so that truly it is manifest that these two landes are by no small distance seperated.

And after that Syr Frauncis was entred into the South Seas he coasted all the Western shores of America vntill he came into the Septentrionall latitude of forty eight degrees being on the backe syde of Newfound land. And from thence shaping his course towardes Asia found by his trauels that the Ills of Molucca are distant from America more then two hundred leages, howe then can Asia & Africa be conioyned & make one continent to hinder the passage, the men yet liuing that can reprove the same, but this conceipt is the bastard of ignorance borne through the fornication of the malicious multitude that onely desire to hinder when themselves can doe no good.

Now their onely resteth the North parts of America, vpon which coast my selfe haue had most experience of any in our age: for thrise I was that waye employed for the discouery of this notable passage, by the honourable care and some charge of Syr Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretary to her Maiestie, with whom diuers noble men and worshipfull marchants of London ioyned in purse and willingnesse for the furtherance of that attempt, but when his honour dyed the voyage was friendlesse, and mens mindes alienated from aduenturing therein.

In my first voyage not experienced of the nature of those climates, and hauing no direction either by Chart, Globe, or other certaine relation in what altitude that passage was to be searched, I shaped a Northerly course and so sought the same toward the South, and in that my Northerly course I fell vpon the shore which in ancient time was called Groenland, five hundred leages distant from the Durseys Westnorthwest Northerly, the land being very high and full of mightie mountaines all couered with snow, no viewe of wood, grasse or earth to be seene, and the shore two leagues off into the sea so full of yce as that no shipping could by any meanes come neere the same. The lothsome view of the shore, and irksome noyse of the yce was such, as that it bred strange conceites among vs, so that we supposed the place to be wast and voyd of any sensible or vegitable creatures, whereupon I called the same Desolation: so coasting this shore towards the South in the latitude of sixtie degrees, I found it to trend towards the West, I still followed the leading therof in the same height, and after fifty or sixtie leagues it fayled and lay directly North, which I still followed, and in thirtie leagues saying vpon the West side of this coast by me named Desolation, we were past all the yce and found many greene & pleasant Isles bordering vpon the shore, but the mountaines of the maine were still couered with great quantities of snow, I brought my ship among those Isles and there mored to refresh ourselues in our weary trauell, in the latitude of sixtie foure degrees or there about. The people of the countrey hauing espyed our shippes came downe vnto vs in their Canoaes, & holding vp their right hand to the Sunne and crying Yliaout, would strike their breasts: we doing the like the people came aboard our shippes, men of good stature, vnbearded, small eyed and of tractable conditions, by whome as signes would permit, we vnderstood that towards the North and West there was a great sea, and vsing the people with kindenes in giuing them nayles and kniues which of all things they most desired, we departed, and finding the sea free from yce supposing our selues to be past all daunger we shaped our course Westnorthwest thinking thereby to passe for China, but in the latitude of sixtie sixe degrees we fell with another shore, and there found another passage of twenty leagues broad directly West into the same, which we supposed to be our hoped straight, we entered into the same thirty or fortie leagues, finding it neither to wyden nor streighten, then considering that the yeere was spent (for this was in the fine of August) not knowing the length of the straight and dangers thereof, we tooke it our best course to returne with notice of our good successe for this small time of search. And so returning in a sharpe fret of Westerly windes the 29. of September we arriued at Dartmouth. And acquainting master Secretary with the rest of the honourable and worshipfull aduenturers of all our proceedings, I was appointed againe the second yere to search the bottome of this straight, because by all likelihood it was the place and passage by vs laboured for. In this second attempt the marchants of Exeter, and other places of the

The 1. voyage.

The 2. voyage.

West became aduenturers in the action, so that being sufficiently furnished for sixe moneths, and hauing direction to search these straights, vntill we found the same to fall into another sea vpon the West side of this part of America, we should againe returne: for then it was not to be doubted, but shipping with trade might safely be conueied to China and the parts of Asia. We departed from Dartmouth, and ariuing vnto the South part of the coast of Desolation coasted the same vpon his West shore to the latitude of sixetie sixe degrees, and there anchored among the Isles bordering vpon the same, where we refreshed our selues, the people of this place came likewise vnto vs, by whom I vnderstood through their signes that towards the North the sea was large. At this place the chiefe ship whereupon I trusted, called the Mermayd of Dartmouth, found many occasions of discontentment, and being vnwilling to proceed, shee there forsook me. Then considering how I had giuen my faith and most constant promise to my worshipfull good friend master William Sanderson, who of all men was the greatest aduenturer in that action, and tooke such care for the performance thereof that he hath to my knowledge at one time disbursed as much money as any fife others whatsoever out of his owne purse, when some of the companie haue bene slacke in giuing in their aduerture: And also knowing that I should loose the fauor of M. Secretary Walsingham, if I should shrink from his direction; in one small barke of 30 Tunnes, whereof M. Sanderson was owner, alone without farther comfort or company I proceeded on my voyage, and arriuing at these straights followed the same 80 leagues, vntill I came among many Islands, where the water did ebbe and flow sixe fadome vpriight, and where there had bene great trade of people to make traine. But by such things as there we found, wee knew that they were not Christians of Europe that had vsed that trade: in fine by searching with our boat, we found small hope to passe any farther that way, and therefore retorning agayne recovered the sea and coasted the shore towards the South, and in so doing (for it was too late to search towards the North) we found another great inlet neere 40 leagues broad, where the water entered in with violent swiftnesse, this we also thought might be a passage: for no doubt the North partes of America are all Islands by ought that I could perceiue therein: but because I was alone in a small barke of thirtie tunnes, and the yeere spent, I entred not into the same, for it was now the seuenth of September, but coasting the shore towards the South wee saw an incredible number of birds: hauing diuers fishermen aboard our barke they all concluded that there was a great skull of fish, we being vnprovided of fishing furniture with a long spike nayle made a hooke, and fastening the same to one of our sounding lines, before the baite was changed we tooke more than fortie great Cods, the fish swimming so abundantly thicke about our barke as is incredible to bee reported, of which with a small portion of salt that we had, we preserued some thirtie couple, or thereabouts, and so returned for England. And hauing reported to M. Secretarie Walsingham the whole successe of this attempt, he commanded me to present vnto the most honourable Lord high Treasurour of England, some part of that fish: which when his Lordship saw, & heard at large the relation of this second attempt, I receiued fauourable countenance from his honour, aduising me to prosecute the action, of which his Lordship conceiued a very good opinion. The next yere, although diuers of the aduenturers fell from the Action, as all the Western marchants, and most of those in London: yet some of the aduenturers both honorable & worshipfull continued their willing fauour and charge, so that by this meanes the next yere two shippes were appointed for the fishing and one pinnesse for the discouerie.

The North
parts of Ame-
rica, all Islands.

The 3. voyage.

Departing from Dartmouth, through Gods mercifull fauour, I arriued at the place of fishing, and there according to my direction I left the two ships to follow that busines, taking their faithful promise not to depart vntill my returne vnto them, which should be in the fine of August, and so in the barke I proceeded for the discouerie: but after my departure, in sixeteene dayes the two shippes had finished their voyage, and so presently departed for England, without regard of their promise: my selfe not distrusting any such hard measure proceeded for the discouerie, and followed my course in the free and open sea betweene North and Northwest to the latitude of 67 degrees, and there I might see America West from me,

me, and Desolation, East: then when I saw the land of both sides I began to distrust it would prooue but a gulf: notwithstanding desirous to know the full certainty I proceeded, and in 68 degrees the passage enlarged, so that I could not see the Western shore: thus I continued to the latitude of 73 degrees, in a great sea, free from yce, coasting the Western shore of Desolation: the people came continually rowing out vnto me in their Canoes, twenty, forty, and one hundred at a time, and would giue me fishes dried, Salmon, Salmon peale, Cod, Caplin, Lumpe, Stone-base and such like, besides diuers kinds of birds, as Partridge, Fesant, Guls, Sea birds and other kinds of flesh: I still laboured by signes to know from them what they knew of any sea toward the North, they still made signes of a great sea as we vnderstood them, thē I departed from that coast, thinking to discover the North parts of America: & after I had sailed towards the West 40 leagues, I fel vpon a great banke of yce: the winde being North and blew much, I was constrained to coast the same toward the South, not seeing any shore West from me, neither was there any yce towards the North, but a great sea, free, large very salt and blew, & of an vnsearcheable depth: So coasting towards the South I came to the place where I left the ships to fish, but found them not. Then being forsaken & left in this distresse referring my self to the mercifull prouidence of God, I shaped my course for England, & vn timered for of any, God alone releueing me, I arriued at Dartmouth. By this last discovery it seemed most manifest that the passage was free & without impediment toward the North: but by reason of the Spanish fleet & vn timered time of M. Secretaries death, the voyage was omitted & neuer sithens attempted. The cause why I vse this particular relation of all my proceedings for this discovery, is to stay this obiection, why hath not Dauis discovered this passage being thrise that wayes imploied? How far I proceeded & in what forme this discovery lieth, doth appeare vpon the Globe which M. Sanderson to his very great charge hath published, for the which he deserueth great fauor & commendations. Made by master Emery Mullineux a man wel qualified of a good iudgement & very experte in many excellent practises, in my selfe being the onely meane with master Sanderson to imploie master Mullineux therein, whereby he is now growne to a most exquisite perfection.

Anthony de Mendoza viceroy of Mexico, sent certayne of his captaynes by land & also a nauy of ships by sea to search out the Norwest passage, who affirmed by his letters dated from Mexico in anno 1541 vnto the Emperour being then in Flaunders, that towards the Norwest hee had founde the Kingdome of Cetta, Citta, Alls, Ceuera, seu en cities & howe beyond the sayd Kingdome farther towards the Norwest, Francisco Vasques of Coronado hauing passed great desarts came to the sea side, where he found certayne shippes which sayled by that sea with merchandize, & had in their banners vpon the prows of their shippes, certayne fowles made of golde & siluer, named Alcatrazzi, & that the mariners signified vnto him by signes, that they were thirtie dayes comming to the hauen, whereby he vnderstoode that those could be of no other country but of Asia, the next knowne continent towards the West. And farther the sayd Anthony affirmed that by men wel practised hee vnderstoode that 950 leagues of that country was discovered vpon the same Sea, now if the cost in that distance of leagues should lye to the West, it would then adioyne with the North partes of Asia, & then it would be a far shorter voyage then thirtie dayes sayling, but that it is nothing neere Asia by former authoritie is sufficiently expressed, then if it should lie towards the North it would extend itself almost vnto the pole, a voiage ouer tedious to be performed by land trauell. Therefore of necessity this distance of 950 leagues must lie betweene the North & East, which by Anthony de Espacio in his late trauels vpon the North of America is sufficiently discovered, then this beeing so, the distance is very small betweene the East parte of this discovered Sea & the passage wherein I haue so painefully laboured, what doth then hinder vs of England vnto whom of all nations this discovery would be most beneficiall to be incredulus slow of vnderstanding, & negligent in the highest degree, for the search of this passage which is most apparently proued & of wonderfull benefit to the vn timered state of our cuntry. Why should we be thus blinded seeing our enemies to posses the fruites

of

of our blessednes & yet will not perceiue the same. But I hope the eternall maiestie of God the sole disposer of all thinges will also make this to appeare in his good time.

Cornelius Nepos recyeth that when Quintus Metellus Cæsar was proconsull for the Romanes in Fraunce, the King of Sueuia gaue him certayne Indians, which sayling out of India for merchandize were by tempest driuen vpon the coastes of Germany, a matter very strange that Indians in the fury of stormes should ariue vpon that coast, it resteth now carefully to consider by what winde they were so driuen, if they had beene of any parte of Africa how could they escape the ylls of Cape Verd, or the ylls of Canaria, the coastes of Spayne, Fraunce, Ireland or England to arriue as they did, but it was neuer knowne that any the natyues of Afric or Ethiopia haue vsed shippings. Therefore they could not bee of that parte of the worlde, for in that distance sayling they would haue been starued if no other shore had giuen them relese. And that they were not of America is verie manifest, for vpon all the Est parte of that continent, beeing now thereby discovered, it hath not at any time beene perceiued that those people were euer accustomed to any order of shipping, which appeareth by the arriual of Colon vpon those coastes, for they had his shipping in such wonderfull admiration that they supposed him & his companie to haue descended from heauen, so rare & strange a thing was shipping in their eyes. Therefore those Indians could not bee of America safely to bee driuen vpon the coastes of Germany, the distance & impedimentes well considered.

Then comming neither from Afric nor America, they must of necessitie come from Asia by the Noreast or Norwest passages. But it should seme that they came not by the Noreast to double the promontory Tabin, to bee forced through the Scithian Sea, & to haue good passage through the narrow straight of Noua Zemla & neuer to recouer any shore is a matter of great impossibilitie. Therefore it must needes be concluded that they came by the North partes of America through that discovered sea of 950 leagues, & that they were of those people which Francisco Vasques of Coronado discovered, all which premises considered there remaineth no more doubting but that the landes are disioyned & that there is a Nauigable passage by the Norwest, of God for vs alone ordained to our infinite happines & for the euer being glory of her maiestie, for then her stately seate of London should be the storehouse of Europe: the nurse of the world: & the renowe of Nations, in yelding all forraine naturall benefits, by an easie rate, in short time returned vnto vs, & in the fulnes of their natural perfection: by natural participation through the world of all naturall & artificiall benefites, for want whereof at this present the most part liue distressed: & by the excellent comoditie of her seate, the mightines of her trade, with force of shipping thereby arising, & most abundant accesse & intercourse from all the Kingdomes of the worlde, then should the ydle hand bee scorned & plenty by industry in all this land should be proelamed.

And therefore the passage prooued & the benefites to all most apparant, let vs no longer neglect our happines, but like Christians with willing & voluntary spirits labour without fainting for this so excellent a benefit.

To prooue by experience that the sea fryseth not.

HAuing sufficiently prooued that there is a passage without a land impediments to hinder the same, contrary to the first obiection, it nowe resteth that the other supposed impediments bee likewise answered. And firste as touching the frost & fresing of the seas, it is supposed that the frozen zone is not habitable, & seas innaigable by reason of the vehemencie of cold, by the diuine creator allotted to that part of the world, & we are drawn into that absurdity of this opinion by a coniectural reason of the sunnes far distance & long absence vnder the horizon of the greatest parte of that zone, whereby the working power of colde performeth the fulnesse of his nature, not hauing any contrary disposition to hinder the same & when the Sunne by his presence should comfort that parte of the world, his beames are so far remoued from perpendicularitie by reason of his continuall neerenes to the horizon, as that the effectes thereof answeare not the violence of the winters cold. And therefore

therefore those seas remayne for euer vndissolued. Which if it be so, that the nature of cold can congeale the seas, it is very likely that his first working power, beginneth vpon the vpper face of the waters, & so descending worketh his effect, which if it were, howe then commeth it to passe that shippes sayle by the North cape, to Saint Nicholas fiue degrees or more within the frozen zone, & finde the seas free from pester of yse, the farther from the shore the clearer from yse. And myselfe likewise howe coulde I haue sayled to the septentrionall latitude of seuentie fiue degrees, being nine degrees within the frozen zone, betweene two lands where the sea was straightened not fortie leagues broad in some places, & thereby restrained from the violent motion & set of the maine occian & yet founde the same Nauigable & free from yse not onely in the midst of the chanell, but also close aborde the estern shore by me name Desolation, & therefore what neede the repetition of authorities from writers, or wrested philosophical reasons, when playne experience maketh the matter so manifest, & yet I deny not but that I haue seene in some part of those seas, tow sortes of yse, in very great quantity, as a kind of yse by seamen name ylands of yse, being very high aboue the water, fortie & fiftie fadomes by estimation & higher, & euery of those haue bene seuen times as much vnder the water, which I haue proued by taking a peece of yse & haue put the same in a vessell of salt water, & still haue found the seuenth part thereof to bee aboue the water, into what forme soeuer I haue reduced the same, & this kind of yse is nothing but snow, which falleth in those great peeces, from the high mountains bordering close vpon the shore depe seas. (For all the sea coastes of Desolation are mountains of equall height with the pike of Tenerif with verie great vallies betweene them) which I haue seene incredible to bee reported, that vpon the toppe of some of these ylls of yse, there haue bene stones of more then one hundreth tonnes wayght, which in his fall, that snowe hath torne from the clyffs, & in falling maketh such an horrible noyse as if there were one hundreth canons shot of at one instant, & this kind of yse is verie white, & freshe, & with shore winds is many times beaten far of into the seas, perhaps twentie leagues & that is the farthest distance that they haue euer bin seene from the shore. The other kind is called flake yse, blue, very heard & thinne not aboue three fadomes thick at the farthest, & this kinde of yse bordreth close vpon the shore. And as the nature of heate with apt vessels deuiddeth the pure spirit from his grosse partes by the coning practise of distillation: so doth the colde in these regions deuide & congeale the fresh water from the salt, nere such shores where by the abundance of freshe riuers, the saltnes of the sea is mittigated, & not else where, for all yse in general beeing dissolued is very fresh water, so that by the experience of all that haue euer trauelled towards the North it is well knowne that the sea neuer fryseth, but wee know that the sea dissolueth this yse with great speede, for in twentie foure houres I haue seen an ylande of yse turne vp & downe, as the common phrase is, because it hath melted so fast vnder water that the heauier parte hath bene vpwarde, which hath bene the cause of his so turning, for the heuiest part of all things swiming is by nature downwards, & therefore sith the sea is by his heate of power to dissolue yse, it is greatly against reason that the same should be frozen, so that the congealation of the seas can bee no hinderance to the execution of this passage, contrary to the former obiection, by late experience reprooued, yet if experience wanted in ordenary reason men should not suppose nature to bee monstrous, for if all such yse & snowe as congealeth & descendeth in the winter did not by natures benefit dissolue in the sommer, but that the cold were more actual then the heate, that difference of inequality bee it neuer so little would by time bread natures ouerthrowe, for if the one thousand parte of the yse which in winter is congealed, did the next sommer remayne vndissolued, that continual difference sithins the worldes creation would not onely haue conuerted all those North Seas into yse, but would also by continuall accesse of snow haue extended himselfe aboue all the ayers regions by which reason all such exalations as should be drawn from the earth & seas within the temperate zones & by windes driuen into these stiffe regions, that moysture was no more to bee hoped for that by dissolution it should haue any returne, so that by time the world should be left waterlesse. And therefore how ridiculous this imagination of the seas frysing is, I refer to the worlds generall opinion.

That

That the ayre in colde regions is tollerable.

AND now for a full answer of all obiections, if the ayre bee proued tollerable then this most excellent & commodious passage is without al contradiction to be perfourmed. And that the ayre is tollerable as well in the winter as in the Sommer is thus proued. The inhabitantes of Moscouia, Lapland, Swethland, Norway & Tartaria omit not to trauel for their commodity: in the deepest of winter, passing by sleades ouer the yse & congealed snowe being made very slipperie & compact like yse by reason of much wearing & trading, hauing the vse of a kind of stag by them called Reen to drawe those their sleades.

Groynland (by me lately named Desolation) is likewise inhabited by a people of good stature & tractable conditions, it also mayntayneth diuers kinde of foules & beastes which I haue their scene, but know not their names, & these must trauell for their food in winter, & therefore the ayre is not intollerable in the extreame nature of coldnes: & for the quality thereof in Sommer by my owne experience I knowe that vpon the shore it is as hot there as it is at the ylls of cape de Verde in which place there is such abundance of moskeetes, (a kind of gnat that is in India very offensive & in great quantitie) as that we were stong with them like lepers, not beeing able to haue quiet being vpon the shore.

And vnder the clyfe in the pooles vnto which the streames aryse not, I haue found salt in great pleny as whyte as the salt of Mayo congeled from the salt water which the spryng tyds bring into those poles, which could not be but by the benefit of a noble heat, of which salt I brought with me & gaue to master Secretary Walsingham & to master Sanderson, as a rare thing to be found in those parts & farther the same was of an extraordinary saltnes. And therefore it is an idle dreame that the ayre should there be insufferable, for ourselues haue with the water of those seas made salt, because we desired to know whether the benefit of the sunne were the cause of this cogulation, what better confirmation then can there be then this.

Island is likewise inhabited & yeldeth haukes in great store, as falcons, Ierfalcons, lanardes & sparrow haukes, rauens, crows, beares, hares & foxes, with horses & other kinde of cattell, vpon which coast in August & September the yse is vtterly dissolued, all which the premises are certainly verified by such as trade thither from Lubec, Hambro, Amsterdam & England yerely, then why should wee dread this fayned distemperature: from cold regions come our most costly furies as sables beeing esteemed for a principall ornament & the beastes that yeld vs those furs are chiefly hunted in the winter, how grieuous then shall we thinke the winter to be, or howe insufferable the ayre, where this little tender beast liueth so well, & where the hunters may search the dennes & hauntes of such beastes through the woods & snow.

Vpsaliensis affirmeth that he hath felt the Sommer nights in Gotland scarcely tollerable for heate, whereas in Rome hee hath felt them cold.

The Mountaynes of Norway & Swethland are fruitfull of metalls in which siluer & copper are concoct & molten in veines, which may scarcely bee done with fornaces, by which reason also the vapors & hot exhalations pearcing the earth & the waters & through both those natures breathing forth into the ayre, tempereth the quantitie thereof making it tollerable, as wytnes the huge bignes of whales in those seas, with the strength of body & long life of such beastes as liue on the land, which thing could not bee except all thinges were there comodiously nourished, by the benefit of the heauen & the ayre, for nothing that in time of increase is hindred by any iniury or that is euill seed all the time it liueth can prosper well.

Also it is a thing vndoubtedly knowne by experience that vpon the coastes of newfounde land, (as such as the yse remayneth vndissolued vpon those shores,) the wind being easterly comming from the seas, causeth very sharpe colde, & yet the same is sufferable, but comming from the shore, yt presently yeldeth heat abundantly according to the true nature of the scituation of the place, whereby it plainly appeareth that the very breth of the yse is rather the cause of this cold, then the distemperature of the ayre.

Wherefore if in winter where is abundance of yse & snowe the ayre is so sufferable, as that traueling & hunting may be exercised how much rather may wee iudge the seas to be

Nauigable,

Nauigable, & that in the deepest of winter, where there is neither yse nor snow that may yield any such damp or cold breathings to the anioance of such as shall take these interprises in hand. And therefore the Sommer in no sort to be feared, but some curious witt may obiect that the naturall anoyance of cold is preuented by reason of the trauell of the body with other artificiall prouisions to defend the fury thereof, as also the whot vapors which the earth may yield, whereof experience vrgeth confession, but vpon the seas it cannot be sith it is a cold body subiect to yeld great dampes & cold brethinges most offensive to nature. To the which I answere in the vniuersall knowledge of all creatures, that God the most glorious incomprehensible & euer being sole creatour of all thinges visible, invisible, rationall, irrational, momentory & eternall in his diuine prouidence hath made nothing vncommunicable, but hath giuen such order vnto all things, whereby euery thing may be tollerable to the next, the extremities of ellements consent with their next the ayre is grosse about the earth & water, but thinn & hot about the fyre, by this prouidence in nature the sea is very salt, & salt (sayth Plinie) yeldeth the fatnes of oyle, but oyle by a certayne natue heate is of propertie agreeable to fire, then being all of such qualitie by reason of the saltnes thereof moueth & stirreth vp generatiue heate, &c. Whereby the sea hath a working force in the dissolution of yse for thinges of so great contrariety as heate & cold haue togetheer no affinitye in coniunction, but the one must of necessitye auoyde, the seas not being able by the bandes of nature to step backe, doth therefore cause the coldnesse of the ayre (by reason of his naturall heate) to giue place, whereby extremities being auoyded, the ayre must of necessitie remayne temperate, for in nature the ayre is hote & moyst, the colde then being but accidentall is the soner auoided, & natures wrongs with ease redressed.

That vnder the Pole is the place of greatest dignitie.

Reason teacheth vs & experience confirmeth the same, that the Sun is the onely sufficient cause of heat through the whole world & therefore in such places where the Sunne hath longest continuance, the ayre there receueth the greatest impression of heat, as also in his absence it is in like sort afflicted with colde. And as the heate in all clymates is indurable, by the eternall ordinance of the creator, so likewise the cold is sufferable by his euerlasting decree, for otherwise nature should bee monstrous & his creation wast, as it hath beene ydly affirmed by the most Cosmographically writers, distinguishing the sphere into fve Zones haue concluded three of them to be wast, as vaynely created, the burning Zone betweene the two tropikes, & the two frozen Zones, but experience hauing reprooued the grosenes of that errour it shall be needlesse to say farther therein. For although in the burning Zone the sun beames are at such right angles as that by the actuall reuerberation thereof the lower region of the ayre is greatly by that reflexion warmed, yet his equall absence breadeth such mitigation as that there we find the ayre tollerable, & the countries pleasant & fruitfull, being populus & well inhabited: so likewise vnder the pole being the center of the supposed frozen Zone, during the time that the Sunne is in the South signes, which is from the thirteenth of September vnto the 10 of March, it is there more cold then in any place of the world, because the Sunne in all that time doth neuer appeare about the Horyzon, but during the time that the Sunne is in the North signes which is from the tenth of March vnto the thirteenth of September he is in continuall view to all such as posses that place, by which his continuall presence, he worketh that notable effect, as that therby all the force of frying is wholly redressed & vtterly taken away, working then & there more actual then in any other part of the world. In which place their continuall day from the Sunne rising to the sunne setting is equall with twenty sixe weekes & fve dayes, after our rate: & their night is equall with twenty fve weekes & three dayes such as we haue, so that our whole yeere is with them but one night & one day, a wonderfull difference from al the rest of the world, & therefore no doubt but those people haue a wonderfull excellencie & an exceeding prerogatiue aboue all nations of the earth & this which is more to be noted. In all other places of the world the absence & presence of the Sun is in equall proportion of time, hauing as

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much

sufferable, as the seas to be Nauigable,

much night as day, but vnder the Pole their artificiall day (that is the continuall presence of the Sunne before he sett) is nine of our naturall dayes or two hundreth 16 houres longer then is their night, whereby it appeareth that they haue the life, light & comfort of nature in a higher measure then all the nations of the earth. How blessed then may we thinke this nation to be: for they are in perpetuall light, & neuer know what darkenease meaneth, by the benefit of twilight & full moones, as the learned in Astronomie doe very well knowe, which people if they haue the notice of their eternitie by the comfortable light of the Gospel, then are they blessed & of all nations most blessed. Why then doe we neglect the search of this excellent discouery, agaynst which there can be nothing sayd to hinder the same. Why doe we refuse to see the dignity of Gods Creation, sith it hath pleased his diuine Maiestie to place vs the nerest neighbor therevnto. I know ther is no true Englishman that can in conscience refuse to be a contributor to procure this so great a happines to his country, whereby not onely the Prince & mightie men of the land shall be highly renowned, but also the Merchant, tradesman & artificer mightily enriched.

And now as touching the last obiection that the want of skill in Nauigation with curious instrumentes, should be the hinderance or ouerthrow of this action. I holde that to bee so friuolous as not worth the answering, for it is wel knowne that we haue globes in the most excellent perfection of arte, & haue the vse of them in as exquisite sort, as master Robert Hues in his book of the globes vse, lately published hath at large made knowne, & for Horizontall paradox & great circle saying I am myself a witness in the behalfe of many, that we are not ignorant of them, as lately I haue made knowne in a brieft treatise of Nauigation naming it the Seamans Secreates. And therefore this as the rest breadeth no hinderance to this most commodious discouery.

What benefits would growe vnto Englande by this passage being discouered.

The benefits which may grow by this discouery, are copious & of two sorts, a benifit spirituall & a benifit corporall. Both which sith by the lawes of God & nature we are bound to regard, yet principally we are admonished first to seeke the Kingdome of God & the righteousness thereof & all things shall be giuen vnto vs. And therefore in seeking the Kingdome of God we are not onely tied to the depe search of Gods sacred word & to liue within the perfect lymits of Christianity, but also by al meanes we are bound to multiply, & increase the flocke of the faithfull. Which by this discouery wil be most abundantly perfourmed to the preservation of many thousands which now most miserably are covered vnder the lothsome vayle of ignorance, neither can we in any sort doubt of their recovery by this passage discouered, Gods prouidence therein being considered who most mercifully sayth by the mouth of his prophet Esaias 66 I will come to gather all people and tongues, then shall they come and see my glory, of them that shall be saued. I will send some to the Gentils in the sea & the yls far of that haue not heard speak of me, & haue not sene my glory, shall preach my peace among the Gentiles.

And in his 65 Chapter he farther sayth, They seeke me that hitherto haue not asked for me, they find me that hitherto haue not sought me.

And againe chapter 49 I wil make waies vpon al my mountains & my footpathes shall be exalted, & behold these shall come from farre, some from the North & West, some from the land of Symis which is in the South. Then sith it is so appointed that there shal be one shepheard & one flocke, what hindreth vs of England, (being by Gods mercy for the same purpose at this present most aptly prepared,) not to attempt that which God himselfe hath appointed to be performed, there is no doubt but that wee of England are this saued people by the eternal & infallible presence of the Lord predestinated to be sent vnto these Gentiles in the sea, to those ylls & famous Kingdoms ther to preach the peace of the Lorde, for are not we onely set vpon Mount Sion to giue light to all the rest of the world, haue not we the true handmayd of the Lord to rule vs, vnto whom the eternall maiestie of God hath reueled his truth & supreme power of excellencye, by whom then shall the truth be preached,

preached, but by them vnto whom the truth shall be reueled, it is onely we therefore that must be these shining messengers of the Lord & none but we for as the prophet sayth, O how beautifull are the feet of the messenger that bringeth the message from the mountain, that proclaimeth peace, that bringeth the good tidings & preacheth health & sayth to Sion thy God is King, so that hereby the spirituall benefit arising by this discovery is most apparant, for which if there were no other cause wee are all bound to labour with purse & minde for the discovery of this notable passage. And nowe as touching the corporall & worldly benefits which will thereby arise, our owne late experience leadeth vs to the full knowledge thereof, as by the communitie of trade groweth the mightines of riches, so by the kinde & guide of such tradinges may grow the multiplication of such benefits, with assurance how the same may in the best sort be continued. In the consideration whereof it is first to bee regarded with what commodities our owne country aboundeth either naturall or artificiall, what quantity may be spared, & wher the same may with the easiest rate be gained, & how in his best nature vnto vs returned, all which by this passage shall be vnto vs most plentifully effected, & not onely that, but this also which is most to be regarded that in our thus trading wee shall by no meanes enrich the next adioyning states vnto vs, for riches breed dread, & pouertie increaseth feare, but here I cease fering to offend, yet it is a question whether it were better by an easy rate to vent our commodities far of or by a more plentifull gayne to passe them to our neerer neighbours, & those therby more enriched than our selues, the premises considered wee finde our country to abound with woll, & wollen cloth, with lead, tin, copper and yron, matters of great moment, wee also knowe our soyle to be fertill, & would if trad did so permit haue equal imploiment with any of our neighbours, in linnen cloth, fustians, seys, grograms or any other forraine artificiall commodities, besides the excellent labours of the artsmen, either in metallyne mechanicall faculties, or other artificiall ornaments, whereof India is well knowne to receiue all that Europe can afford, rating our commodities in the highest esteeme of valewe, which by this passage is speedily performed, & then none of these should lie dead vpon our handes as now they doe, neither should we bee then ignorant as now we are in many excellent practises into which by trade wee shoulde bee drawne. And by the same passage in this ample vent, we should also at the first hand receiue all Indian commodities both naturall & artificiall in a far greter measure by an easier rate & in better condition, then nowe they are by many exchaunges brought vnto vs, then would all nations of Europe repayre vnto England not only for these forraine merchandizes by reason of their plenty, perfection & easy rates, but also to passe away that which God in nature hath bestowed vpon them & their countrie, wherby her maiestie & her highnes successors for euer, should be monarks of the earth & commanders of the Seas, through the abundance of trade her coustomes would bee mightily augmented, her state highly enriched, & her force of shipping greatly aduanced, as that thereby shee should be to all nations moste dredful, & we her subiects through imploiment should imbrace abundance & be clothed with plenty. The glory whereof would be a deadly horror to her aduersaries, increase frindly loue with al & procure her maiestie stately & perpetuall peace, for it is no small aduantage that ariseth to a state by the mightines of trade: being by necessity linked to no other nation, the same also beeing in commodities of the highest esteeme, as gold, siluer, stones of price, iuels, pearls, spice, drugs, silkes raw & wrought veluets, cloth of gold, besides many other commodities with vs of rare & high esteeme, whereof as yet our countrie is by nature depriued, al which India doth yeld at reasonable rates in great abundance receiuing ours in the highest esteeme, so that hereby plenty returning by trade abroad, & no smale quantity provided by industry at home, all want then banished in the abundance of her maiesties royalty, so through dred in glory, peace and loue, her maiesty should be the commanding light of the world, & we her subiects the stars of wonder to al nations of the earth. Al which the premises considered it is impossible that any true English hart should be staied from willing contribution to the performance of this so excellent a discovery, the Lords and subiectes spirituall for the sole

publication of Gods glorious gospell. And the Lords and subiectes temporal for the renowne of their prince & glory of their nation should be therunto most vehemently affected. Which when it shall so please God in the mightines of his mercy, I beseech him to effect. Amen.

FINIS.

VOYAGE

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VOYAGE D'OUTREMER

ET

RETOUR DE JÉRUSALEM EN FRANCE

PAR LA VOIE DE TERRE,

PENDANT LE COURS DES ANNÉES 1432 ET 1433,

PAR BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE,

CONSEILLER ET PREMIER ÉCUYER TRANCHANT DE PHILIPPE-LE-BON,
DUC DE BOURGOGNE;

OUVRAGE EXTRAIT D'UN MANUSCRIT DE LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE,
REMIS EN FRANÇAIS MODERNE, ET PUBLIÉ

PAR LE CITOYEN LEGRAND D'AUSSY.

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DISCOURS PRÉLIMINAIRE.

LES relations de voyages publiées par nos Français remontent fort haut.

Dès les commencemens du V^e siècle, Rutilius Claudius Numatianus en avoit donné une, qui ne nous est parvenue qu'incomplète, parce que apparemment la mort ne lui permit pas de l'achever. L'objet étoit son retour de Rome dans la Gaule, sa patrie. Mais, comme il n'avoit voyagé que par mer, il ne put voir et décrire que des ports et des côtes; et de là nécessairement a résulté, pour son ouvrage, une monotonie, qu'un homme de génie auroit pu vaincre sans doute, mais qu'il étoit au dessus de ses forces de surmonter. D'ailleurs, il a voulu donner un poème: ce qui l'oblige à prendre le ton poétique, et à faire des descriptions poétiques, ou soi-disant telles. Enfin ce poème est en vers élégiaques. Or qui ne sait que cette sorte de versification, dont le propre est de couper la pensée de deux en deux vers et d'assujettir ces vers au retour continuel d'une chute uniforme, est peut être celle de toutes qui convient le moins en genre descriptif? Quand l'imagination a beaucoup à peindre; quand sans cesse elle a besoin de tableaux brillans et variés, il lui faut, pour développer avantageusement toutes ses richesses, une grande liberté; et elle ne peut par conséquent s'accommoder d'une double entrave, dont l'effet infailible seroit d'éteindre son feu.

Païen de religion, Rutilius a montré son aversion pour la religion chrétienne dans des vers où, confondant ensemble les chrétiens et les Juifs, il dit du mal des deux sectes.

C'est par une suite des même sentimens qu'ayant vu, sur sa route, des moines dans l'île Caprala, il fit contre le monachisme ces autres vers, que je citerai pour donner une idée de sa manière.

Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit;
Squalet lucifugis insula plena viris.
Ipsi se monachos, Graïo cognomine, dicunt,
Quodd, soli, nullo vivere teste, volunt.
Munera fortunæ metuunt, dum damna verentur:
Quisquam sponte miser, ne miser esse queat.
Quænam perversi rabies tam crebra cerebri,
Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati*?

Son ouvrage contient des détails précieux pour le géographe; il y en a même quelques uns pour l'antiquaire et l'historien: tels par exemple, que sa description d'un marais salant, et l'anecdote des livres Sibyllins brûlés à Rome par l'ordre de Stilicon†. Enfin on y remarque quelques beaux vers, et particulièrement celui-ci sur une ville ruinée.

Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori.

* "He afterwards," says Gibbon, "mentions a religious madman on the isle of Gorgona. For such profane remarks, Rutilius and his accomplices, are styled, by his commentator, Barthius, rabiosi canes diaboli."

† The verses relating to Stilicho are very spirited and elegant. I will transcribe them.

Quo magis est facinus diri Stilichonis acerbum,
Proditor arcani qui fuit imperii.
Romano generi dum nititur esse superstes,
Crudelis summis miscuit ima furor.

Mais il pêche par la composition. Ses tableaux sont secs et froids ; sa manière petite et mesquine. Du reste, point de génie, point d'imagination, et par conséquent, point d'invention ni de coloris. Voilà ce qu'il présente, ou au moins ce que j'ai cru y voir ; et ce sont probablement ces défauts qui ont fait donner à son poème le nom dégradant d'*Itinéraire*, sous lequel il est connu.

Nous en avons une traduction Française par le Franc de Pompignan*.

Vers 505, Arculfe, évêque Gaulois, étoit allé en pèlerinage à Jérusalem. A son retour, il voulut en publier la relation ; et il chargea de cette rédaction un abbé écossais, nommé Adaman, auquel il donna des notes tant manuscrites que de vive voix. La relation composée par Adaman, intitulée : *De locis sanctis*, est divisée en trois livres, a été imprimée par Gretser, puis, plus complète encore, par Mabillon†.

Arculfe, après avoir visité la Terre Sainte, s'étoit embarqué pour Alexandrie. D'Alexandrie, il avoit passé à l'île de Cypré, et de Cypré à Constantinople, d'où il étoit revenu en France. Un pareil voyage promet assurément beaucoup ; et certes l'homme qui avoit à décrire la Palestine, l'Egypte et la capitale de l'Empire d'Orient pouvoit donner une relation intéressante. Mais pour l'exécution d'un projet aussi vaste il falloit une philosophie et des connoissances que son siècle étoit bien loin d'avoir. C'est un pèlerinage, et non un voyage, que publie le prélat. Il ne nous fait connoître ni les lois, ni les mœurs, ni les usages des peuples, ni ce qui concerne les lieux et la contrée qu'il parcourt, mais les reliques et les objets de dévotion qu'on y révéroit.

Ainsi, dans son premier livre, qui traite de Jérusalem, il vous parlera, de la colonne où Jésus fut flagellé, de la lance qui lui perça le côté, de son suaire, d'une pierre sur laquelle il pria et qui porte l'empreinte de ses genoux, d'une autre pierre sur laquelle il étoit quand il monta au ciel, et qui porte l'empreinte de ses pieds ; d'un linge tissu par la Vierge et qui le représente ; du figuier où se pendit Judas ; enfin de la pierre sur laquelle expira saint Etienne, etc. etc.

Dans son second livre, où il parcourt les divers lieux de la Palestine que visitoient les pèlerins, il suit les mêmes errements. A Jéricho, il cite la maison de la courtisane Raab ; dans la vallée de Mambré, les tombeaux d'Adam, d'Abraham, d'Isaac, de Jacob, de Sara, de Rébecca, de Lia ; à Nazareth, l'endroit où l'ange vint annoncer à Marie qu'elle seroit mère en restant vierge ; à Bethléem, la pierre sur laquelle Jésus fut lavé à sa naissance ; les tombeaux de Rachel, de David, de saint Jérôme, de trois des bergers qui vinrent à l'adoration, etc.

Dunque timet, quicquid se fecerat ipse timeri,
Immisit Latæ barbara tela neci.
Visceribus nudis armatum condidit hostem,
Illatæ cladis liberiore dolo.
Ipsa satellitibus pellitis Roma patchat,
Et captiva prius, quam caperetur, erat.
Nec tantum Geticis grassatus proditor armis :
Ante Sibyllinæ fata cremavit opis.
Odimus Althæam consumiti funere torris :
Niseum crinem flere putantur aves ;
At Stilicho æterni fatalia pignora regni ;
Et plenas voluit præcipitare colus.
Omnia Tartarei cessent tormenta Neronis,
Consumat Stygias tristior umbra faces.
Hic immortalæ, mortalem percussit ille ;
Hic mundi matrem percussit, ille suam.

R. H. E.

Claudian draws a very different portrait of Stilicho. Indeed, as Gibbon observes, "Stilicho, directly or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian."

* Mélanges de littér. de poés. et d'hist. par l'Acad. de Montauban. p. 81.

† Acta ord. S. Bened. sec. 3, t. 2. p. 502.

Le troisième livre enfin est consacré en grande partie à Constantinople ; mais il n'y parle que de la vraie croix, de saint George, d'une image de la Vierge, qui, jetée par un Juif dans les plus dégoûtantes ordures, avoit été ramassée par un chrétien et distilloit une huile miraculeuse.

Pendant bien des siècles, les relations d'outre mer ne continrent que les pieuses et grossières fables qu'imaginoient journellement les Orientaux pour accréditer certains lieux qu'ils tentoient d'ériger en pèlerinages, et pour soutirer ainsi à leur profit l'argent des pèlerins. Ceux-ci adoptoient aveuglément tous les contes qu'on leur débitoit ; et ils accomplissoient scrupuleusement toutes les stations qui leur étoient indiquées. A leur retour en Europe, c'étoit-là tout ce qu'ils avoient à raconter ; mais c'étoit-là aussi tout ce qu'on leur demandoit.

Cependant notre saint (car à sa mort il a été déclaré tel, ainsi que son rédacteur Adaman) a, dans son second livre, quelques phrases historiques sur Tyr et sur Damas. Il y parle également et avec plus de détails encore d'Alexandrie ; et je trouve même sous ce dernier article deux faits qui m'ont paru dignes d'attention.

L'un concerne les crocodiles, qu'il représente comme si multipliés dans la partie inférieure du Nil, que dès l'instant où un bœuf, un cheval, un âne, s'avançoient sur les bords du fleuve, ils étoient saisis par eux, entraînés sous les eaux, et dévorés ; tandis qu'aujourd'hui, si l'on en croit le rapport unanime de nos voyageurs modernes, il n'existe plus de crocodiles que dans la haute Egypte ; que c'est un prodige d'en voir descendre un jusqu'au Caire, et que du Caire à la mer on n'en voit pas un seul.

L'autre a rapport à cette île nommée Pharos, dans laquelle le Ptolémée-Philadelphie fit construire une tour dont les feux servoient de signal aux navigateurs, et qui porta également le nom de Phare. On sait que, postérieurement à Ptolémée, l'île fut jointe au continent par un mole qui, à chacune de ses deux extrémités, avoit un pont ; que Cléopâtre acheva l'isthme, en détruisant les ponts et en faisant la digue pleine ; enfin qu'aujourd'hui l'île entière tient à la terre ferme. Cependant notre prélat en parle comme si, de son temps, elle eût été île encore : in dextera parte portus parva insula habetur, in qua maxima turris est quam, in commune, Græci ac Latini, ex ipsius rei usu, Pharum vocitaverunt. Il se trompe sans doute. Mais, probablement, à l'époque où il la vit, elle n'avoit que sa digue encore : les atterrissemens immenses qui en ont fait une terre, en la joignant au continent, sont postérieurs à lui ; et il n'aura pas cru qu'un mole fait de main d'homme empêchât une île d'être ce que l'avoit faite la nature.

Au neuvième siècle, nous eûmes une autre sorte de Voyage par Hetton, moine et abbé de Richenou, puis évêque de Bâle. Cet homme, habile dans les affaires, et employé comme tel par Charlemagne, avoit été en 811 envoyé par lui en ambassade à Constantinople. De retour en France, il y publia, sur sa mission, une relation, que jusqu'ici l'on n'a pas retrouvée, et que nous devons d'autant plus regretter qu'inafailliblement elle nous fourniroit des détails curieux sur un Empire dont les rapports avec notre France étoient alors si multipliés et si actifs. Peut être au reste ne doit-on pas la regarder comme tout-à-fait perdue ; et il seroit possible qu'après être restée pendant plusieurs siècles ensevelie dans un manuscrit ignoré, le hasard l'amènât un jour sous les yeux de quelqu'un de nos savans, qui la donneroit au public.

C'est ce qui est arrivé pour celle d'un autre moine Français nommé Bernard ; laquelle, publiée en 870, a été retrouvée par Mabillon et mise par lui au* jour. Ce n'est, comme celle d'Arculf, qu'un voyage de Terre Sainte, à la vérité beaucoup plus court que le sien, écrit avec moins de prétention, mais qui, à l'exception de quelques détails personnels à l'auteur, ne contient de même qu'une sèche énumération des saints lieux : ce qui l'a fait de même intituler : De locis sanctis.

Cependant la route des deux pèlerins fut différente. Arculf étoit allé directement en

* Ubi suprà, p. 523.

Palestine, et de là il s'étoit embarqué une seconde fois pour voir Alexandrie. Bernard, au contraire, va d'abord débarquer à Alexandrie. Il remonte le Nil jusqu'à Babylone, redescend à Damiette, et, traversant le désert sur des chameaux, il se rend par Gaza en Terre-Sainte.

Là, il fait, comme saint Arculfe, différents pèlerinages, mais moins que lui cependant, soit que sa profession ne lui eût point permis les mêmes dépenses, soit qu'il ait négligé de les mentionner tous.

Je remarquerai seulement que dans certaines églises on avoit imaginé, depuis l'évêque, de nouveaux miracles, et qu'elles en citoient dont il ne parle pas, et dont certainement il eût fait mention s'ils avoient eu lieu de son temps. Tel étoit celui de l'église de Sainte-Marie, où jamais il ne pleuvoit, disoit-on, quoiqu'elle fût sans toit. Tel celui auquel les Grecs ont donné tant de célébrité, et qui, tous les ans, la veille de Pâques, s'opéroit dans l'église du Saint-Sépulchre, où un ange descendoit du ciel pour allumer les cierges : ce qui fournissoit aux chrétiens de la ville un feu nouveau, qui leur étoit communiqué par le patriarche, et qu'ils emportoient religieusement chez eux.

Bernard rapporte, sur son passage du désert, une anecdote qui est à recueillir : c'est que, dans la traversée de cette immense mer de sable, des marchands païens et chrétiens avoient formé deux hospices, nommés l'un Albara, l'autre Albacara, où les voyageurs trouvoient à se pourvoir de tous les objets dont ils pouvoient avoir besoin pour leur route.

Enfin l'auteur nous fait connoître un monument formé par Charlemagne dans Jérusalem en faveur de ceux qui parloient *la langue Romane*, et que les Français, et les gens de lettres spécialement, n'apprendront pas, sans beaucoup de plaisir, avoir existé.

Ce prince, la gloire de l'Occident, avoit, par ses conquêtes et ses grandes qualités, attiré l'attention d'un homme qui remplissoit également l'Orient de sa renommée : c'étoit le célèbre calife Haroun-al-Raschid. Haroun, empressé de témoigner à Charles l'estime et la considération qu'il lui portoit, lui avoit envoyé des ambassadeurs avec des présens magnifiques ; et ces ambassadeurs, disent nos historiens, étoient même chargés de lui présenter, de la part de leur maître, les clés de Jérusalem.

Probablement Charles avoit profité de cette faveur pour établir dans la ville un hôpital ou hospice, destiné aux pèlerins de ses états Français. Tel étoit l'esprit du temps. Ces sortes de voyages étant réputés l'action la plus sainte que pût imaginer la dévotion, un prince qui les favorisoit croyoit bien mériter de la religion. Charlemagne d'ailleurs avoit le goût des pèlerinages ; et son historien *Eginhard remarque avec surprise que, malgré la prédilection qu'il portoit à celui de Saint-Pierre de Rome, il ne l'avoit fait pourtant que *quatre fois* dans sa vie.

Mais souvent le grand homme se montre grand encore jusqu'au sein des préjugés qui l'entourent. Charles avoit été en France le restaurateur des lettres ; il y avoit rétabli l'orthographe, régénéré l'écriture, formé de belles bibliothèques : il voulut que son hospice de Jérusalem eût une bibliothèque aussi à l'usage des pèlerins. L'établissement la possédoit encore tout entière, au temps de Bernard : nobilissimam habens bibliothecam, studio Imperatoris ; et l'empereur y avoit même attaché, tant pour l'entretien du dépôt et celui du lieu, que pour la nourriture des pèlerins, douze manses situées dans la vallée de Josaphat, avec des terres, des vignes et un jardin.

Quoique notre historien dût être rassasié de pèlerinages, il fit néanmoins encore, à son retour par l'Italie, celui de Rome ; puis, quand il fut rentré en France, celui du mont Saint-Michel.

Sur ce dernier, il observe que ce lieu, situé au milieu d'une grève des côtes de Normandie, est deux fois par jour, au temps de flux, baigné des eaux de la mer. Mais il ajoute que, le jour de la fête du saint, l'accès du rocher et de la chapelle reste libre ; que l'Océan y forme, comme fit la Mer rouge, au temps de Moïse, deux grands murs, entre lesquels on peut passer à pied sec ; et que ce miracle, que n'a lieu qui ce jour-là, dure tout le jour.

* Vita Carol. Mag. cap. 27.

Notre littérature nationale possédoit quatre voyages ; un des côtes d'Italie, un de Constantinople, deux de Terre-Sainte. Au treizième siècle, une cause fort étrange lui en procura deux de Tartarie.

Cette immense contrée dont les habitans, en divers temps et sous différens noms, ont peuplé, conquis, ou ravagé la très-grande partie de l'Europe et de l'Asie, se trouvoit pour ainsi dire tout entière en armes.

Fanatisés par les incroyables conquêtes d'un de leurs chefs, le fameux Gengis-Kan ; persuadés que la terre entière devoit leur obéir, ces nomades belliqueux et féroces étoient venus, après avoir soumis la Chine, se précipiter sur le nord-est de l'Europe. Par tout où s'étoient portées leurs innombrables hordes, des royaumes avoient été ravagés ; des nations entières exterminées ou trainées en esclavage ; la Hongrie, la Pologne, la Bohême, les frontières de l'Autriche, dévastées d'une manière effroyable. Rien n'avoit pu arrêter ce débordement qui, s'il éprouvoit, vers quelque côte, une résistance, se jetoit ailleurs avec plus de fureur encore. Enfin la chrétienté fut frappée de terreur, et selon l'expression d'un de nos historiens, * elle trembla jusqu'à l'Océan.

Dans cette consternation générale, Innocent IV voulut se montrer le père commun des fidèles. Ce tendre père se trouvoit à Lyon, où il étoit venu tenir un concile pour excommunier le redoutable Frédéric II, qui trois fois déjà l'avoit été vainement par d'autres papes. Là, en accablant l'empereur de toutes ses foudres, Innocent forme un projet dont l'idée seule annonce l'ivresse de la puissance ; celui d'envoyer aux Tartares des lettres apostoliques, afin de les engager à poser les armes et à embrasser la religion chrétienne : *ut ab hominum strage desisterent et fidei veritatem reciperent*. † Il charge de ses lettres un ambassadeur ; et l'ambassadeur est un Frère-mineur nommé Jean du Plan de Carpin (Joannes de Plano Carpini,) qui, le jour de Pâques, 1245, part avec un de ses camarades, et qui en chemin se donne un troisième compagnon, Polonois et appelé Benoît.

Soit que l'ordre de Saint-Dominique eût témoigné quelque déplaisir de voir un pareil honneur déferé exclusivement à l'ordre de Saint François ; soit qu'Innocent craignît pour ses ambassadeurs les dangers d'un voyage aussi long et aussi pénible ; soit enfin par quelque motif que nous ignorons, il nomma une seconde ambassade, à laquelle il fit prendre une autre route, et qui fut composée uniquement de Frères-prêcheurs. Ceux-ci, au nombre de cinq, avoient pour chef un nommé Ascelin, et parmi eux étoit un frère Simon, de Saint-Quentin, dont j'aurai bientôt occasion de parler. Ils étoient, comme les Frères-mineurs, porteurs de lettres apostoliques, et avoient auprès des Tartares la même mission, celle de déterminer ce peuple formidable à s'abstenir de toute guerre et à recevoir le baptême.

De Carpin cependant avoit, avec la sienne, reçu l'ordre particulier et secret d'examiner attentivement et de recueillir avec soin tout ce qui chez ce peuple lui paroît digne de remarque. Il le fit ; et à son retour il publia une relation, qui est composée dans ce : esprit, et qu'en conséquence il a intitulée *Gesta Tartarorum*. Effectivement il n'y emploie, en détails sur sa route et sur son voyage, qu'un seul chapitre. Les sept autres sont consacrés à décrire tout ce qui concerne les Tartares ; sol, climat, mœurs, usages, conquêtes, manière de combattre, etc. Son ouvrage est imprimé dans la collection d'Hakluyt. J'en ai trouvé parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale (N°. 2477, à la page 66) un exemplaire plus complet que celui de l'édition d'Hakluyt, et qui contient une assez longue préface de l'auteur, que cette édition n'a pas. Enfin, à l'époque où parut ce Voyage, Vincent de Beauvais l'avoit inséré en grande partie dans son *Speculum historiale*. §

Ce frère Vincent, religieux dominicain, lecteur et prédicateur de saint Louis, avoit été invité par ce prince à entreprendre différens ouvrages, qu'en effet il mit au jour, et qui aujourd'hui forment une collection considérable. De ce nombre est une longue et lourde compilation historique, sous le titre de *Speculum historiale*, dans laquelle il a fait entrer et il a fondu, comme je viens de le dire, la relation de notre voyageur. Pour rendre celle-ci plus

* La Chaise, Vie de Saint Louis, liv. V, p. 301.

† Vol. I. p. 24.

‡ Vincent Bellovac. Spec. histor. lib. xxxii, cap. 2.

§ Lib. xxxii, cap. 2.

intéressante et plus complète, il y a joint, par une idée assez heureuse, certains détails particuliers que lui fournit son confrère Simon de Saint-Quentin, l'un des associés d'Ascelin dans la seconde ambassade. Ayant eu occasion de voir Simon à son retour de Tartarie, il apprit de lui beaucoup de choses qu'il a insérées en plusieurs endroits de son Miroir et spécialement dans le 32^e et dernier livre. Là, avec ce qu'avoit écrit et publié de Carpin, et ce que Simon lui raconta de vive voix, il a fait une relation mixte, qu'il a divisée en cinquante chapitres; et c'est celle que connoissent nos modernes. Bergeron en a donné une traduction dans son recueil des voyages faits pendant le douzième siècle et les trois suivans. Cependant il a cru devoir séparer ce qui concernoit de Carpin d'avec ce qui appartient à Simon, afin d'avoir des mémoires sur la seconde ambassade, comme on en avoit sur la première. Il a donc détaché du récit de Vincent six chapitres attribués par lui à Simon; et il en a fait un article à part, qu'il a mis sous le nom d'Ascelin, chef de la seconde légation. C'est tout ce que nous savons de celle-ci.

Quant au succès qu'eurent les deux ambassades, je me crois dispensé d'en parler. On devine sans peine ce qu'il dut être; et il en fut de même de deux autres que saint Louis, quoique par un autre motif, envoya peu après dans la même contrée.

Ce monarque se rendoit en 1248 à sa désastreuse expédition d'Egypte, et il venoit de relâcher en Cypre avec sa flotte lorsqu'il reçut dans cette île, le 12 Décembre, une députation des Tartares, dont les deux chefs portoient les noms de David et de Marc. Ces aventuriers se disoient délégués vers lui par leur prince, nouvellement converti à la foi chrétienne, et qu'ils appeloient Ercalthay. Ils assuroient encore que le grand Kan de Tartarie avoit également reçu le baptême, ainsi que les principaux officiers de sa cour et de son armée, et qu'il desiroit faire alliance avec le roi.

Quelque grossière que fût cette imposture, Louis ne put pas s'en défendre. Il résolut d'envoyer au prince et au Kan convertis une ambassade pour les féliciter de leur bonheur et les engager à favoriser et à propager dans leurs états la religion chrétienne. L'ambassadeur qu'il nomma fut un Frère-prêcheur nommé André Longjumeau ou Longjumeau, et il lui associa deux autres Dominicains, deux clercs, et deux officiers de sa maison.

David et Marc, pour lui en imposer davantage, affectèrent de se montrer fervens chrétiens. Il s'assistèrent avec lui fort dévotieusement aux offices de Noël; mais ils lui firent entendre que ce seroit une chose fort agréable au Kan d'avoir une tente en écarlate. C'étoit-là que vouloient en venir les deux fripons. Et en effet le roi en commanda une magnifique, sur laquelle il fit broder l'Annonciation, la Passion, et les autres mystères du christianisme. A ce présent il en ajouta un autre, celui de tout ce qui étoit nécessaire, soit en ornemens, soit en vases et argenterie pour une chapelle. Enfin il donna des reliques et du bois de la vraie croix; c'est-à-dire ce que, dans son opinion, il estimoit plus que tout au monde. Mais une observation que je ne dois point omettre ici, parce qu'elle indique l'esprit de cette cour Romaine qui se croyoit faite pour commander à tous les souverains: c'est que le légat que le pape avoit placé dans l'armée du roi pour l'y représenter et ordonner en son nom, écrivit, par la voie des ambassadeurs, aux deux souverains Tartares, et que dans sa lettre il leur annonçoit qu'il les adoptoit et les reconnoissoit enfans de l'église. Il en fut pour ses prétentions et les avances de sa lettre, ainsi que le roi, pour sa tente, pour sa chapelle et ses reliques. Longjumeau, arrive en Tartarie, eut beau chercher le prince Ercalthay et ce grand Kan baptisé avec sa cour; il revint comme il étoit parti. Cependant il devoit avoir, sur cette contrée, quelques renseignemens. Déjà il y avoit voyagé, disoit-on; et même quand David parut devant lui en Cypre, il prétendit le reconnoître, comme l'ayant vu chez les Tartares.

Ces circonstances nous ont été transmises par les historiens du temps. Pour lui, il n'a rien laissé sur sa mission. On diroit qu'il en a eu honte.

Louis avoit été assez grossièrement dupé pour partager un peu ce sentiment, ou pour en tirer au moins une leçon de prudence. Et néanmoins très-peu d'années après il se laissa tromper encore: c'étoit en 1253; et il se trouvoit alors en Asie.

Quoique au sortir de sa prison d'Egypte tout lui fit une loi de retourner en France où il avoit

avoit tant de plaies à fermer et tant de larmes à tarir, une devotion mal éclairée l'avoit conduit en Palestine. Là, sans songer ni à ses sujets ni à ses devoirs de roi, non seulement il venoit de perdre deux années, presque uniquement occupé de pèlerinages; mais malgré l'épuisement des finances de son royaume, il avoit dépensé des sommes très-considérables à relever et à fortifier quelques bicoques que les chrétiens de ces contrées y possédoient encore.

Pendant ce temps, le bruit courut qu'un prince Tartare nommé Sartach avoit embrassé le christianisme. Le baptême d'un prince infidèle étoit pour Louis une de ces béatitudes au charme desquelles il ne savoit pas résister. Il résolut d'envoyer une ambassade à Sartach pour le féliciter, comme il en avoit envoyé une à Ercalhay. Sa première avoit été confiée à des Frères-prêcheurs; il nomma, pour celle-ci, des Franciscains, et pour chef frère Guillaume Rubruquis. Déjà Innocent avoit de même donné successivement une des deux siennes à l'un des deux autres. Suivre cet exemple étoit pour Louis une grande jouissance. Il avoit pour l'un et pour l'autre une si tendre affection, que tout son vœu, disoit-il, eût été de pouvoir se partager en deux, afin de donner à chacun des deux une moitié de lui-même.

Rubruquis, rendu près de Sartach, put s'y convaincre sans peine combien étoient fabuleux les contes que de temps en temps les chrétiens orientaux faisoient courir sur ces prétendues conversions de princes Tartares. Pour ne pas perdre tout-à-fait le fruit de son voyage il sollicita près de ce chef la permission de prêcher l'évangile dans ses états. Sartach répondit qu'il n'osoit prendre sur lui une chose aussi extraordinaire; et il envoya le convertisseur à son père Baathu, qui le renvoya au grand Kan.

Pour se présenter devant celui-ci, Rubruquis et ses deux camarades se revêtirent chacun d'une chape d'église. L'un d'eux portoit une croix et un missel, l'autre un encensoir, lui une bible et un psautier et il s'avance ainsi entre eux deux en chantant des cantiques. Ce spectacle, que d'après ses préjugés monastiques, il croyoit imposant, et qui n'étoit que burlesque, ne produisit rien, pas même la risée du Tartare; et peu content sans doute d'un voyage très-inutile il revint en rendre compte au roi.

Louis n'étoit plus en Syrie. La mort de Blanche sa mère l'avoit rappelé enfin en France, d'où il n'auroit jamais dû sortir, et où néanmoins il ne se rendit qu'après une année de retard encore. Rubruquis s'apprétoit à l'y suivre quand il reçut de son provincial une défense de partir, avec ordre de se rendre au couvent de Saint-Jean d'Acre, et là d'écrire au roi pour l'instruire de sa mission. Il obéit. Il envoya au monarque une relation, que le temps nous a conservée, et qui, comme la précédente, se trouve traduite dans Bergeron; mais c'est à la contrariété despotique d'un supérieur dur et jaloux que nous la devons. Peut-être que si le voyageur avoit obtenu permission de venir à la cour, il n'eût rien écrit.

Ainsi des quatre ambassadeurs monastiques envoyés en Tartarie tant par Innocent que par le roi, il n'y a que les deux Franciscains de Carpin et Rubruquis, qui aient laissé des mémoires; et ces ouvrages, quoiqu'ils se ressentent de leur siècle et particulièrement de la profession de ceux qui les composèrent, sont cependant précieux pour nous par les détails intéressans qu'ils contiennent sur une contrée lointaine dont alors on connoissoit à peine le nom, et avec laquelle nous n'avons depuis cette époque conservé aucun rapport.

On y admirera sur-tout le courage de Rubruquis, qui ne craint pas de déclarer assez ouvertement au roi que David étoit un imposteur qui l'avoit trompé. Mais Louis avoit le fanatisme du prosélytisme et des conversions; et c'est-là chez certains esprits une maladie incurable.

Dupé deux fois, il le fut encore par la suite pour un roi de Tunis qu'on lui avoit représenté comme disposé à se faire baptiser. Ce baptême fut long-temps sa chimère. Il regardoit comme le plus beau jour de sa vie celui où il seroit le parrain de ce prince. Il eût consenti volontiers, disoit-il, à passer le reste de sa vie dans les cachots d'Afrique, si à ce prix il eût pu le voir chrétien. Et ce fut pour être le parrain d'un infidèle qu'il alla sur les côtes de Tunis perdre une seconde flotte et une seconde armée, déshonorer une seconde fois les armes Françaises qu'avoit tant illustrées la journée de Bovines, enfin perir de la peste au milieu

milieu de son camp pestiféré, et mériter ainsi, par les malheurs multipliés de la France, d'être qualifié martyr et saint.

Quant à Bergeron, il n'est personne qui ne convienne qu'en publiant sa traduction il a rendu aux lettres et aux sciences un vrai service, et je suis bien loin assurément de vouloir en déprécier le mérite. Cependant je suis convaincu qu'elle en auroit davantage encore s'il ne se fût point permis, pour les différens morceaux qu'il y a fait entrer, une traduction trop libre, et surtout s'il s'y fut interdit de nombreux retranchemens qui à la vérité nous épargnent l'ennui de certains détails peu faits pour plaire, mais qui aussi nous privent de l'inestimable avantage d'apprécier l'auteur et son siècle. Lui-même, dans la notice préliminaire d'un des voyages qu'il a imprimés, il dit l'avoir tiré d'un Latin assez grossier où il étoit écrit selon le temps, pour le faire voir en notre langue avec un peu plus d'élégance et de clarté*. De-là il est arrivé qu'en promettant de nous donner des relations du treizième et du quatorzième siècle, il nous en donne de modernes, qui toutes ont la même physionomie à peu près, tandis que chacune devoit avoir la sienne propre.

Le recueil de Bergeron, bon pour son temps, ne l'est plus pour le nôtre. Composé d'ouvrages qui contiennent beaucoup d'erreurs, nous y voudrions des notes critiques, des discussions historiques, des observations savantes ; et peut-être seroit-ce aujourd'hui une entreprise utile et qui ne pourroit manquer d'être accueillie très-favorablement du public, que celle d'une édition nouvelle des voyages anciens, faite ainsi, surtout si l'on y joignoit, autant qu'il seroit possible, le texte original avec la traduction. Mais cette traduction, il faudroit qu'elle fût très-scrupuleusement fidèle. Il faudroit avant tout s'y interdire tout retranchement, ou au moins en prévenir et y présenter en extrait ce qu'on croiroit indispensable de retrancher. Ce n'est point l'agrément que s'attend de trouver dans de pareils ouvrages celui qui entreprend la lecture ; c'est l'instruction. Dès le moment où vous les dénaturerez, où vous voudrez leur donner une tournure moderne et être lu des jeunes gens et des femmes, tout est manqué. Avez-vous des voyages, quels qu'ils soient, de tel ou tel siècle ? Voila ce que je vous demande, et ce que vous devez me faire connoître.

Si parmi ceux de nos gens de lettres qui avec des connoissances en histoire et en géographie réunissent du courage et le talent de recherches, il s'en trouvoit quelqu'un que ce travail n'effrayât pas, je la prévien que, pour ce qui concerne le *Speculum historiale*, il en existe à la Bibliothèque nationale quatre exemplaires manuscrits, sous les numéros 4898, 4900, 4901, et 4902.

Les deux Voyageurs du quatorzième siècle qui ont publié des relations ne sont point nés Français ; mais tous deux écrivirent primitivement dans notre langue : ils nous appartiennent à titre d'auteurs, et sous ce rapport je dois en parler. L'un est Hayton, l'Arménien ; l'autre, l'Anglais Mandeville.

Hayton, roi d'Arménie, avoit été dépouillé de ses états par les Sarrasins. Il imagina d'aller solliciter les secours des Tartares, qui en effet prirent les armes pour lui et le rétablirent. Ses négociations et son voyage lui parurent mériter d'être transmis à la postérité, et il dressa des mémoires qu'en mourant il laissa entre les mains d'Hayton son neveu, seigneur de Courchi.

Celui-ci, après avoir pris une part très-active tant aux affaires d'Arménie qu'aux guerres qu'elle eut à soutenir encore, vint se faire Prémontré en Cypre, où il apprit la langue Française, qui, portée là par les Lusignans, y étoit devenue la langue de la cour et celle de tout ce qui n'étoit pas peuple.

De Cypre, le moine Hayton ayant passé à Poitiers, voulut y faire connoître les mémoires de son oncle, ainsi que les événemens dans lesquels lui-même avoit été, ou acteur, ou témoin. Il intitula ce travail *Histoire d'Orient*, et en confia la publication à un autre moine nommé de Faucon, auquel il le dicta de mémoire en Français. L'ouvrage eut un tel succès que, pour en faire jouir les peuples auxquels notre langue étoit étrangère, Clement V.

* Tome I. p. 160, à la suite du Voyage de Rubruquis.

chargea le même de Faucon de le traduire en Latin. Celui-ci fit paroître en 1307 sa version, dont j'ai trouvé parmi les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale trois exemplaires sous les numéros 7514, 7515—A, et 6041. (Page 180) à la fin du numéro 7515, on lit cette note de l'éditeur, qui donne la preuve de ce qui je viens de dire du livre.

Explicit liber Historiarum Parcium [Partium] Orientis, à religioso viro fratre Haytono, ordinis beati Augustini, domino Churchi, consanguineo regis Armeniæ, compilato [compilatus] ex mandato summi pontificis domini Clementis papæ quinti, in civitate pictaviensi regni Franchiæ: quem ego Nicolaüs Falconi, primò scripsi in galico ydiomate, sicut idem frater H. michi [michi] ore suo dictabat, absque nota sive aliquo * exemplari. Et de gallico translati in latinum; anno domini M^{CCC}. septimo, mense Augusti.

Bergeron a publié l'histoire d'Hayton. Mais, au lieu de donner le texte Français original, au ou moins la version Latine de l'éditeur, il n'a donné qu'une version Française de ce Latin: de sorte que nous n'avons ainsi qu'une traduction de traduction.

Pour ce qui regarde Mandeville, il nous dit que ce voyageur composa son ouvrage dans les trois langues, Anglaise, Française et Latine. C'est une erreur. J'en ai en ce moment sous les yeux un exemplaire manuscrit de la Bibliothèque nationale, n°. 10024 † écrit en 1477 ainsi que le porte ~~une~~ note finale du copiste. Or, dans celui-ci je lis ces mots:

Je eusse mis cest livre en latin, pour plus briefment délivrez (pour aller plus vite, pour abrégier le travail). Mais pour ce que plusieurs ayment et entendent mieulx romans [le français] que latin, l'ai-ge [je l'ai] mis en Romans, affin que chascun l'entende, et que les seigneurs et les chevaliers et aultres nobles hommes qui ne sçèvent point de latin, ou petit [peu] qui ont esté oultre-mer, saichent se je dy voir [vrai], ou non.

D'ailleurs, au temps de Mandeville, c'étoit la langue Française qu'on parloit en Angleterre. Cette langue y avoit été portée par Guillaume-le-Conquérant. On ne pouvoit enseigner qu'elle dans les écoles. Toutes les sentences des Tribunaux, tous les actes civils devoient être en Français; et quand Mandeville écrivoit en Français, il écrivoit dans sa langue. S'il se fût servi de la Latine, c'eût été pour être lu chez les nations qui ne connoissoient pas la nôtre.

A la vérité, son Français se ressent du sol. Il a beaucoup d'anglicismes et de locutions vicieuses; et la raison n'en est pas difficile à deviner. On sait que plus un ruisseau s'éloigne de sa source, et plus ses eaux doivent s'altérer. Mais c'est-là, selon moi, le moindre défaut de l'auteur. Sans goût, sans jugement, sans critique, non seulement il admet indistinctement tous les contes et toutes les fables qu'il entend dire; mais il en forge lui-même à chaque instant.

A l'entendre il s'embarqua l'an 1332, jour de Saint-Michel; il voyagea pendant trente-cinq ans, et parcourut une grande partie de l'Asie et de l'Afrique. Eh bien, ayez comme moi le courage de le lire; et si vous lui accordez d'avoir vu peut-être Constantinople, la Palestine et l'Egypte (ce que moi je me garderois bien de garantir), à coup sûr au moins vous resterez convaincu que jamais il ne mit le pied dans tous ces pays dont il parle à l'aveugle; Arabie, Tartarie, Inde, Ethiopie, etc. etc.

Au moins, si les fictions qu'il imagine offroient ou quelque agrément ou quelque intérêt! s'il ne faisoit qu'user du droit de mentir, dont se sont mis depuis si long-temps en possession la plupart des voyageurs! Mais chez lui ce sont des erreurs géographiques si grossières, des fables si sottes, des descriptions de peuples et de contrées imaginaires si ridicules, enfin des âneries si révoltantes, qu'en vérité on ne sait quel nom lui donner. Il en coûteroit d'avoir à traiter de charlatan un écrivain. Que seroit-ce donc si on avoit à la qualifier de hâbleur effronté? Cependant comment désigner le voyageur qui nous cite des géans de trente pieds de long; des arbres dont les fruits se changent en oiseaux qu'on mange; d'autres arbres qui tous les jours sortent de terre et s'en élèvent depuis le lever du soleil

* L'exemplaire n°. 5514 ajoute, a verbo ad verbum.

† Il y en a dans la même bibliothèque un autre exemplaire noté 7972; mais celui-ci, mutilé, incomplet, très-difficile à lire, par la blancheur de son encre, ne peut guères avoir de valeur qu'en le collationnant avec l'autre.

jusqu'à midi, et qui depuis midi jusqu'au soir y rentrent en entier; un val périlleux, dont il avoit près la fiction dans nos vieux romans de chevalerie, val ou il dit avoir éprouvé de telles aventures qu'infailiblement il y auroit péri si précédemment il n'avoit reçu Corpus Domini (s'il n'avoit communiqué); un fleuve qui sort du paradis terrestre et qui, au lieu d'eau, roule des pierres précieuses; ce paradis qui, dit-il, est au commencement de la terre et placé si haut qu'il touche de près la lune; enfin mille autres impostures ou sottises de même espèce, qui dénotent non l'erreur de la bêtise et de la crédulité, mais le mensonge de la réflexion et de la fraude?

Je regarde même comme tels ces trente-cinq ans qu'il dit avoir employés à parcourir le monde sans avoir songé à revenir dans sa patrie que quand enfin la goutte vint le tourmenter.

Quoiqu'il en existe trois éditions imprimées, l'une en 1487 chez Jean Cres, l'autre en 1517 chez Regnault, la troisième en 1542 chez Canterel, on ne le connoît guère que par le court extrait qu'en a publié Bergeron. Et en effet cet éditeur l'avoit trouvé si invraisemblable et si fabuleux qu'il l'a réduit à douze pages quoique dans notre manuscrit il en contienne cent soixante et dix-huit.

Dans le quinzième siècle, nous eûmes deux autres voyages en Terre-Sainte: l'un que je publie aujourd'hui; l'autre, par un carme nommé Huen, imprimé en 1487, et dont je ne dirai rien ici, parce qu'il est postérieur à l'autre.

La même raison m'empêchera de parler d'un ouvrage mis au jour par Mamerot, chantre et chanoine de Troyes. D'ailleurs celui-ci, intitulé passages faiz oultre-mer par les roys de France et autres princes et seigneurs François contre les Turcs et autres Sarrasins et Mores oultre-marins, n'est point, à proprement parler, un voyage, mais une compilation historique des différentes croisades qui ont eu lieu en France, et que l'auteur, d'après la fausse Chronique de Turpin et nos romans de chevalerie, fait commencer à Charlemagne. La Bibliothèque nationale possède de celui-ci un magnifique exemplaire, orné d'un grand nombre de belles miniatures et tableaux.

Je viens à l'ouvrage de la Brocquière; mais celui-ci demande quelque explication.

SECONDE PARTIE.

LA folie des Croisades, comme tous les genres d'ivresse, n'avoit eu en France qu'une certaine durée, ou, pour parler plus exactement, de même que certaines fièvres, elle s'étoit calmée après quelques accès. Et assurément la croisade de Louis-le-Jeune, les deux de saint Louis plus désastreuses encore, avoient attiré sur le royaume assez de honte et de malheurs pour y croire ce fanatisme étoient à jamais.

Cependant la superstition cherchoit de temps en temps à le rallumer. Souvent, en confession et dans certains cas de pénitence publique, le clergé imposoit pour satisfaction un pèlerinage à Jérusalem, ou un temps fixe de croisade. Plusieurs fois même les papes employèrent tous les ressorts de leur politique et l'ascendant de leur autorité pour renouer chez les princes chrétiens quelqu'une de ces ligues saintes, où leur ambition avoit tant à gagner sans rien risquer que des indulgences.

Philippe-le-Bel, par hypocrisie de zèle et de religion, affecta un moment de vouloir en former une nouvelle pour la France. Philippe-de-Valois, le prince le moins propre à une entreprise si difficile et qui exigeoit tant de talens, parut s'en occuper pendant quelques années. Il reçut une ambassade du roi d'Arménie, entama des négociations avec la cour de Rome,

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Rome, ordonna même des préparatifs dans le port de Marseille. Enfin dans l'intervalle de ces mouvemens, l'an 1332, un dominicain nommé Brochard (surnommé l'Allemand, du nom de son pays), lui présenta deux ouvrages Latins composés à dessein sur cet objet.

L'un, dans lequel il lui faisoit connoître la contrée qui alloit être le but de la conquête, étoit une description de la Terre-Sainte; et comme il avoit demeuré vingt-quatre ans dans cette contrée en qualité de missionnaire et de prédicateur, peu de gens pouvoient alléguer autant de droits que lui pour en parler.

L'autre, divisé en deux livres, par commémoration des deux épées dont il est mention dans l'Evangile, sous-divisé en douze chapitres à l'honneur des douze apôtres, traitoit des différentes routes entre lesquelles l'armée avoit à choisir, des précautions de détail à prendre pour le succès de l'entreprise, enfin des moyens de diriger et d'assurer l'expédition.

Quant à celui-ci, dont les matières concernent entièrement la marine et l'art militaire, on est surpris de voir l'auteur l'avoir entrepris, lui qui n'étoit qu'un simple religieux. Mais qui ne sait que, dans les siècles d'ignorance, quiconque est moins ignorant que ses contemporains, s'arroge le droit d'écrire sur tout? D'ailleurs, parmi les conseils que Brochard donnoit au roi et à ses généraux, son expérience, pouvoit lui en avoir suggéré quelques-uns d'utiles. Et après tout, puisque dans la classe des nobles auxquels il eût appartenu de traiter ces objets, il ne se trouvoit personne peut-être qui pût offrir et les mêmes connoissances locales que lui et un talent égal pour les écrire, pourquoi n'auroit-il pas hasardé ce qu'ils ne pouvoient faire?

Quoiqu'il en soit du motif et de son excuse, il paroît que l'ouvrage fit sur le roi et sur son conseil une impression favorable. On voit au moins, par la continuation de la Chronique de Nangis, que le monarque envoya in terram Turcorum Jean de Cépoï et l'évêque de Beauvais avec quelque peu d'infanterie ad explorandos portus et passus, ad faciendos aliquas munitiones et preparationes victualium pro passagio Terre Sanctæ; et que la petite troupe, après avoir remporté quelques avantages aussi considérables que le permettoient ses foibles forces, revint en France l'an 1335*.

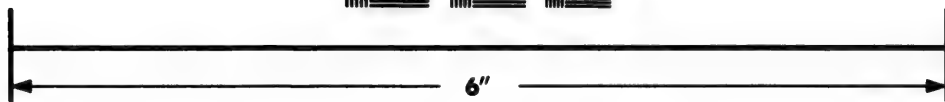
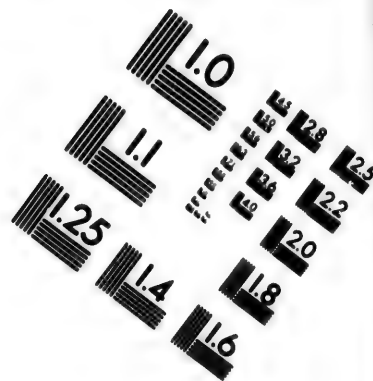
Au reste tout ce fracas d'armemens, de préparatifs et de menaces dont le royaume retentit pendant quelques années, s'évanouit en un vain bruit. Je ne doute point que, dans les commencemens, le roi ne fût de bonne foi. Sa vanité s'étoit laissée éblouir par un projet brillant qui alloit fixer sur lui les yeux de l'Asie et de l'Europe; et les esprits médiocres ne savent point résister à la séduction de pareilles chimères. Mais bientôt, comme les caractères foibles, fatigué des difficultés, il chercha des prétextes pour se mettre à l'écart; et dans ce dessein il demanda au pape des titres et de l'argent, que celui-ci n'accorda pas. Alors on ne parla plus de l'expédition; et tout ce qu'elle produisit fut d'attirer la colère et la vengeance des Turcs sur ce roi d'Arménie, qui étoit venu en France solliciter contre eux une ligue et des secours.

Au siècle suivant, la même fanfaronnade eut lieu à la cour de Bourgogne, quoique avec un début plus sérieux en apparence.

L'an 1432, cent ans après la publication des deux ouvrages de Brochard, plusieurs grands seigneurs des états de Bourgogne et officiers du duc Philippe-le Bon font le pèlerinage de la Terre-Sainte. Parmi eux est son premier écuyer tranchant, nommé la Brocquière. Celui-ci, après plusieurs courses dévotes dans le pays, revient malade à Jérusalem, et pendant sa convalescence il y forme le hardi projet de retourner en France par la voie de terre. C'étoit s'engager à traverser toute la partie occidentale d'Asie, toute l'Europe orientale; et toujours, excepté sur la fin du voyage, à travers la domination musulmane. L'exécution de cette entreprise, qui aujourd'hui même ne seroit point sans difficultés passoit alors pour impossible. En vain ses camarades essaient de l'en détourner: il s'y obstine; il part, et, après avoir surmonté tous les obstacles, il revient, dans le cours de l'année 1433, se présenter au duc sous le costume Sarrasin, qu'il avoit été obligé de prendre, et avec le cheval qui seul avoit fourni à cette étonnante traite.

* Spicil. t. II. p. 764.





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Une si extraordinaire aventure ne pouvoit manquer de produire à la cour un grand effet. Le duc voulut que le voyageur en rédigeât par écrit la relation. Celui-ci obéit; mais son ouvrage ne parut que quelques années après, et même postérieurement à l'année 1438, puisque cette époque y est mentionnée, comme on le verra ci-dessous.

Il n'étoit guère possible que le duc eût journellement sous les yeux son écuyer tranchant sans avoir quelquefois envie de le questionner sur cette terre des Mécéens; et il ne pouvoit guère l'entendre, sur-tout à table, sans que sa tête ne s'échauffât, et ne formât aussi des chimères de croisade et de conquête.

Ce qui me fait présumer qu'il avoit demandé à la Brocquière des renseignemens de ce genre, c'est que celui-ci a inséré dans sa relation un long morceau sur la force militaire des Turcs, sur les moyens de les combattre vigoureusement, et, quoiqu'avec une armée médiocre, mais bien conduite et bien organisée, de pénétrer sans risques jusqu'à Jérusalem. Assurément un episode aussi étendu et d'un résultat aussi important est à remarquer dans un ouvrage présenté au duc et composé par ses ordres; et l'on conviendra qu'il n'a guère pu y être placé sans un dessein formel et une intention particulière.

En effet on vit de temps en temps Philippe annoncer sur cet objet de grands desseins; mais plus occupé de plaisirs que de gloire, ainsi que le prouvent les quinze bâtarde connus qu'il a laissés, toute sa forlanterie s'évaporait en paroles. Enfin cependant un moment arriva où la chrétienté, alarmée des conquêtes rapides du jeune et formidable Mahomet II. et de l'armement terrible qu'il préparait contre Constantinople, crut qu'il n'y avoit plus de digne à lui opposer qu'une ligue générale.

Le duc, qui, par l'étendue et la population de ses états, étoit plus puissant que beaucoup de rois, pouvoit jouer dans la coalition un rôle important. Il affecta de se montrer en scène un des premiers; et pour le faire avec éclat, il donna dans Lille en 1453 une fête splendide et pompeuse, ou plutôt un grand spectacle à machines, fort bizarre dans son ensemble, fort disparate dans la multitude de ses parties, mais le plus étonnant de ceux de ce genre que nous ait transmis l'histoire. Ce spectacle dont j'ai donné ailleurs la description*, et qui absorba en pur faste des sommes considérables qu'il eût été facile dans les circonstances d'employer beaucoup mieux, se termina par quelques vœux d'armes tant de la part du duc que de celle de plusieurs seigneurs de sa cour: et c'est tout ce qui en résulta. Au reste il eut lieu en février, et Mahomet prit Constantinople en Mai.

La nouvelle de ce désastre, les massacres horribles qui avoient accompagné la conquête, les suites incalculables qu'elle pouvoit avoir sur le sort de la chrétienté, y répandirent la consternation. Le duc alors crut qu'il devoit enfin se prononcer autrement que par des propos et des fêtes. Il annonça une croisade, leva en conséquence de grosses sommes sur ses sujets, forma même une armée et s'avança en Allemagne. Mais tout-à-coup ce lion fougueux s'arrêta. Une incommodité qui lui survint fort à propos lui servit de prétexte et d'excuse; et il revint dans ses états.

Néanmoins il affecta de continuer à parler croisades comme auparavant. Il chargea même un de ses sujets, Joseph Miélot, chanoine de Lille, de lui traduire en Français les deux traités de Brochard dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus. Enfin, quand le Pape Pie II. convoqua dans Mantoue en 1459, une assemblée de princes chrétiens pour former une ligue contre Mahomet, il ne manqua pas d'y envoyer ses ambassadeurs, à la tête desquels étoit le duc de Clèves.

Miélot finit son travail en 1455, et le court préambule qu'il a mis en tête l'annonce. Les deux traductions se trouvent dans un de ces manuscrits que la Bibliothèque nationale a reçus récemment de la Belgique. Elles sont, pour l'écriture, de la même main que le voyage de la Brocquière; mais quoique des trois ouvrages celui-ci ait dû paraître avant les deux autres, tout trois cependant, soit par économie de reliure, soit par analogie de matières, ont été réunis ensemble; et ils forment ainsi un gros volume in-folio; numéroté 314 relié en bois avec basane rouge, et intitulé au dos, *Avis directif de Brochard*.

Ce manuscrit, auquel son écriture, sa conservation, ses miniatures, et le beaux choix de son vélin donnent déjà beaucoup de prix, me paroît en acquérir davantage encore sous un

* Hist. de la vie privée des Français, t. III, p. 324.

autre aspect, en ce qu'il est composé, selon moi, des traités originaux présentés par leurs auteurs à Philippe-le-Bon, ou de l'exemplaire commandé par lui à l'un de ses copistes sur l'autographe des auteurs, pour être placé dans sa bibliothèque.

Je crois voir la preuve de cette assertion non seulement dans la beauté du manuscrit, et dans l'écusson du prince, qui s'y trouve armorié en quatre endroits, et deux fois avec sa devise Aultre n'aray ; mais encore dans la vignette d'un des deux frontispices, ainsi que dans la miniature de l'autre.

Cette vignette, qui est en tête du volume, représente Miélot à genoux, faisant l'offrande de son livre au duc, lequel est assis et entouré de plusieurs courtisans, dont trois portent, comme lui, le collier de la Toison.

Dans la miniature qui précède le Voyage, on voit la Brocquière faire de la même manière son offrande. Il est en costume Sarrasin, ainsi qu'il a été dit ci-dessus, et il a auprès de lui son cheval, dont j'ai parlé.

Quant à ce duc Philippe qu'on surnomma le Bon, ce n'est point ici le lieu d'examiner s'il mérita bien véritablement ce titre glorieux, et si l'histoire n'aurait pas à lui faire des reproches de plus d'un genre. Mais, comme littérateur, je ne puis m'empêcher de remarquer ici, à l'honneur de sa mémoire, que les lettres au moins lui doivent de la reconnaissance ; que c'est un des princes qui, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à François I^{er}, ait le plus fait pour elles ; qu'au quinzième siècle il fut dans les deux Bourgognes, et dans la Belgique sur-tout, ce qu'au quatorzième Charles V avoit été en France ; que comme Charles, il se créa une bibliothèque, ordonna des traductions et des compositions d'ouvrages, encouragea les savans, les dessinateurs, les copistes habiles ; enfin qu'il rendit peut-être aux sciences plus de services réels que Charles, parce qu'il fut moins superstitieux.

Je donnerai, dans l'Histoire de la littérature Française, à laquelle je travaille, des détails sur ces différens faits. J'en ai trouvé des preuves multipliées dans les manuscrits qui de la Belgique ont passé à la Bibliothèque nationale, ou, pour parler plus exactement, dans les manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Bruxelles, qui faisoient une des portions les plus considérables de cet envoi.

Cet bibliothèque, pour sa partie Française, qui est spécialement confiée à ma surveillance, et qu'à ce titre j'ai parcourue presque en entier, étoit composée de plusieurs fonds particuliers, dont les principaux sont :

1^o. Un certain nombre de manuscrits qui précédemment avoient formé la bibliothèque de Charles V, celle de Charles VI, celle de Jean, duc de Berri, frère de Charles V, et qui pendant les troubles du royaume sous Charles VI, et dans les commencemens du règne de son fils, furent pillés et enlevés par les ducs de Bourgogne. Ceux de Jean sont reconnaissables à sa signature, apposée par lui à la dernière page du volume et quelquefois en plusieurs autres endroits. On reconnoît ceux de deux rois à l'écu de France blasonné qu'on y a peint, à leurs épîtres dédicatoires, à leurs vignettes, qui représentent l'offrande du livre fait au monarque, et le monarque revêtu du manteau royal. Il en est d'autres, provenus de ces deux dépôts, sur l'enlèvement desquels je ne puis alléguer des preuves aussi authentiques, parce que dans le nombre il s'en trouvoit beaucoup qui n'étoient point ornés de miniatures, ou qui n'avoient point été offerts au roi, et qui par conséquent ne peuvent offrir les mêmes signemens que les premiers ; mais j'aurois, pour avancer que ceux-là ont été pris également, tant de probabilités, tant de conjectures vraisemblables, qu'elles équivalent pour moi à une preuve positive.

2^o. Les manuscrits qui appartenrent légitimement aux ducs de Bourgogne, c'est-à-dire qui furent, ou acquis par eux, ou dédiés et présentés à eux, ou commandés par eux, soit comme ouvrages, soit comme simples copies. Dans la classe des dédiés, le très-grand nombre l'a été à Philippe-le-Bon ; dans celle des faits par ordre, presque tous furent ordonnés par lui : et c'est là qu'on voit, comme je l'ai dit plus haut, l'obligation qui lui ont les lettres et tout ce qu'il fit pour elles.

3^o. Les manuscrits qui, après avoir appartenu à des particuliers, ou à de grands seigneurs des états de Bourgogne, ont passé en différens temps et d'une manière quelconque dans la bibliothèque de Bruxelles. Parmi ceux-ci l'on doit distinguer spécialement ceux de Charles

de Croy, comte de Chimay, parrain de Charles-Quint, chevalier de la toison, fait en 1486 prince de Chimay par Maximilien. Les siens sont assez nombreux, et ils portent pour signe distinctif ses armoiries et sa signature, apposée par lui-même.

De tout ceci il résulte, quant au mérite de la collection Française de Bruxelles, qu'elle ne doit guère offrir que des manuscrits modernes. J'en ai effectivement peu vu qui soient précieux par leur ancienneté, leur rareté, la nature de l'ouvrage; mais beaucoup sont curieux par leur écriture, leur conservation, et spécialement par leurs miniatures; et ces miniatures seront un objet intéressant pour les personnes qui, comme moi, entreprennent l'histoire des arts dans les bas siècles. Elles leur prouveront qu'on Belgique l'état florissant de certaines manufactures y avoit fort avancé l'art de la peinture et du dessin. Mais je reviens aux trois traités de notre volume.

Je ne dirai qu'un mot sur la description de la Palestine par Brochard, parce que l'original Latin ayant été imprimé, elle est connue, et que Miélot, dans le préambule de sa traduction, assure, ce dont je me suis convaincu, n'y avoir adjousté riens du sien. Brochard, de son côté, proteste de son exactitude. Non seulement il a demeuré vingt-quatre ans dans le pays, mais il l'a traversé dans son double diamètre du nord au sud, depuis le pied du Liban jusqu'à Bersabée; et du couchant au levant, depuis la Méditerranée jusqu'à la mer Morte. Enfin il ne décrit rien qu'il n'ait, pour me servir des termes de son traducteur, veu corporellement, lui, étant en iceulx lieux.

La traduction commence au folio 76 de notre volume, et elle porte pour titre: *Le livre de la description de la Terre-Sainte*, fait en l'honneur et loenge de Dieu, et compilé jadis, l'an M.III.F.XXXII, par frère Brochard, l'Aleman, de l'ordre des Preecheurs.

Son second ouvrage étant inédit, j'en parlerai plus au long, mais uniquement d'après la traduction la Miélot.

Le volume est composé de deux parties, et porte pour titre, *Advis directif (conseils de marche et de direction) pour faire le passage d'outremer.*

On a pour ce passage, dit Brochard, deux voies différentes, la terre et la mer; et il conseille au roi de les employer toutes les deux à la fois, la première pour l'armée, la seconde pour le transport des vivres, tentes, machines, et munitions de guerre, ainsi que pour les personnes qui sont accoutumées à la mer.

Celle-ci exigera dix à douze galères, qu'on pourra, par des négociations et des arrangements, obtenir des Génois et des Vénitiens. Les derniers possèdent Candie, Négrepont et autres îles, terres ou places importantes. Les Génois ont Péra, près de Constantinople, et Caffa, dans la Tartarie. D'ailleurs les deux nations connoissent bien les vents et les mers d'Asie, de même que la langue, les îles, côtes et ports du pays.

Si l'on choisit la voie de mer, on aura le choix de s'embarquer, soit à Aigues-Mortes soit à Marseille ou à Nice; puis on relâchera en Cypre, comme fit Saint Louis. Mais la mer et le séjour des vaisseaux ont de nombreux inconvénients, et il en résulte de fâcheuses maladies pour les hommes et pour les chevaux. D'ailleurs on dépend des vents: sans cesse on est réduit à craindre les tempêtes et le changement de climat. Souvent même, lorsqu'on ne comptoit faire qu'une relâche, on se voit forcé de séjourner. Ajoutez à ces dangers les vins de Cypre, qui de leur nature sont trop ardens. Si vous y mettez de l'eau, ils perdent toute leur saveur; si vous n'en mettez point, ils attaquent le cerveau et brûlent les entrailles. Quand saint Louis hiverna dans l'île, l'armée y éprouva tous ces inconvénients. Il y mourut deux cens et cinquante, que contes, que barons, que chevaliers des plus nobles qu'il eust en son ost.

Il est un autre passage composé de mer et de terre, et celui-ci offre deux routes; l'une par l'Afrique, l'autre par l'Italie.

La voie d'Afrique est extrêmement difficile, à raison des châteaux fortifiés qu'on y rencontrera, du manque de vivres auquel on sera exposé, de la traversée des déserts, et de l'Egypte qu'il faudra franchir. Le chemin d'ailleurs est immense par sa longueur. Si l'on part du détroit de Gibraltar, on aura, pour arriver à deux petites journées de Jérusalem, 2500 milles à parcourir; si l'on part de Tunis, on en aura 2400. Conclusion: la voie d'Afrique est impraticable, il faut y renoncer.

Celle d'Italie présente trois chemins divers. L'un par Aquilée, par l'Istrie, la Dalmatie,

le royaume de Rassie (Servie) et Thessalonique (Salonique), la plus grande cité de Macédoine, laquelle n'est qu'à huit petites journées de Constantinople. C'est la route que suivirent les Romains quand ils alloient porter la guerre en Orient. Ces contrées sont fertiles; mais le pays est habité de gens non obéissans à l'Eglise de Rome. Et quant est de leur vaillance et hardiesse à résister, je n'en fais nulle mention, néant plus que de femmes.

Le second est par la Pouille. On s'embarqueroit à Brandis (Brindes), pour débarquer à Duras (Durazzo) qui est à monseigneur le prince de Tarente. Puis on avanceroit par l'Albanie, par Blaque et Thessalonique.

La troisième traverse également la Pouille; mais il passe par Ydronte (Otrante), Curpho (Corfou) qui est à mondit seigneur de Tarente, Desponte, Blaque, Thessalonique. C'est celui qu'à la première croisade prirent Robert, comte de Flandre; Robert, duc de Normandie; Hugues, frère du roi Philippe I^{er}, et Tancrede, prince de Tarente.

Après avoir parlé du passage par mer et du passage composé de terre et de mer, Brochard examine celui qui auroit lieu entièrement par terre.

Ce dernier traverse l'Allemagne, la Hongrie et la Bulgarie. Ce fut celui qu'à la même première expédition suivit une grande partie de l'armée de France et d'Allemagne, sous la conduite de Pierre l'ermite, et c'est celui que l'auteur conseille au roi.

Mais quand on est en Hongrie on a deux routes à choisir: l'une par la Bulgarie, l'autre par l'Esclavonie, qui fait partie du royaume de Rassie. Godefroi de Bouillon, ses deux frères, et Baudouin, comte de Mons, prirent la première. Raimond, comte de Saint-Gilles, et Audemare, évêque du Puy et légat du Saint-Siège, prirent la seconde, quoique quelques auteurs prétendent qu'ils suivirent celle d'Aquilée et de Dalmatie.

Si le roi adoptoit ce passage par terre, l'armée, arrivée en Hongrie, pourroit se diviser en deux; et alors, pour la plus grande commodité des vivres, chacune des deux parties suivroit un des deux chemins; savoir, l'une, celui de la Bulgarie; l'autre, celui de l'Esclavonie. Le roi prendroit la première route, comme la plus courte. Quant aux Languedociens et Provençaux, qui sont voisins de l'Italie, il leur seroit permis d'aller par Brindes et Otrante. Leur rendez-vous seroit à Thessalonique, où ils trouveroient le corps d'armée, qui auroit pris par Aquilée.

A ces renseignemens sur les avantages et les inconvéniens des divers passages, le dominicain en ajoute quelques autres sur les princes par les états desquels il faudra passer, et sur les ressources que fourniront ces états.

La Rassie est un pays fertile, dit-il; elle a en activité cinq mines d'or, cinq d'argent, et plusieurs autres qui portent or et argent. Il ne faudroit pour la conquête de cette contrée que mille chevaliers et six mille hommes d'infanterie. Ce seroit un joyel (joyau) gracieux et plaisant à acquérir.

L'auteur veut qu'on ne fasse aucun traité d'alliance ni avec ce roi ni même avec l'empereur Grec; et, pour mieux motiver son assertion, il rapporte quelques détails sur le personnel de ces princes, et principalement sur le premier, qu'il dit être un usurpateur.

Quant à l'autre, il demande non seulement qu'on ne fasse avec lui ni paix ni trêve, mais encore qu'on lui déclare la guerre. En conséquence il donne des moyens pour assiéger Constantinople, Andrinople et Thessalonique. Et comme, d'après ce qui est arrivé, il ne doute nullement de ce qui doit arriver encore, c'est-à-dire de la prise de Constantinople, il propose divers réglemens pour gouverner l'empire d'Orient quand on l'aura conquis une seconde fois, et pour le ramener à la religion Romaine.

Il termine ses avis directifs par avertir les croisés de se mettre en garde contre la perfidie des Grecs, ainsi que contre les Syriens, les Hassassins et autres habitans de l'Asie. Il leur détaille une partie des pièges qu'on leur tendra, et leur enseigne à s'en garantir.

Brochard, dans sa première partie, a conduit par terre jusqu'à Constantinople l'ost de Notre Seigneur, et il lui a fait prendre cette ville. Dans la seconde il lui fait passer le détroit et le mène en Asie. Au reste il connoissoit très-bien ces contrées; et, indépendamment de ses vingt-quatre ans de séjour dans la Palestine, il avoit parcouru encore l'Arménie, la Perse, l'empire Grec, etc.

Selon lui, ce qui, dans les croisades précédentes, avoit fait échouer les rois de France et d'Angleterre,

d'Angleterre, c'est que mal adroitement on attaquoit à la fois et les Turcs et le soudan d'Egypte. Il propose de n'attaquer que les premiers, et de n'avoir affaire qu'à eux seuls.

Pour le faire avec succès il donne des renseignements sur la Turquie, nommée Anachély (Anatolie) par les Grecs; sur la manière de tirer par mer des vivres pour l'armée; sur l'espoir bien fondé de réussir contre un peuple nécessairement abandonné de Dieu, parce que sa malice est accomplie; contre un peuple qui intérieurement est affaibli par des guerres intestines et par le manque de chefs; dont la cavalerie est composée d'esclaves; qui, avec peu de courage et d'industrie n'a que des chevaux petits et foibles, de mauvaises armes, des arcs Turquois et des haubergeons de cuir qu'on pourroit appeler des *cuirasses; contre un peuple enfin qui ne combat qu'en fuyant, et qui, après les Grecs et les Babyloniens, est le plus vil de tout Orient, en fais-d'armes.

L'auteur déclare en finissant que dans tout cet Orient il n'est presque aucune nation qu'il n'ait vue aller en bataille, et que la seule puissance de France, sans nuls aydes quelconques, peut défaire, non seulement les Turcs et les Egyptiens†, mais encore les Tartres (Tatars) fors (excepté) les Indiens, les Arabes, et les Persains.

La collection de Bruxelles contient un autre exemplaire de l'Advis directif, in fol. pap. miniat. N°. 352. Celui-ci forme un volume à part. Sa vignette représente Brochard travaillant à son pupitre. Vient ensuite une miniature où on le voit présentant son livre au roi; puis une autre où le roi est en marche avec son armée pour la Terre-Sainte.

J'ai également trouvé dans la même collection les deux traités Latins de l'auteur, réunis en un seul volume in fol. pap. N°. 319, couvert en basane rouge. Le premier porte en titre: *Directorium ad passagium faciendum*, editum per quemdam fratrem ordinis Predicatorum, scribentem experta et visa potius quam audita; ad serenissimum principem et dominum Philippum, regem Francorum, anno Domini M.CCC°. xxxii*.

Le second est intitulé: *Libellus de Terrâ Sanctâ*, editus à fratre Brocardo, Theutonico, ordinis fratrum predicatorum. A la fin de celui-ci on lit qu'il a été écrit par Jean Reginaldi, chanoine de Cambrai. Comme l'autre est incontestablement de la même main, je ne doute nullement qu'il ne soit aussi de Reginaldi.

Il me reste maintenant à faire connoître notre troisième ouvrage Français, ce Voyage de la Brocquière que je publie aujourd'hui.

L'auteur étoit gentilhomme, et l'on s'en aperçoit sans peine quand il parle de chevaux, de châteaux forts et de joutes.

Sa relation n'est qu'un itinéraire qui souvent, et surtout dans la description du pays, et des villes, présente un peu de monotonie et des formes peu variées; mais cet itinéraire est intéressant pour l'histoire et la géographie du temps. Elles y trouveront des matériaux très-précieux, et quelquefois même des tableaux et des aperçus qui ne sont pas sans mérite.

Le voyageur est un homme d'un esprit sage et sensé, plein de jugement et de raison. On admirera l'impartialité avec laquelle il parle des nations infidèles qu'il a occasion de connoître, et spécialement des Turcs, dont la bonne foi est bien supérieure, selon lui, à celle de beaucoup de chrétiens.

Il n'a guère de la superstition de son siècle que la dévotion pour les pèlerinages et les reliques; encore annonce-t-il souvent peu de foi sur l'authenticité des reliques qu'on lui montre.

Quant aux pèlerinages, on verra en le lisant combien ils étoient multipliés en Palestine, et son livre sera pour nous un monument qui, d'une part, constatera l'aveugle crédulité avec laquelle nos dévots occidentaux avoient adopté ces pieuses fables; et de l'autre l'astuce criminelle des chrétiens de Terre-Sainte, qui pour soutirer l'argent des croisés et des pèlerins, et se faire à leurs dépens un revenu, les avoient imaginées.

* Le haubert et le haubergeon (sorte de haubert plus léger et moins lourd) étoient une sorte de chemise en mailles de fer, laquelle descendoit jusqu'à mi-cuisse. Les haubergeons Turcs, au contraire, étoient si courts qu'on pouvoit, selon l'auteur, les qualifier du nom de cuirasses.

† Les Turcs et les Egyptiens! frère Brochard, vous oubliez Louis-le-Jeune, et saint Louis.

La Brocquière écrit en militaire, d'un style franc et loyal qui annonce de la véracité et inspire la confiance ; mais il écrit avec négligence et abandon : de sorte que ses matières n'ont pas toujours un ordre bien constant, et que quelquefois il commence à raconter un fait dont la suite se trouve à la page suivante. Quoique cette confusion soit rare, je me suis cru permis de la corriger et de rapprocher ce qui devoit être réuni et ne l'étoit pas.

Notre manuscrit a, pour son orthographe, le défaut qu'ils ont la plupart, c'est que, dans certains noms, elle varie souvent d'une page à l'autre, et quelquefois même dans deux phrases que se suivent. On me blâmeroit de m'astreindre à ces variations d'une langue qui, alors incertaine, aujourd'hui est fixée. Ainsi, par exemple, il écrit Auteriche, Autherich, Autherice, Austrice, Ostrice. Je n'emploierai constamment que celui d'Autriche.

Il en sera de même des noms dont l'orthographe ne varie point dans le manuscrit, mais qui en ont aujourd'hui une différente. J'écrirai Hongrie, Belgrade, Bulgarie, et non Hon-guerie, Belgrado, Vulgarie.

D'autres noms enfin ont changé en entier et ne sont plus les mêmes. Nous ne disons plus la mer Majeure, la Dunoë ; mais la mer Noire, le Danube. Quant à ceux-ci je crois intéressant pour la géographie de les foire connoître ; mais je croire en même temps qu'il suffira pour cela de les citer une fois. Ainsi la première fois que dans la relation le mot Dunoë s'offrira, j'écrirai Dunoë ; mais par la suite je dirai toujours Danube et il en sera de même pour les autres.

On m'objectera, je m'y attends, qu'il est mal de prêter à un auteur des expressions qui n'étoient ni les siennes ni souvent même celles de son siècle ; mais, après avoir bien pesé les avantages et les inconvéniens d'une nomenclature très-littérale, j'ai cru reconnoître que cette exactitude rigoureuse rendroit le texte inintelligible ou fatigant pour la plupart des lecteurs ; qui si l'on veut qu'un auteur soit entendu, il faut le faire parler comme il parleroit lui-même s'il vivoit parmi nous ; enfin qu'il est des choses que le bon sens ordonne de changer ou de supprimer, et qu'il seroit ridicule, par exemple, de dire, comme la Brocquière, un seigneur hongre, pour un seigneur Hongrois ; des chrétiens vulgaires, pour des chrétiens Bulgares, etc.

VOYAGE DE LA BROCQUIÈRE.

CY COMMENCE LE VOYAGE DE BERTRANDON DE LA BROCQUIÈRE EN LA TERRE D'OULTRE MER, L'AN DE GRACE MIL QUATRE CENS ET TRENTE-DEUX.

POUR animer et enflammer le cœur des nobles hommes qui desirent voir le monde ;

Et par l'ordre et commandement de très-haut, très-puissant et mon très-redouté seigneur, Philippe, par la grace de Dieu, duc de Bourgogne, de Lothrik (Lorraine), de Brabant et de Limbourg ; comte de Flandres, d'Artois et de Bourgogne* ; palatin de Hainaut, de Hollande, de Zélande et de Namur ; marquis du Saint-Empire ; seigneur de Frise, de Salins et de Malines ;

Je, Bertrandon de la Brocquière, natif du duché de Guienne, seigneur de Vicux-Château, conseiller et premier écuyer tranchant de mondit très-redouté seigneur ;

* La Bourgogne étoit divisée en deux parties, duché et comté. Cette dernière, que depuis fut connue sous le nom de Franche-Comté, commença dès-lors à prendre ce nom ; et voilà pourquoi l'auteur désigne à la fois Philippe et comme duc de Bourgogne, et comme comte de Bourgogne.

D'après

D'après ce que je puis me rappeler et ce que j'avois consigné en abrégé dans un petit livret en guise de mémorial, j'ai rédigé par écrit ce peu de voyage que j'ai fait ;

Afin que si quelque roi ou prince chrétien vouloit entreprendre la conquête de Jérusalem et y conduire par terre une armée, ou si quelque noble homme vouloit y voyager, les uns et les autres pussent connoître, depuis le duché de Bourgogne jusqu'à Jérusalem, toutes les villes, cités, régions, contrées, rivières, montagnes et passages du pays, ainsi que les seigneurs auxquels ils appartiennent.

La route d'ici à la cité sainte est si connue que je ne crois pas devoir m'arrêter à la décrire. Je passerai donc légèrement sur cet article, et ne commencerai à m'étendre un peu que quand je parlerai de la Syrie. J'ai parcouru ce pays en entier, depuis Gazère (Gaza), qui est l'entrée de l'Egypte, jusqu'à une journée d'Halep, ville située au nord sur la frontière et où l'on se rend quand on veut aller en Perse.

J'avois résolu de faire le saint pèlerinage de Jérusalem. Déterminé à l'accomplir, je quittai, au mois de Février l'an 1432, la cour de mon très-redouté seigneur, qui alors étoit à Gand. Après avoir traversé la Picardie, la Champagne, la Bourgogne, j'entrai en Savoie où je passai le Rhône, et arrivai à Chambéri par le Mont-du-Chat.

Là commence une longue suite de montagnes, dont la plus haute, nommée mont Cénis, forme un passage dangereux dans les temps de neige. Par-tout la route, étant couverte et cachée, il faut avoir, si l'on ne veut pas se perdre, des guides du pays, appelés marrons. Ces gens vous recommandent de ne faire en chemin aucune sorte de bruit qui puisse étonner la montagne, parce qu'alors la neige s'en détache et vient très-impétueusement tomber au bas. Le mont Cénis sépare l'Italie de la France.

Descendu de là dans le Piémont, pays beau et agréable, qui par trois côtés est clos de hautes montagnes, je passai par Turin, où je traversai le Pô ; par Ast, qui est au duc d'Orléans ; par Alexandrie, dont la plupart des habitans sont usuriers, dit-on ; par Plaisance, qui appartient au duc de Milan ; enfin par Bologne-la-Grasse, qui est au pape. L'empereur Sigismond étoit dans Plaisance. Il venoit de Milan, où il avoit reçu sa seconde couronne, et alloit à Rome chercher la troisième.

De Bologne, pour arriver dans l'état des Florentins, j'eus à passer une autre chaîne de montagnes (l'Apennin). Florence est une grande ville où la commune se gouverne par elle-même. De trois en trois mois elle se choisit, pour son administration, des magistrats qu'elle appelle prieurs, et qui sont pris dans diverses professions. Tant qu'ils restent en place on les honore ; mais, quand leurs trois mois sont expirés, chacun retourne à son état.

De Florence j'allai à Mont-Poulchan (Monte-Pulciano), château bâti sur une hauteur et entouré de trois côtés par un grand lac (le lac de Pérouse) ; à Espolite (Spolète) ; à Mont-Flaschon (Monte Fiascone) ; enfin à Rome.

Rome est connue. On sait par des écrits véridiques que pendant sept cents ans elle a été maîtresse du monde. Mais quand ces écrits ne l'attesteroient pas, on n'en auroit pas moins la preuve dans tous ces beaux édifices qu'on y voit encore, dans ces grands palais, ces colonnes de marbre, ces statues et tous ces monumens aussi merveilleux à voir qu'à décrire.

Joignez à cela l'immense quantité de belles reliques qu'elle possède, tant de choses qui N. S. a touchées, tant de saints corps d'apôtres, de martyrs, de confesseurs et de vierges ; enfin plusieurs églises où les saints pontifes ont accordé plein pardon de peine et de coulpe (indulgence plénière).

* En 1414, Sigismond, élu empereur, avoit reçu la couronne d'argent à Aix-la-Chapelle. Au mois de Novembre 1431, peu avant le passage de notre voyageur, il avoit reçu à Milan la couronne de fer. Ce ne fut qu'en 1443 qu'il reçut à Rome, des mains du pape, celle d'or.

† Pour donner une idée favorable du talent de la Brocquière, ne pourroit-on pas citer le court et bel éloge qu'il fait ici du gouvernement représentatif et républicain qu'avoit alors Florence ?

J'y vis Eugène IV, Vénitien, qui venoit d'être élu pape*. Le prince de Salerne lui avoit déclaré la guerre. Celui-ci étoit un Colonne, et neveu du pape Martin†.

Je sortis de Rome le 25 Mars, et passant par une ville du comte de Thalamoné, parent du cardinal des Ursins, par Urbin; par la seigneurie des Malatestes, par Reymino (Rimini), par Ravenne, qui est aux Vénitiens, je traversai trois fois le Pô (trois branches de l'embouchure du Pô), et vins à Clogé (Chiosa), ville des Vénitiens qui autrefois avoit un bon port, lequel fut détruit par eux quand les Jennevois (Génois) vinrent assiéger Venise‡. Enfin, de Clogé je me rendis à Venise, qui en est distante de vingt-cinq milles.

Venise, grande et belle ville, ancienne et marchande, est bâtie au milieu de la mer. Ses divers quartiers, séparés par les eaux, forment des îles; de sorte qu'on ne peut aller de l'une à l'autre qu'en bateau.

On y possède le corps de sainte Hélène, mère de l'empereur Constantin, ainsi que plusieurs autres que j'ai vus, et spécialement plusieurs des Innocens, qui sont entiers. Ceux-ci se trouvent dans une île qu'on appelle Réaut (Realto), île renommée par ses fabriques de verre.

Le gouvernement de Venise est sage. Nul ne peut être membre du conseil ou y posséder quelque emploi s'il n'est noble et né dans la ville. Il y a un duc qui sans cesse, pendant le jour, est tenu d'avoir avec lui six des anciens du conseil les plus remarquables. Quand il meurt, on lui donne pour successeur celui qui a montré le plus de sagesse et le plus de zèle pour le bien commun.

Le 8 Mai je m'embarquai, pour accomplir mon voyage, sur une galée (galère) avec quelques autres pèlerins. Elle côtoya l'Esclavonie, et relâcha successivement à Pole (Pola), Azarre (Zara), Sébénich (Sebenico) et Corfo (Corfou).

Pola me parut avoir été autrefois une grande et forte ville. Elle a un très-beau port. On voit à Zara le corps de ce saint Siméon à qui N. S. fut présenté dans le temple. Elle est entourée de trois côtés par la mer, et son port, également beau, est fermé d'une chaîne de fer. Sebenico appartient aux Vénitiens, ainsi que l'île et la ville de Corfou, qui, avec un très-beau port, a encore deux châteaux.

De Corfou nous vinmes à Modon, bonne et belle ville de Morée, qu'ils possèdent aussi; à Candie, île très-fertile, dont les habitans sont excellens marins et où la seigneurie de Venise nomme un gouverneur qui porte le titre de duc, mais qui ne reste en place que trois ans; à Rhodes, où je n'eus que le temps de voir la ville; à Basse, ville ruinée de l'île de Cypré; enfin à Jaffe, en la sainte terre de permission.

C'est à Jaffe que commencent les pardons de ladite sainte terre. Jadis elle appartient aux chrétiens, et alors elle étoit forte; maintenant elle est entièrement détruite, et n'a plus que quelques cahuttes en roseaux, où les pèlerins se retirent pour se défendre de la chaleur du soleil. La mer entre dans la ville et forme un mauvais havre peu profond, où il est dangereux de rester, parce qu'on peut être jeté à la côte par un coup de vent. Elle a deux sources d'eau douce, dont l'une est couverte des eaux de mer quand le vent de Ponent souffle un peu fort. Dès qu'il débarque au port quelques pèlerins, aussitôt des truchemens et autres officiers du soudan § viennent pour s'assurer de leur nombre, pour leur servir de guides, et recevoir en son nom le tribut d'usage.

Rames (Ramlé), où nous nous rendîmes de Jaffe, est une ville sans murailles, mais bonne et marchande, sise dans un canton agréable et fertile. Nous allâmes dans le voisinage visiter un village où monseigneur saint Georg fut martirisé; et de retour à Rames, nous reprîmes

* On va voir que la Brocquière sortit de Rome le 25 Mars, et Eugène avoit été élu dans les premiers jours du mois.

† Martin V, prédécesseur d'Eugène, étoit de la maison des Colonne, et il y avoit inimitié déclarée entre cette famille et celle des Ursins. Eugène, dès qu'il se vit établi sur le Saint-Siège, prit parti entre ces deux maisons. Il se déclara pour la seconde contre la première, et sur-tout contre ceux des Colonne, qui étoient neveux de Martin. Ceux-ci prirent les armes et lui firent la guerre.

‡ Jennevois ou Gennevois. Les auteurs de ce temps appellent toujours ainsi les Génois. Je n'emploierai désormais que cette dernière dénomination, l'autre étant aujourd'hui exclusivement consacrée aux habitans de Genève.

§ C'est du soudan d'Egypte qu'il s'agit ici. C'étoit à lui qu'obéissoient alors la Palestine et la Syrie. Il en sera souvent mention dans le cours du voyage.

notre route, et arrivâmes en deux jours en la sainte cité de Jérusalem, où nostre Seigneur Jhéou Crist reçut mort et passion pour nous.

Après y avoir fait les pèlerinages qui sont d'usage pour les pèlerins, nous fîmes ceux de la montagne où Jésus jéna quarante jours; du Jourdain, où il fut baptisé; de l'église de Saint-Jean, qui est près du fleuve; de celle de Sainte-Marie-Madelaine et de Sainte-Marthe, où nostre Seigneur ressuscita le Ladre (Lazare); de Bethléem, où il prit naissance; du lieu où naquit Saint-Jean-Baptiste; de la maison de Zacharie; enfin de Sainte-Croix, où crût l'arbre de la vraie croix: après quoi nous revînmes à Jérusalem.

Il y a dans Bethléem des cordeliers qui ont une église où ils font le service divin; mais ils sont dans une grande sujétion des Sarrasins. La ville n'a pour habitans que des Sarrasins et quelques chrétiens de la ceinture*.

Au lieu de la naissance de saint Jean Baptiste, on montre une roche qui, pendant qu'Hérode persécutoit les innocens, s'ouvrit miraculeusement en deux. Sainte Elisabeth y cacha son fils; aussitôt elle se ferma, et l'enfant y resta, dit-on, deux jours entiers.

Jérusalem est dans un fort pays de montagnes, et c'est encore aujourd'hui une ville assez considérable, quoiqu'elle paroisse l'avoir été autrefois bien davantage. Elle est sous la domination du soudan: ce qui doit faire honte et douleur à la chrétienté. Il n'y a de chrétiens Franks que deux cordeliers qui habitent au Saint-Sépulcre, encore y sont ils bien vexés des Sarrasins; et je puis en parler avec connoissance de cause, moi qui pendant deux mois en ai été le témoin.

Dans l'église du Sépulcre se trouvent aussi d'autres sortes de chrétiens: Jacobites, Erméniens (Arméniens), Abécins (Abyssins), de la terre du prêtre Jehan, et chrétiens de la ceinture; mais de tous ce sont les Franks qui éprouvent la sujétion la plus dure.

Après tous ces pèlerinages accomplis, nous en entreprîmes un autre également d'usage, celui de Sainte-Catherine au mont Sinaï; et pour celui-ci nous réunîmes dix pèlerins: messire André de Thoulangeon, messire Michel de Ligne, Guillaume de Ligne son frère, Sanson de Lalaing, Pierre de Vaudrey, Godefroi de Thoisi, Humbert Buffart, Jean de la Roe, Simonnet (le nom de la famille est en blanc), et moi†.

Pour l'instruction de ceux qui, comme moi, voudroient l'entreprendre, je dirai que l'usage est de traiter avec le grand trucheman de Jérusalem; que celui-ci commence par percevoir un droit pour le soudan et un autre pour lui, et qu'alors il envoie prévenir le trucheman de Gaza, qui à son tour traite du passage avec les Arabes du désert. Ces Arabes jouissent du droit de conduire les pèlerins; et comme ils ne sont pas toujours fort soumis au soudan, on est obligé de se servir de leurs chameaux, qu'ils louent à dix ducats par bête.

Le Sarrasin qui remplissoit alors l'emploi de grand trucheman se nommoit Nanchardin. Quand il eut reçu la réponse des Arabes, il nous assembla devant la chapelle qui est à l'entrée et à la gauche de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre. Là il prit par écrit nos âges, noms, surnoms et signalemens très-détaillés, et en envoya le double au grand trucheman du Caire. Ces précautions ont lieu pour la sûreté des voyageurs, afin que les Arabes ne puissent en retenir aucun; mais je suis persuadé qu'il y entre aussi de la méfiance, et qu'on craint quelque échange ou quelque substitution qui fasse perdre le tribut.

Prêts à partir, nous achetâmes du vin pour la route, et fîmes notre provision de vivres, excepté celle de biscuit, parce que nous devons en trouver à Gaza. Nanchardin nous fournit, pour notre monture et pour porter nos provisions, des ânes et des mulets. Il nous donna un trucheman particulier, nommé Sadalva, et nous partîmes.

* L'an 235 de l'hégire, 856 de l'ère chrétienne, le calife Motouakke astreignit les chrétiens et les Juifs à porter une large ceinture de cuir, et aujourd'hui encore ils la portent dans l'Orient. Mais depuis cette époque les chrétiens d'Asie, et spécialement ceux de Syrie, qui sont presque tous Nestoriens ou Jacobites, furent nommés chrétiens de la ceinture.

† On sait que le nom de mesire ou de monseigneur étoit un titre qu'on donnoit aux chevaliers.

‡ Ces noms, dont les cinq premiers sont ceux de grands seigneurs des états du duc de Bourgogne, attestent que plusieurs personnes de la cour du duc s'étoient réunies pour le voyage d'outremer, et ce sont probablement celles qui s'embarquèrent à Venise avec notre auteur, quoique jusqu'à présent il ne les ait pas nommées. Thoulangeon, cette même année 1432, fut créé chevalier de la toison d'or; mais il ne reçut pas l'ordre, parce qu'il étoit pèlerin et qu'il mourut en route.

Le premier lieu par lequel nous passâmes est un village, jadis beaucoup plus considérable et maintenant habité par des chrétiens de la ceinture, qui cultivent des vignes. Le second est une ville appelée Saint Abraham ; et située dans la vallée d'Hebron, où Notre Seigneur fourma premièrement Adam notre premier père. Là sont inhumés ensemble Abraham, Isaac et Jacob, avec leurs femmes. Mais ce tombeau est aujourd'hui enfermé dans une mosquée de Sarrasins. Nous desirions fort d'y entrer, et nous avançâmes même jusqu'à la porte ; mais nos guides et notre trucheman nous dirent qu'ils n'oseroient nous y introduire de jour, à cause des risques qu'ils courroient, et que tout chrétien qui pénètre dans une mosquée est mis à mort, à moins qu'il ne renonce à sa foi.

Après la vallée d'Hebron nous en traversâmes une autre fort grande, près de laquelle on montre la montagne où saint Jean Baptiste fit sa pénitence. De là nous vîmes en pays désert loger dans une de ces maisons que la charité a fait bâtir pour les voyageurs, et qu'on appelle kan, et du kan nous nous rendîmes à Gaza.

Gaza, située dans un beau pays, près de la mer et à l'entrée du désert, est une forte ville, quoique sans fermeture aucune. On prétend quelle appartient jadis au fort Sanson. On y montre encore son palais, ainsi que les colonnes de celui qu'il abbatit ; mais je n'oserois garantir que ce sont les mêmes.

Souvent les pèlerins y sont traités durement, et nous en aurions fait l'épreuve sans le seigneur (le gouverneur), homme d'environ soixante ans et né Chercaïs (Circassien), qui reçut nos plaintes et nous rendit justice. Trois fois nous fûmes obligés de paroître devant lui : l'une, à raison de nos épées que nous portions ; les deux autres pour des querelles que nous cherchoient les Moucres Sarrasins du pays.

Plusieurs de nous vouloient acheter des ânes, parce que le chameau a un branle très-dur qui fatigue extrêmement quand on n'y est pas accoutumé. Un âne à Gaza se vendoit deux ducats ; et les Moucres vouloient, non seulement nous empêcher d'en acheter, mais nous forcer d'en louer des leurs, et de les louer cinq ducats chacun jusqu'à Sainte Catherine. Le procès fut porté devant le seigneur. Pour moi, qui jusque-là n'avois point cessé de monter un chameau, et qui me proposois de ne point changer, je leur demandai de m'apprendre comment je pourrois monter un chameau et un âne tout à la fois. Le seigneur prononça en notre faveur, et il décida que nous ne serions obligés de louer des ânes aux Moucres qu'autant que cela nous conviendrait.

Nous achetâmes les nouvelles provisions qui nous étoient nécessaires pour continuer notre voyage ; mais, la veille de notre départ, quatre d'entre nous tombèrent malades, et ils retournèrent à Jérusalem. Moi, je partis avec les cinq autres, et nous vîmes à un village situé à l'entrée du désert, et le seul qu'on trouve depuis Gaza jusqu'à Sainte Catherine. Là messire Sanson de Lalaing nous quitta et s'en retourna aussi ; de sorte que je restai dans la compagnie de messire André (de Toulangeon), Pierre de Vaudrei, Godefroi (de Toisi) et Jean de la Roe.

Nous voyagâmes ainsi deux journées dans le désert, sans y rien voir absolument qui mérite d'être raconté. Seulement un matin, avant le lever du soleil, j'aperçus courir un animal à quatre pates, long de trois pieds environ, et qui n'avoit guère en hauteur plus qu'une palme. A sa vue nos Arabes s'enfuirent, et la bête alla se cacher dans une broussaille qui se trouvoit là. Messire André et Pierre de Vaudrey mirent pied à terre et coururent à elle l'épée en main. Elle se mit à crier comme un chat qui voit approcher un chien. Pierre de Vaudrey la frappa sur le dos de la pointe de son épée ; mais il ne lui fit aucun mal, parce qu'elle est couverte de grosses écailles, comme un esturgeon. Elle s'élança sur messire André, qui d'un coup de la sienne lui coupa le cou en partie, la tourna sur le dos, les pieds en l'air, et la tua. Elle avoit la tête d'un fort lièvre, les pieds comme les mains d'un petit enfant, et une assez longue queue, semblable à celle des gros verdereaux (lézards verts.) Nos Arabes et notre trucheman nous dirent qu'elle étoit fort dangereuse*.

* D'après la description vague que donne ici la Brocquière, il paroît que l'animal dont il parle est le grand lézard appelé monitor, parce qu'on prétend qu'il avertit de l'approche du crocodile. Quant à la terreur qu'en avoient les Arabes, elle n'étoit point fondée.

A la fin de la seconde journée je fus saisi d'une fièvre ardente, si forte qu'il me fut impossible d'aller plus loin. Mes quatre compagnons, bien désolés de mon accident, me firent monter un âne, et me recommandèrent à un de nos Arabes, qu'ils chargèrent de me reconduire à Gaza, s'il étoit possible.

Cet homme eut beaucoup soin de moi ; ce qui ne leur est point ordinaire vis-à-vis des chrétiens. Il me tint fidèle compagnie, et me mena le soir passer la nuit dans un de leurs camps, qui pouvoit avoir quatre-vingts et quelques tentes, rangées en forme de rues. Ces tentes sont faites avec deux fourches qu'on plante en terre par leurs gros bouts à une certaine distance l'une de l'autre. Sur les deux fourches est posée en travers une perche et sur la perche une grosse couverture en laine ou en gros poil.

Quand j'arrivai, quatre ou cinq Arabes de la connoissance du mien vinrent au devant de nous. Ils me descendirent de mon âne, me firent coucher sur un matelas que je portois, et là, me traitant à leur guise, ils me pétirent et me pincèrent tant avec les * mains que, de fatigue et de lassitude, je m'endormis et reposai six heures.

Pendant tout ce temps aucun d'eux ne me fit le moindre déplaisir, et ils ne me prirent rien. Ce leur étoit cependant chose bien aisée ; et je devois d'ailleurs les tenter, puisque je portois sur moi deux cents ducats, et que j'avois deux chameaux chargés de provisions et de vin.

Je me remis en route avant le jour pour regagner Gaza : mais quand j'y arrivai je ne retrouvai plus ni mes quatre compagnons, ni même messire Sanson de Lalaing. Tous cinq étoient retournés à Jérusalem, et ils avoient emmené avec eux le trucheman. Heureusement je trouvai un Juif Sicilien de qui je pus me faire entendre. Il fit venir près de moi un vieux Samaritain qui, par un remède qu'il me donna, apaisa la grande ardeur que j'endurois.

Deux jours après, me sentant un peu mieux, je partis dans la compagnie d'un Maure. Il me mena par le chemin de la marine (de la côte.) Nous passâmes près d'Esclavonie (Acalon), et vîmes, à travers un pays toujours agréable et fertile, à Ramlé, d'où je repris le chemin de Jérusalem.

La première journée, je rencontrai sur ma route l'amiral (commandant) de cette ville. Il revenoit d'un pèlerinage avec une troupe de cinquante cavaliers et de cent chameaux, montés presque tous par des femmes et des enfans qui l'avoient accompagné au lieu de sa dévotion. Je passai la nuit avec eux ; et, le lendemain, de retour à Jérusalem, j'allai loger chez les cordeliers, à l'église du mont de Sion, où je retrouvai mes cinq camarades.

En arrivant je me mis au lit pour me faire traiter de ma maladie, et je ne fus guéri et en état de partir que le 19 d'Adût. Mais pendant ma convalescence je me rappelai que plusieurs fois j'avois entendu différentes personnes dire qu'il étoit impossible à un chrétien de revenir par terre de Jérusalem en France. Je n'oserois pas même, aujourd'hui que j'ai fait le voyage, assurer qu'il est sûr. Cependant il me sembla qu'il n'y a rien qu'un homme ne puisse entreprendre quand il est assez bien constitué pour supporter la fatigue, et qu'il possède argent et santé. Au reste, ce n'est point par jactance que je dis cela ; mais, avec l'aide de Dieu et de sa glorieuse mère, qui jamais ne manque d'assister ceux qui la prient de bon coeur, je résolu de tenter l'aventure.

Je me tus néanmoins pour le moment sur mon projet, et ne m'en ouvris pas même à mes compagnons. D'ailleurs je voulois, avant de l'entreprendre, faire encore quelques autres pèlerinages, et spécialement ceux de Nazareth et du mont Thabor. J'allai donc prévenir de mon dessein Namchardin, grand trucheman du soudan à Jérusalem, et il me donna pour mon voyage un trucheman particulier. Je comptois commencer par celui du Thabor, et déjà tout étoit arrangé ; mais quand je fus au moment de partir, le gardien chez qui je logeois m'en détournait, et s'y opposa même de toutes ses forces. Le trucheman, de son côté, s'y refusa, et il m'annonça que je ne trouverois dans les circonstances personne pour m'accompagner, parce qu'il nous faudroit passer sur le territoire de villes qui étoient en guerre, et que tout récemment un Vénitien et son trucheman y avoient été assassinés.

* C'est ce que nous appelons masser. Cette méthode est employée dans beaucoup de contrées de l'Orient pour certaines maladies.

Je me restreignis donc au second pèlerinage, et messire Sanson de Lalaing voulut m'y accompagner, ainsi que Humbert. Nous laissâmes au mont de Sion messire Michel de Ligne, qui étoit malade. Son frère Guillaume resta près de lui avec un serviteur pour le garder. Nous autres nous partîmes le jour de la mi-août, et notre intention étoit de nous rendre à Jaffa par Ramlé, et de Jaffa à Nazareth; mais avant de me mettre en route, j'allai au tombeau de Notre Dame implorer sa protection pour mon grand voyage. J'entendis aux cordeliers le service divin, et je vis là des gens qui se disent chrétiens, desquels il y en a de bien estranges, selon nostre manière.

Le gardien de Jérusalem nous fit l'amitié de nous accompagner jusqu'à Jaffa, avec un frère cordelier du couvent de Beaune. Là ils nous quittèrent, et nous prîmes une barque de Maures qui nous conduisit au port d'Acre.

Ce port est beau, profond et bien fermé. La ville elle-même paroît avoir été grande et forte; mais il n'y subsiste plus maintenant que trois cent maisons situées à l'une de ses extrémités, et assez loin de la marine. Quant à notre pèlerinage, nous ne pûmes l'accomplir. Des marchands Vénitiens que nous consultâmes nous en détournèrent, et nous prîmes le parti d'y renoncer. Ils nous apprirent en même temps qu'on attendoit à Barut une galère de Narbonne. Mes camarades voulurent en profiter pour retourner en France, et en conséquence nous prîmes le chemin de cette ville.

Nous vîmes en route Sur, ville fermée et qui a un bon port, puis Saïette (Séyde), autre port de mer assez bon. Pour Barut, elle a été plus considérable qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui; mais son port est beau encore, profond et sûr pour les vaisseaux. On voit à l'une de ses pointes les restes d'un château fort qu'elle avoit autrefois, et qui est détruit.

Moi qui n'étois occupé que de mon grand voyage, j'employai mon séjour dans cette ville à prendre sur cet objet des renseignemens et je m'adressai pour cela à un marchand Génois nommé Jacques Pervézin. Il me conseilla d'aller à Damas; m'assura que j'y trouverois des marchands Vénitiens, Catalans, Florentins, Génois et autres, qui pourroient me guider par leurs conseils, et me donna même, pour un de ses compatriotes appelé Ottobon Escot, une lettre de recommandation.

Résolu de consulter Escot avant de rien entreprendre, je proposai à messire Sanson d'aller voir Damas, sans cependant lui rien dire de mon projet. Il accepta volontiers la proposition, et nous partîmes, conduits par un moucre. J'ai déjà dit qu'en Syrie les moucres sont des gens dont le métier est de conduire les voyageurs et de leur louer des ânes et des mulets.

Au sortir de Barut nous eûmes à traverser de hautes montagnes jusqu'à une longue plaine appelée vallée de Noë, parce que Noë, dit-on, y bâtit son arche. La vallée a tout au plus une lieue de large; mais elle est agréable et fertile, arrosée par deux rivières et peuplée d'Arabes.

Jusqu'à Damas on continue de voyager entre des montagnes au pied desquelles on trouve beaucoup de villages et de vignobles. Mais je préviens ceux qui, comme moi, auront à les traverser, de songer à se bien munir pour la nuit; car de ma vie je n'ai eu aussi froid. Cette excessive froidure a pour cause la chute de la rosée; et il en est ainsi dans toute la Syrie. Plus la chaleur a été grande pendant le jour, plus la rosée est abondante et la nuit froide.

Il y a deux journées de Barut à Damas.

Par toute la Syrie les Mahométans ont établi pour les chrétiens une coutume particulière qui ne leur permet point d'aller à cheval dans les villes. Aucun d'eux, s'il est connu pour tel ne l'oseroit, et en conséquence notre moucre, avant d'entrer, nous fit mettre pied à terre, messire Sanson et moi.

A peine étions nous entrés qu'une douzaine de Sarrasins s'approcha pour nous regarder. Je portois un grand chapeau de feutre, qui n'est point d'usage dans le pays. Un d'eux vint le frapper par dessous d'un coup de bâton, et il me le jeta par terre. J'avoue que mon

* Sur est l'ancienne Tyr; Saïette, l'ancienne Sidon; Barut, l'ancienne Bérute.

† Les notions que nous donne ici la Brocquière sont intéressantes pour la géographie. Elles prouvent que tous ces ports de Syrie, jadis si commerçans et si fameux, aujourd'hui si dégradés et si complètement inutiles, étoient de son temps propres encore la plupart au commerce.

premier mouvement fut de lever le poing sur lui. Mais le moucre, se jetant entre nous deux, me poussa en arrière, et ce fut pour moi un vrai bonheur ; car en un instant trente ou quarante autres personnes accoururent, et, si j'avois frappé, je ne sais ce que nous serions devenus.

Je dis ceci pour avertir que les habitans de cette villé sont gens méchans qui n'entendent pas trop raison, et que par conséquent il faut bien se garder d'avoir querelle avec eux. Il en est de même ailleurs. J'ai éprouvé par moi-même qu'il ne faut vis-à-vis d'eux ni faire le mauvais, ni se montrer peureux ; qu'il ne faut ni paroître pauvre, parce qu'ils vous mépriseroient ; ni riche, parce qu'ils sont très avides, ainsi que l'expérimentent tous ceux qui débarquent à Jaffa.

Damas peut bien contenir, m'a-t-on dit, cent mille *ames. La ville est riche, marchande, et, après le Caire, la plus considérable de toutes celles que possède le soudan. Au levant, au septentrion et au midi, elle a une grande plaine ; au ponant, une montagne au pied de laquelle sont bâties les faubourgs. Elle est traversée d'une rivière qui s'y divise en plusieurs canaux, et fermée dans son enceinte seulement de belles murailles ; car les faubourgs sont plus grands que la ville. Nulle part je n'ai vu d'aussi grands jardins, de meilleurs fruits, une plus grande abondance d'eau. Cette abondance est telle qu'il y a peu de maisons, m'a-t-on dit, qui n'aient leur fontaine.

Le seigneur (le gouverneur) n'a, dans toute la Syrie et l'Egypte, que le seul soudan qui lui soit supérieur en puissance. Mais comme en différens temps quelques-uns d'eux se sont revoltés, les soudans ont pris des précautions pour les contenir. Du côté de terre est un grand et fort château qui a des fossés larges et profonds. Ils y placent un capitaine à leur choix, et jamais ce capitaine n'y laisse entrer le gouverneur.

En 1400 Damas fut détruite et réduite en cendres par le Tambrulant (Tamerlan). On voit encore des vestiges de ce désastre ; et vers la porte qu'on appelle de Saint-Paul, il y a un quartier tout entier qui n'est pas rebâti.

Dans la ville est un kan destiné à servir de dépôt de sûreté aux négocians pour leurs marchandises. On l'appelle kan Berkot, et ce nom lui a été donné, parce qu'il fut originairement la maison d'un homme nommé ainsi. Pour moi, je crois que Berkot étoit Français ; et ce qui me le fait présumer, c'est que sur une pierre de sa maison sont sculptées des fleurs de lis qui paroissent aussi anciennes que les murs.

Quoi qu'il en soit de son origine, ce fut un très-vailant homme, et qui jouit encore dans le pays d'une haute renommée. Jamais, pendant tout le temps qu'il vécut et qu'il eut de l'autorité, les Persiens et Tartres (Persans et Tatars) ne purent gagner en Syrie la plus petite portion de terrain. Dès qu'il apprenoit qu'une de leurs armées y portoit les armes, il marchoit contre elle jusqu'à une rivière au-delà d'Alep, laquelle sépare la Syrie de la Perse, et qu'à vue de pays je crois être celle qu'on appelle Jéhon, et qui vient tomber à Misses en Turcomanie. On est persuadé à Damas que, s'il eût vécu, Tamerlan n'auroit pas osé porter ses armes de ce côté-là. Au reste ce Tamerlan rendit honneur à sa mémoire quand il prit la ville. En ordonnant d'y tout mettre à feu, il ordonna de respecter la maison de Berkot ; il la fit garder pour la défendre de l'incendie, et elle subsiste encore.

Les chrétiens ne sont vus à Damas qu'avec haine. Chaque soir on enferme les marchands dans leurs maisons. Il y a des gens préposés pour cela, et le lendemain ils viennent rouvrir les portes quand bon leur semble.

J'y trouvai plusieurs marchands Génois, Vénitiens, Catalans, Florentins et Français. Ces derniers étoient venus y acheter différentes choses, spécialement des épices, et ils comptoient aller à Barut s'embarquer sur la galère de Narbonne qu'on y attendoit. Parmi eux il y avoit un nommé Jacques Cœur, qui depuis a joué un grand rôle en France et a été argentier du

* Il y a dans le texte cent mille hommes. Si, par ce mot hommes, l'auteur entend les habitans mâles, alors, pour comprendre les femmes dans la population, il faudroit compter plus de deux cent mille individus au lieu de cent mille. S'il entend les personnes en état de porter les armes, son état de population est trop fort et ne peut être admis.

roi. Il nous dit que la galère étoit alors à Alexandrie, et que probablement messire André viendrait avec ses trois camarades la prendre à Barut.

Hors de Damas et près des murs on me montra le lieu où saint Paul, dans une vision, fut renversé de cheval et aveuglé. Il se fit aussitôt conduire à Damas pour y recevoir le baptême, et l'endroit où on le baptisa est aujourd'hui une mosquée.

Je vis aussi la pierre sur laquelle saint George monta à cheval quand il alla combattre le dragon. Elle a deux pieds en carré. On prétend qu'autrefois les Sarrasins avoient voulu l'enlever, et que jamais, quelques moyens qu'ils aient employés, ils n'ont pu y réussir.

Après avoir vu Damas nous revînmes à Barut, messire Sanson et moi : nous y trouvâmes messire André, Pierre de Vaudrey, Geoffroi de Thoisi et Jean de la Roe, qui déjà s'y étoient rendus, comme me l'avoit annoncé Jacques Cœur. La galère y arriva d'Alexandrie trois ou quatre jours après ; mais, pendant ce court intervalle, nous fûmes témoins d'une fête que les Maures célébrèrent à leur ancienne manière.

Elle commença le soir, au coucher du soleil. Des troupes nombreuses, éparées çà et là, chantoient et pousoient de grands cris. Pendant ce temps on tiroit le canon du château, et les gens de la ville lançoient en l'air, bien hault et bien loing, une manière de feu plus gros que le plus gros fallot que je veisse oncques allumé. Ils me dirent qu'ils s'en servoient quelquefois à la mer pour brûler les voiles d'un vaisseau ennemi. Il me semble que, comme c'est chose bien aisée et de une petite despense, on pourroit l'employer également, soit à consumer un camp ou un village couvert en paille, soit, dans un combat de cavalerie, à épouvanter les chevaux.

Curieux d'en connoître la composition, j'envoyai vers celui qui le faisoit le valet de mon hôte, et lui fis demander de me l'apprendre. Il me répondit qu'il n'oseroit, et que ce seroit pour lui une affaire trop dangereuse, si elle étoit sue ; mais comme il n'est rien qu'un Maure ne fasse pour de l'argent, je donnai à celui-ci un ducat, et, pour l'amour du ducat, il m'apprit tout ce qu'il savoit, et me donna même des moules en bois et autres ingrédients que j'ai apportés en France.

La veille de l'embarquement je pris à part messire André de Toulangeon, et après lui avoir fait promettre qu'il ne s'opposeroit en rien à ce que j'allois lui révéler, je lui fis part du projet que j'avois formé de retourner par terre. Conséquemment à sa parole donnée, il ne tenta point de m'en empêcher ; mais il me représenta tout ce que j'allois courir de dangers, et celui sur-tout de me voir contraint à renier la foi de Jésus-Christ. Au reste j'avoue que ses représentations étoient fondées, et que de tous les périls dont il me menaçoit il n'en est point, excepté celui de renier, que je n'aie éprouvés. Il engagea également ses camarades à me parler ; mais ils eurent beau faire, je les laissai partir et demeurai.

Après leur départ je visitai une mosquée qui jadis avoit été une très-belle église, bâtie, disoit-on, par sainte Barbe. On ajoute que quand les Sarrasins s'en furent emparés, et que leurs crieurs voulurent y monter pour annoncer la prière, selon leur usage, ils furent si battus que depuis ce jour aucun d'eux n'a osé y retourner.

Il y a aussi un autre bâtiment miraculeux qu'on a changé en église. C'étoit auparavant une maison de Juifs. Un jour que ces gens-là avoient trouvé une image de Notre Seigneur, ils se mirent à la lapider, comme leurs pères jadis l'avoient lapidé lui-même ; mais l'image ayant versé du sang, ils furent tellement effrayés du miracle, qu'ils se sauvèrent, allèrent s'accuser à l'évêque, et donnèrent même leur maison en réparation du crime. On en a fait une église, qui aujourd'hui est desservie par des cordeliers.

Je logeai chez un marchand Vénitien nommé Paul Barberico ; et comme je n'avois nullement renoncé à mes deux pèlerinages de Nazareth et du Thabor, malgré les obstacles que j'y avois rencontrés et tout ce qu'on m'avoit dit pour m'en détourner, je le consultai sur ce double voyage. Il me procura un moucre qui se chargea de me conduire, et qui s'engagea même pardevant lui à me mener sain et sauf jusqu'à Damas, et à lui en rapporter un certificat signé par moi. Cet homme me fit habiller en Sarrasin ; car les Francs, pour leur sûreté, quand ils voyagent, ont obtenu du soudan de prendre en route cet habillement.

Je partis donc de Barut avec mon moucre le lendemain du jour où la galère avoit mis à la voile,

voile, et nous prîmes le chemin de Saïette, entre la mer et les montagnes. Souvent ces montagnes s'avancent si près du rivage qu'on est obligé de marcher sur la grève, et quelquefois elles en sont éloignées de trois quarts de lieue.

Après une heure de marche je trouvai un petit bois de hauts sapins que les gens du pays conservent bien précieusement. Il est même sévèrement défendu d'en abattre aucun ; mais j'ignore la raison de ce règlement.

Plus loin étoit une rivière assez profonde. Mon moucre me dit que c'étoit celle qui vient de la vallée de Noë, mais qu'elle n'est pas bonne à boire. Elle a un pont de pierre, près duquel se trouve un kan où nous passâmes la nuit.

Le lendemain je vins à Séyde, ville située sur la marine (sur la mer), et fermée du côté de terre par des fossés peu profonds.

Sur, que les Maures nomment Four, est située de même. Il est abreuvé par une fontaine qu'on trouve à un quart de lieue vers le midi, et dont l'eau, très-bonne, vient, par-dessus des arches, se rendre dans la ville.

Je ne fis que la traverser, et elle me parut assez belle ; cependant elle n'est pas forte, non plus que Séyde, toutes deux ayant été détruites autrefois, ainsi qu'il paroît par leurs murailles, qui ne valent pas, à beaucoup près, celles de nos villes.

La montagne, vers Sur, s'arrondit en croissant, et s'avance par ses deux pointes jusqu'à la mer. L'espace vide entre l'une et l'autre n'a point de villages ; mais il y en a beaucoup le long de la montagne.

Une lieue au-delà on trouve une gorge qui vous oblige de passer sur une falaise au haut de laquelle est une tour. Les cavaliers qui vont de Sur à Acre n'ont point d'autre route que ce passage, et la tour a été construite pour le garder.

Depuis ce défilé jusqu'à Acre les montagnes sont peu élevées, et l'on y voit beaucoup d'habitations qui, pour la plupart, sont remplies d'Arabes. Près de la ville je rencontrai un grand seigneur du pays nommé Fancardin. Il campoit en plein champ, et portoit avec lui ses tentes.

Acre, entourée de trois côtés par des montagnes, quoique avec une plaine d'environ quatre lieues, l'est de l'autre par la mer. J'y fis connoissance d'un marchand de Venise nommé Aubert Franc, qui m'accueillit bien et qui me procura sur mes deux pèlerinages des renseignements utiles dont je profitai.

A l'aide de ses avis je me mis en route pour Nazareth, et, après avoir traversé une grande plaine, je vins à la fontaine dont Notre Seigneur changea l'eau en vin aux noces d'Archétéclin* ; elle est près d'un village où l'on dit que naquit saint Pierre.

Nazareth n'est qu'un autre gros village bâti entre deux montagnes ; mais le lieu où l'ange Gabriel vint annoncer à la vierge Marie qu'elle seroit mère fait pitié à voir. L'église qu'on y avoit bâtie est entièrement détruite, et il n'en subsiste plus qu'une petite chose (case), là où Nostre-Dame estoit quand l'ange lui apparut.

De Nazareth j'allai au Thabor, où fu faite la transfiguration de Notre Seigneur, et plusieurs autres miracles. Mais comme les pâturages y attirent beaucoup d'Arabes qui viennent y mener leurs bêtes, je fus obligé de prendre pour escorte quatre autres hommes, dont deux étoient Arabes eux-mêmes.

La montée est très-rude, parce qu'il n'y a point de chemin ; je la fis à dos de mulet, et j'y employai deux heures. La cime se termine par un plateau presque rond, qui peut avoir en longueur deux portées d'arc et une de large. Jadis il fut encint d'une muraille dont on voit encore des restes avec des fossés, et dans le pourtour, en dedans du mur, étoient plusieurs églises, et spécialement une où l'on gagne encore, quoiqu'elle soit ruinée, plain pardon de paine et de coulpe.

Au levant du Thabor, et au pied de la montagne, on aperçoit Tabarie (Tibériade), au-

* Architréclin est un mot Latin formé du Grec, par lequel l'Evangile désigne le maître d'hôtel ou majordôme qui présidoit aux noces de Cana. Nos ignares auteurs des bas siècles le prirent pour un nom d'homme, et cet homme ils en firent un saint, qu'ils appelèrent saint Architréclin. Dans la relation de la Brocquière, Architréclin est le marié de Cana.

delà de laquelle coule le Jourdain ; au couchant est une grande plaine fort agréable par ses jardins remplis de palmiers portant dattes, et par de petits bosquets d'arbres plantés comme des vignes, et sur lesquels croît le coton. Au lever du soleil ceux-ci présentent un aspect singulier. En voyant leurs feuilles vertes couvertes de coton, on dirait qu'il a neigé sur eux*.

Ce fut dans cette plaine que je descendis pour me reposer et dîner ; car j'avais apporté des poulets crus et du vin. Mes guides me conduisirent dans une maison dont le maître, quand il vit mon vin, me prit pour un homme de distinction et m'accueillit bien. Il m'apporta une écuelle de lait, une de miel, et une branche chargée de dattes nouvelles. C'étoit la première fois de ma vie que j'en voyois. Je vis encore comment on travailloit le coton, et pour ce travail les ouvriers étoient des hommes et des femmes. Mais là aussi mes guides voulurent me rançonner, et, pour me reconduire à Nazareth où je les avois pris, ils exigèrent de moi un marché nouveau.

Je n'avois point d'épée, car j'avoue que je l'aurois tirée, et c'eût été folie à moi, comme c'en seroit une à ceux qui m'imitoient. Le résultat de la querelle fut que, pour me débarrasser d'eux, il me fallut leur donner douze drachmes de leur monnaie, lesquelles valent un demi-duc. Dès qu'ils les eurent reçues ils me quittèrent tous quatre ; de sorte que je fus obligé de m'en revenir seul avec mon moucre.

Nous avions fait peu de chemin, quand nous vîmes venir à nous deux Arabes armés à leur manière et montés sur de superbes chevaux. Le moucre, en les voyant, eut grande peur. Heureusement ils passèrent sans nous rien dire ; mais il m'avoua que, s'ils m'eussent soupçonné d'être chrétien, nous étions perdus, et qu'ils nous eussent tués tous deux sans rémission, ou pour le moins dépouillés en entier.

Chacun d'eux portoit une longue et mince perche ferrée par les deux bouts, dont l'un étoit tranchant, l'autre arrondi, mais garni de plusieurs taillans, et long d'un empan. Leur écu (bouclier) étoit rond, selon leur usage, convexe dans la partie du milieu, et garni au centre d'une grosse pointe de fer ; mais depuis cette pointe jusqu'au bas il étoit orné de longues franges de soie. Ils avoient pour vêtement des robes dont les manches, larges de plus d'un pied et demi, dépassoient leurs bras, et pour toque un chapeau rond terminé en pointe, de laine cramoisie, et velu ; mais ce chapeau, au lieu d'avoir sa toile tortillée tout autour, comme l'ont les autres Maures, l'avoit pendante fort bas des deux côtés, dans toute sa largeur.

Nous allâmes de là logger à Samarie, parce que je voulois visiter la mer de Tabarie (lac de Tibériade), où l'on dit que saint Pierre péchoit ordinairement, et y a aucuns (quelques) pardons : c'étoient les quatre-temps de Septembre. Le moucre me laissa seul toute la journée. Samarie est située sur la pointe d'une montagne. Nous n'y entrâmes qu'à la chute du jour, et nous en sortîmes à minuit pour nous rendre au lac. Le moucre avoit préféré cette heure, afin d'esquiver le tribut que paient ceux qui s'y rendent ; mais la nuit m'empêcha de voir le pays d'alentour.

J'allai ensuite au puits qu'on nomme puits de Jacob, parce que Jacob y fut jeté par ses frères. Il y a là une belle mosquée, dans laquelle j'entrai avec mon moucre, parce que je feignis d'être Sarrasin.

Plus loin est un pont de pierre sur lequel on passe le Jourdain, et qu'on appelle le pont de Jacob, à cause d'une maison qui s'y trouve, et qui fut, dit-on, celle de ce patriarche. Le fleuve sort d'un grand lac situé au pied d'une montagne vers le northouest (nord-ouest), et sur la montagne est un beau château possédé par Namcardin.

Du lac je pris le chemin de Damas. Le pays est assez agréable, et quoiqu'on y marche toujours entre deux rangs de montagnes, il a constamment une ou deux lieues de large. Cependant on y trouve un endroit fort étrange. Là le chemin est réduit uniquement à ce qu'il faut pour le passage des chevaux ; tout le reste, à droite et à gauche, dans une largeur et

* Il est probable qu'ici le voyageur s'est trompé. Le cotonnier a par ses feuilles quelque ressemblance avec celles de la vigne. Elles sont lobées de même ; mais le coton naît dans des capsules, et non sur des feuilles. On connoît en botanique plusieurs arbres dont les feuilles sont couvertes à leur surface extérieure d'un duvet blanc ; mais on n'en connoît aucune qui produise du coton.

une longueur d'une lieue environ, ne présente qu'un amas immense de cailloux pareils à ceux de rivière, et dont la plupart sont gros comme des queues de vin.

Au débouché de ce lieu est un très-beau kan, entouré de fontaines et de ruisseaux. A quatre ou cinq milles de Damas il y en a un autre, le plus magnifique que j'aie vu de ma vie. Celui-ci est près d'une petite rivière formée par des sources; et en général plus on approche de la ville et plus le pays est beau.

Là je trouvai un Maure tout noir qui venoit du Caire à course de chameau, et qui étoit venu en huit jours, quoiqu'il y eût, me dit-on, seize journées de marche. Son chameau lui avoit échappé: à l'aide de mon moucre je parvins à le lui faire reprendre. Ces coureurs ont une selle fort singulière, sur laquelle ils sont assis les jambes croisées; mais la rapidité des chameaux qui les conduisent est si grande que, pour résister à l'impression de l'air, ils se font serrer d'un bandage la tête et le corps.

Celui-ci étoit porteur d'un ordre du soudan. Une galère et deux galiotes du prince de Tarente avoient pris devant Tripoli de Syrie une griperie * de Maures: le soudan, par représailles, envoyoit saisir à Damas et dans toute la Syrie tous les Catalans et les Génois qui s'y trouvoient. Cette nouvelle, dont je fus instruit par mon moucre, ne m'effraya pas. J'entrâi hardiment dans la ville avec les Sarrasins, parce que, habillé comme eux, je crus n'avoir rien à craindre. Mon voyage avoit duré sept jours.

Le lendemain de mon arrivée je vis la caravane qui revenoit de la Mecque. On la disoit composée de trois mille chameaux; et en effet elle employa pour entrer dans la ville près de deux jours et deux nuits. Cet événement fut, selon l'usage, une grande fête. Le seigneur de Damas, ainsi que les plus notables, allèrent au devant de la caravane, par respect pour l'Alkoran qu'elle avoit. Ce livre est la loi qu'a laissée aux siens Mahomet. Il étoit enveloppé d'une étoffe de soie peinte et chargée de lettres morisques, et un chameau le portoit, couvert lui-même également de soie.

En avant du chameau marchaient quatre ménestrels (musiciens) et une grande quantité de tambours et de nacquaires (timbales) qui faisoient un grand bruit. Devant et autour de lui étoient une trentaine d'hommes dont les uns portoient des arbalètes, les autres des épées nues, d'autres de petits canons (arquebuses) qu'ils tiroient de temps en temps. Par derrière suivoient huit vieillards, qui montoient chacun un chameau de course près duquel on menoit en lesse leur cheval, magnifiquement couvert et orné de riches selles, selon la mode du pays. Après eux enfin venoit une dame Turque, parente du grand-seigneur: elle étoit dans une litière que portoient deux chameaux richement parés et couverts. Il y avoit plusieurs de ces animaux couverts de drap d'or.

La caravane étoit composée de Maures, de Turcs, Barbes (Barbaresques), Tartres (Tatars), Persans et autres sectateurs du faux prophète Mahomet. Ces gens-là prétendent que, quand ils ont fait une fois le voyage de la Mecque, ils ne peuvent plus être damnés. C'est ce que m'assura un esclave renégat, Vulgaire (Bulgare) de naissance, lequel appartenait à la dame dont je viens de parler. Il s'appeloit Hayauldoula, ce qui en Turc signifie serviteur de Dieu, et prétendoit avoir été trois fois à la Mecque. Je me liai avec lui, parce qu'il parloit un peu Italien, et souvent même il me tenoit compagnie la nuit ainsi que le jour.

Plusieurs fois, dans nos entretiens, je l'interrogeai sur Mahomet, et lui demandai où reposoit son corps. Il me répondit que c'étoit à la Mecque; que la fiertre (châsse) qui le renfermoit se trouvoit dans une chapelle ronde, ouverte par le haut; que c'étoit par cette ouverture que les pèlerins alloient voir la fiertre, et que parmi eux il y en avoit qui, après l'avoir vue, se faisoient crever les yeux, parce qu'après cela le monde ne pouvoit rien offrir, disoient-ils, qui méritât leurs regards. Effectivement il y en avoit deux dans la troupe, l'un d'environ seize ans, l'autre de vingt-deux à vingt-trois, qui s'étoient fait aveugler ainsi.

Hayauldoula me dit encore que ce n'est point à la Mecque qu'on gagne les pardons, mais

* Griperie, grip, sorte de bâtiment pour aller en course, vaisseau corsaire.

† L'auteur ne dit pas si ces arquebuses étoient à fourchette, à mèche, à rouet; mais il est remarquable que nos armes à feu portatives, dont l'invention étoit encore assez récente en Europe, fussent dès-lors en usage chez les Mahométans d'Asie.

à Méline (Médine), ville où saint Abraham fist faire une maison qui y est encoires*. La maison est en forme de cloître, et les pèlerins en font le tour.

Quant à la ville, elle est sur le bord de la mer. Les hommes de la terre du prêtre Jean (les Indiens) y apportent sur de gros vaisseaux les épices et autres marchandises que produit leur pays. C'est là que les Mahométans vont les acheter. Ils les chargent sur des chameaux ou sur d'autres bêtes de somme, et les portent au Caire, à Damas et autres lieux, ainsi qu'on sait. De la Mecque à Damas il y a quarante journées de marche à travers le désert; les chaleurs y sont excessives, et la caravane avoit eu plusieurs personnes étouffées.

Selon l'esclave renégat, celle de Médine doit annuellement être composée de sept cent mille personnes; et quand ce nombre n'est pas complet, Dieu, pour le remplir, y envoie des anges. Au grand jour du jugement Mahomet fera entrer en paradis autant de personnes qu'il voudra, et là ils auront à discrétion du miel, du lait et des femmes.

Comme sans cesse j'entendois parler de Mahomet, je voulus savoir sur lui quelque chose, et m'adressai pour cela à un prêtre qui dans Damas étoit attaché au consul des Vénitiens, qui disoit souvent la messe à l'hôtel, confessoit les marchands de cette nation, et, en cas de danger, régloit leurs affaires. Je me confessai à lui, je réglai les miennes, et lui demandai s'il connoissoit l'histoire de Mahomet. Il me dit que oui, et qu'il savoit tout son Alkoran. Alors je le suppliai le mieux qu'il me fut possible de rédiger par écrit ce qu'il en connoissoit, afin que je pusse le présenter à monseigneur le duc†. Il le fit avec plaisir, et j'ai apporté avec moi son travail.

Mon projet étoit de me rendre à Bourse. On m'aboucha en conséquence avec un Maure qui s'engagea de m'y conduire en suivant la caravane. Il me demandoit trente ducats et sa dépense; mais on m'avertit de me défier des Maures comme gens de mauvaise foi, sujets à fausser leur promesse, et je m'abstins de conclure. Je dis ceci pour l'instruction des personnes qui auroient affaire à eux; car je les crois tels qu'on me les a peints. Hayauldoula me procura de son côté la connoissance de certains marchands du pays de Karman (de Caramanie). Enfin je pris un autre moyen.

Le grand-Turc a pour les pèlerins qui vont à la Mecque un usage qui lui est particulier, au moins j'ignore si les autres puissances Mahométanes l'observent aussi: c'est que, quand ceux de ses états partent, il leur donne à son choix un chef auquel ils sont tenus d'obéir ainsi qu'à lui. Celui de la caravane s'appeloit Hoyarbarach; il étoit de Bourse, et c'étoit un des principaux habitants.

Je me fis présenter à lui par mon hôte et par une autre personne, comme un homme qui vouloit aller voir dans cette ville un frère qu'il y avoit, et ils le prièrent de me recevoir dans sa troupe et de m'y accorder sûreté. Il demanda si je savois l'Arabe, le Turc, l'Hébreu, la langue vulgaire, le Grec; et comme je répondis que non: Eh bien, que veut-il donc devenir? reprit-il.

Cependant, sur la représentation qu'on lui fit que je n'osois, à cause de la guerre, aller par mer, et que s'il daignoit m'admettre je ferois comme je pourrois, il y consentit, et après s'être mis les deux mains sur sa tête et avoir touché sa barbe, il dit en Turc que je pouvois me joindre à ses esclaves; mais il exigea que je fusse vêtu comme eux.

D'après cela j'allai aussitôt, avec un de mes deux conducteurs, au marché qu'on appelle bathsar (bazar). J'y achetai deux longues robes blanches qui me descendoient jusqu'au talon, une toque accomplie (turban complet), une ceinture de toile, une braie (caleçon) de futaine pour y mettre le bas de ma robe, deux petits sacs ou besaces, l'un pour mon usage, l'autre pour suspendre à la tête de mon cheval quand je lui ferois manger son orge et sa paille; une cuiller et une salière de cuir, un tapis pour coucher; enfin un paletot (sorte de pour-point) de panne blanche que je fis couvrir de toile, et qui me servit beaucoup la nuit.

* Notre voyageur a confondu: c'est à Médine, et non à la Mecque, qu'est le tombeau de Mahomet; c'est à la Mecque, et non à Médine, qu'est la prétendue maison d'Abraham, que les pèlerins gagnent les pardons et que se fait le grand commerce.

† Le duc de Bourgogne, auquel étoit attaché la Brocquière. Par tout ce que dit ici le voyageur on voit combien peu étoit connu en Europe le fondateur de l'Islamisme et l'auteur du Koran.

J'achetai aussi un tarquais blanc et garni (sorte de carquois), auquel pendoient une épée et des couteaux : mais pour le tarquais et l'épée je ne pus en faire l'acquisition que secrètement ; car, si ceux qui ont l'administration de la justice l'avoient su, le vendeur et moi nous eussions couru de grands risques.

Les épées de Damas sont les plus belles et les meilleures de toute la Syrie ; mais c'est une chose curieuse de voir comment ils les brunissent. Cette opération se fait avant la trempe. Ils ont pour cela une petite pièce de bois dans laquelle est enté un fer ; ils la passent sur la lame et enlèvent ainsi ses inégalités de même qu'avec un rabot on enlève celles du bois ; ensuite ils la trempent, puis la polissent. Ce poli est tel que quand quelqu'un veut arranger son turban, il se sert de son épée comme d'un miroir. Quant à la trempe, elle est si parfaite que nulle part encore je n'ai vu d'épée trancher aussi bien.

On fait aussi à Damas et dans le pays des miroirs d'acier qui grossissent les objets comme un miroir ardent. J'en ai vu qui, quand on les exposoit au soleil, perçoient, à quinze ou seize pieds de distance, une planche et y mettoient le feu.

J'achetai un petit cheval, qui se trouva très-bon. Avant de partir je le fis ferrer à Damas ; et de là jusqu'à Bourse, quoiqu'il y ait près de cinquante journées, je n'eus rien à faire à ses pieds, excepté à l'un de ceux de devant, où il prit une enclouure qui trois semaines après le fit boiter. Voici comme ils ferment leurs chevaux.

Les fers sont légers, très-minces, allongés sur les talons, et plus amincis encore là que vers la pince. Ils n'ont point de retour* et ne portent que quatre trous, deux de chaque côté. Les clous sont carrés, avec une grosse et lourde tête. Faut-il appliquer le fer : s'il est besoin qu'on le retravaille pour l'ajuster, on le bat à froid sans le mettre au feu, et on le peut à cause de son peu d'épaisseur. Pour parer le pied du cheval on se sert d'une serpette pareille à celle qui est d'usage en-deçà de la mer pour tailler la vigne.

Les chevaux de ce pays n'ont que le pas et le galop. Quand on en achète, on choisit ceux qui ont le plus grand pas : comme en Europe on prend de préférence ceux qui trottent le mieux. Ils ont les narines très-fendues, courent très-bien, sont excellents, et d'ailleurs coûtent très-peu, puisqu'ils ne mangent que la nuit, et qu'on ne leur donne qu'un peu d'orge avec de la paille picquade (hachée). Jamais ils ne boivent que l'après-midi, et toujours, même à l'écurie, on leur laisse la bride en bouche, comme aux mules. Là ils sont attachés par les pieds de derrière et confondus tous ensemble, chevaux et juments. Tous sont hongres, excepté quelques-uns qu'on garde comme étalons. Si vous avez affaire à un homme riche, et que vous alliez le trouver chez lui, il vous menera, pour vous parler, dans son écurie : aussi sont-elles tenues très-fraîches et très-nettes.

Nous autres, nous aimons un cheval entier, de bonne race ; les Maures n'estiment que les juments. Chez eux, un grand n'a point honte de monter une jument que son poulain suit par derrière†. J'en ai vu d'une grande beauté, et qui se vendoient jusqu'à deux et trois cents ducats. Au reste, leur coutume est de tenir leurs chevaux sur le maigre (de ne point les laisser engraisser).

Chez eux, les gens de bien (gens riches, qui ont du bien) portent tous, quand ils sont à cheval, un tabolcan (petit tambour), dont ils se servent dans les batailles et les escarmouches pour se rassembler et se rallier ; ils l'attachent à l'arçon de leur selle, et le frappent avec une baguette de cuir plat. J'en achetai un aussi, avec des éperons et des bottes vermeilles, qui montoient jusqu'aux genoux, selon la coutume du pays.

Pour témoigner ma reconnaissance à Hoyarbarach j'allai lui offrir un pot de gingembre vert. Il le refusa, et ce ne fut qu'à force d'instances et de prières que je vins à bout de le lui faire accepter. Je n'eus de lui d'autre parole et d'autre assurance que celle dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus. Cependant je ne trouvai en lui que franchise et loyauté, et plus peut-être que j'en aurois éprouvé de beaucoup de chrétiens.

* Je crois que par retour la Brocquière a entendu ce crochet nommé crampon qui est aux nôtres, et qu'il a voulu dire que ceux de Damas étoient plats.

† Ce trait fait allusion aux préjugés alors en usage chez les chevaliers d'Europe. Comme ils avoient besoin, pour les tournois et les combats, de chevaux très-forts, ils ne se servoient que de chevaux entiers, et se seroient crus déshonorés de monter une jument.

Dieu, qui me favorisoit en tout dans l'accomplissement de mon voyage, me procura la connoissance d'un Juif de Caffa qui parloit Tartare et Italien ; je le priai de m'aider à mettre en écrit dans ces deux langues toutes les choses dont je pouvois avoir le plus de besoin en route pour moi et pour mon cheval. Dès notre première journée, arrivé à Ballec, je tirai mon papier pour savoir comment on appelloit l'orge et la paille hachée que je voulois faire donner à mon cheval. Dix ou douze Turcs qui étoient autour de moi se mirent à rire en me voyant. Ils s'approchèrent pour regarder mon papier, et parurent aussi étonnés de mon écriture que nous le sommes de la leur ; néanmoins ils me prirent en amitié, et firent tous leurs efforts pour m'apprendre à parler. Ils ne se laissoient point de me répéter plusieurs fois la même chose, et la redisoient si souvent et de tant de manières, qu'il falloit bien que je la retinsse ; aussi, quand nous nous séparâmes, savois-je déjà demander pour moi et pour mon cheval tout ce qui m'étoit nécessaire.

Pendant le séjour que fit à Damas la caravane, j'allai visiter un lieu de pèlerinage qui est à seize milles environ vers le nord, et qu'on nomme Notre-Dame de Serdenay. Il faut, pour y arriver, traverser une montagne qui peut bien avoir un quart de lieue, et jusqu'à laquelle s'étendent les jardins de Damas ; on descend ensuite dans une vallée charmante, remplie de vignes et de jardins, et qui a une belle fontaine dont l'eau est bonne. Là est une roche sur laquelle on a construit un petit château avec une église de calogero (de caloyers), où se trouve une image de la Vierge, peinte sur bois : sa tête, dit-on, est portée par miracle ; quant à la manière, je l'ignore. On ajoute qu'elle sue toujours, et que cette sueur est une huile*. Tout ce que je puis dire, c'est que quand j'y allai on me montra, au bout de l'église, derrière le grand autel, une niche pratiquée dans le mur, et que là je vis l'image, qui est une chose plate, et qui peut avoir un pied et demi de haut sur un de large. Je ne puis dire si elle est de bois ou de pierre, parce qu'elle étoit couverte entièrement de drapeaux. Le devant étoit fermé par un treillis de fer, et au-dessous il y avoit un vase qui contenoit de l'huile. Une femme qui étoit là vint à moi ; elle remua les drapeaux avec une cuillère d'argent, et voulut me faire le signe de la croix au front, aux tempes et sur la poitrine. Il me sembla que tout cela étoit une pratique pour avoir argent ; cependant je ne veux point dire par-là que Notre-Dame n'ait plus de pouvoir encore que cette image.

Je revins à Damas, et, la veille du départ, je réglai mes affaires et disposai ma conscience, comme si j'eusse dû mourir ; mais tout-à-coup je me vis dans l'embarras.

J'ai parlé du courier qu'avoit envoyé le soudan pour faire arrêter les marchands Génois et Catalans qui se trouvoient dans ses Etats. En vertu de cet ordre, on prit mon hôte, qui étoit Génois ; ses effets furent saisis, et l'on plaça chez lui un Maure pour les garder. Moi, je cherchai à lui sauver tout ce que je pourrois, et afin que le Maure ne s'en aperçût pas, je l'enivrai. Je fus arrêté à mon tour, et conduit devant un des cadis, gens qu'ils regardent comme nous nos évêques, et qui sont chargés d'administrer la justice.

Le cadi me renvoya vers un autre, qui me fit conduire en prison avec les marchands. Il savoit bien pourtant que je ne l'étois pas ; mais cette affaire m'étoit suscitée par un trucheman qui vouloit me rançonner, comme il l'avoit déjà tenté à mon premier voyage. Sans Antoine Mourrouzin, consul de Venise, il m'eût fallu payer ; mais je restai en prison, et pendant ce temps la caravane partit.

Pour obtenir ma liberté, le consul et quelques autres personnes furent obligés de faire des démarches auprès du roi (gouverneur) de Damas, alléguant qu'on m'avoit arrêté à tort et sans cause, et que le trucheman le savoit bien. Le seigneur me fit venir devant lui avec un Génois nommé Gentil Impérial, qui étoit un marchand de par le soudan, pour aller acheter des esclaves à Caffa. Il me demanda qui j'étois, et ce que je venois faire à Damas ;

* Plusieurs de nos auteurs du treizième siècle font mention de cette vierge de Serdenay, devenue fameuse pendant les croisades, et ils parlent de sa sueur huileuse, qui passoit pour faire beaucoup de miracles. Ces fables d'exsudations miraculeuses étoient communes en Asie. On y vanitoit entre autres celle qui découloit du tombeau de l'évêque Nicolas, l'un de ces saints dont l'existence est plus que douteuse. Cette liqueur prétendue de Nicolas étoit même un objet de culte ; et nous lisons qu'en 1651 un curé de Paris en ayant reçu une phiole, il demanda et obtint de l'archevêque la permission de l'exposer à la vénération des fidèles. (Hist. de la ville et du diocèse de Paris, par Lebeuf, t. 1, part. 2, p. 557.)

et, sur ma réponse que j'étois Français, venu en pèlerinage à Jérusalem, il dit qu'on avoit tort de me retenir, et que je pouvois partir quand il me plairoit.

Je partis donc, le lendemain 6 Octobre, accompagné d'un moucre, que je chargeai d'abord de transporter hors de la ville mes habillemens Turcs, parce qu'il n'est point permis à un chrétien d'y paroître avec la toque blanche.

A peu de distance est une montagne où l'on montre une maison qu'on dit avoir été celle de Caïn ; et, pendant la première journée, nous n'eûmes que des montagnes, quoique le chemin soit bon ; mais à la seconde nous trouvâmes un beau pays, et il continua d'être agréable jusqu'à Balbec.

C'est là que mon moucre me quitta, et que je trouvai la caravane. Elle étoit campée près d'une rivière, à cause de la chaleur qui règne dans le pays ; et cependant les nuits y sont très-froides (ce qu'on aura peine à croire), et les rosées très-abondantes. J'allai trouver Hoyarbarach, qui me confirma la permission qu'il m'avoit donnée de venir avec lui, et qui me recommanda de ne point quitter la troupe.

Le lendemain matin, à onze heures, je fis boire mon cheval, et lui donnai la paille et l'avoine, selon l'usage de nos contrées. Pour cette fois les Turcs ne me dirent rien ; mais le soir, à six heures, quand, après l'avoir fait boire, je lui attachai sa besace pour qu'il mangeât, ils s'y opposèrent et détachèrent le sac. Telle est leur coutume : leurs chevaux ne mangent qu'à huit, et jamais ils n'en laissent manger un avant les autres, à moins que ce ne soit pour paître l'herbe.

Le chef avoit avec lui un mamelus (mamelouck) du soudan, qui étoit Cerquais (Circassien), et qui alloit dans le pays de Karman chercher un de ses frères. Cet homme, quand il me vit seul, et ne sachant point la langue du pays, voulut charitablement me servir de compagnon, et il me prit avec lui. Cependant, comme il n'avoit point de tente, nous fûmes souvent obligés de passer la nuit dans des jardins sous des arbres.

Ce fut alors qu'il me fallut apprendre à coucher sur la dure, à ne boire que de l'eau, à m'asseoir à terre, les jambes croisées. Cette posture me coûta d'abord beaucoup ; mais ce à quoi j'eus plus de peine encore à m'accoutumer, fut d'être à cheval avec des étriers courts. Dans les commencemens je souffrois si fort, que, quand j'étois descendu, je ne pouvois remonter sans aide, tant les jarrets me faisoient mal ; mais lorsque j'y fus accoutumé, cette manière me parut plus commode que la nôtre.

Dès le jour même je soupai avec mon mamelouck, et nous n'eûmes que du pain, du fromage et du lait. J'avois, pour manger, une nappe, à la mode des gens riches du pays. Elles ont quatre pieds de diamètre, et sont rondes, avec des coulisses tout autour ; de sorte qu'on peut les fermer comme une bourse. Veulent-ils manger, ils les étendent ; ont-ils mangé, ils les resserrent, et y renferment tout ce qui reste, sans vouloir rien perdre, ni une miette de pain, ni un grain de raisin. Mais ce que j'ai remarqué, c'est qu'après leur repas, soit qu'il fût bon, soit qu'il fût mauvais, jamais ils ne manquoient de remercier Dieu tout haut.

Balbec est une bonne ville, bien fermée de murs, et assez marchande. Au centre étoit un château, fait de très-grosses pierres. Maintenant il renferme une mosquée dans laquelle est, dit-on, une tête humaine qui a des yeux si énormes, qu'un homme passeroit aisément la sienne à travers leur ouverture. Je ne puis assurer le fait, attendu que pour entrer dans la mosquée il faut être Sarrasin.

De Balbec nous allâmes à Hamos, et campâmes sur une rivière. Ce fut là que je vis comment ils campent et tendent leurs pavillons. Les tentes ne sont ni très-hautes ni très-grandes ; de sorte qu'il ne faut qu'un homme pour les dresser, et que six à huit personnes peuvent s'y tenir à l'aise pendant les chaleurs du jour. Dans le cours de la journée ils en ôtent le bas, afin de donner passage à l'air. La nuit, ils le remettent pour avoir plus chaud. Un seul chameau en porte sept ou huit avec leurs mâts. Il y en a de très-belles.

Mon compagnon, le mamelouck et moi, qui n'en avions point, nous allâmes nous établir dans un jardin. Il y vint aussi deux Turquemans (Turcomans) de Satalie, qui revenoient de la Mecque, et qui soupèrent avec nous. Mais quand ces deux hommes me virent bien vêtu,

vêtu, ayant bon cheval, belle épée, bon tarquais, ils proposèrent au mamelouck, ainsi que lui-même me l'avoua par la suite lorsque nous nous séparâmes, de se défaire de moi, vu que j'étois chrétien et indigne d'être dans leur compagnie. Il répondit que, puisque j'avois mangé avec eux le pain et le sel, ce seroit un crime ; que leur loi le leur défendoit, et qu'après tout Dieu faisoit les chrétiens comme les Sarrasins.

Néanmoins ils persistèrent dans leur projet ; et comme je témoignois le desir de voir Halep, la ville la plus considérable de Syrie après Damas, ils me pressèrent de me joindre à eux. Moi qui ne savois rien de leur dessein, j'acceptai ; et je suis convaincu aujourd'hui qu'ils ne vouloient que me couper la gorge. Mais le mamelouck leur défendit de venir davantage avec nous, et par-là il me sauva la vie.

Nous étions partis de Balbec deux heures avant le jour, et notre caravane étoit composée de quatre à cinq cents personnes, et de six ou sept cents chameaux et mulets, parce qu'elle portoit beaucoup d'épices. Voici leur manière de se mettre en marche.

Il y a dans la troupe une très-grande nacquaire (très-grosse timbale). Au moment où le chef veut qu'on parte, il fait frapper trois coups. Aussitôt tout le monde s'apprête, et à mesure que chacun est prêt, il se met à la file sans dire un seul mot : Et feront plus de bruit dix d'entre nous que mil de ceux-là. On marche ainsi en silence, à moins que ce ne soit la nuit, et que quelqu'un ne veuille chanter une chanson de gestes*. Au point du jour, deux ou trois d'entre eux, fort éloignés les uns des autres, crient et se répondent, comme on le fait sur les mosquées aux heures d'usage. Enfin, peu après, et avant le lever du soleil, les gens dévots font leurs prières et ablutions ordinaires.

Pour ces ablutions, s'ils sont auprès d'un ruisseau, ils descendent de cheval, se mettent les pieds nus, et se lavent les mains, les pieds, le visage et tous les conduits du corps. S'ils n'ont pas de ruisseau, ils passent la main sur ces parties. Le dernier d'entre eux se lave la bouche et l'ouverture opposée, après quoi il se tourne vers le midi. Tous alors lèvent deux doigts en l'air ; ils se prosternent et baisent la terre trois fois, puis ils se relèvent et font leurs prières. Ces ablutions leur ont été ordonnées en lieu de confession. Les gens de distinction, pour n'y point manquer, portent toujours en voyage des bouteilles de cuir pleines d'eau : on les attache sous le ventre des chameaux et des chevaux, et ordinairement elles sont très-belles.

Ces peuples s'accroupissent, pour uriner, comme les femmes ; après quoi ils se frottent le canal contre une pierre, contre un mur ou quelque autre chose. Quant à l'autre besoin, jamais après l'avoir satisfait ils ne s'essuient.

Hamos (Hems), bonne ville, bien fermée de murailles avec des fossés glacés (en glaci), est située dans une plaine sur une petite rivière. Là vient aboutir la plaine de Noë, qui s'étend, dit-on, jusqu'en Perse. C'est par elle que déboucha ce Tamerlan qui prit et détruisit tant de villes. A l'extrémité de la ville est un beau château, construit sur une hauteur, et tout en glaci jusqu'au pied du mur.

De Hamos nous vîmes à Hamant (Hama). Le pays est beau ; mais je n'y vis que peu d'habitans, excepté les Arabes qui rebâtissoient quelques-uns des villages détruits. Je trouvai dans Hamant un marchand de Venise nommé Laurent Souranze. Il m'accueillit, me logea chez lui, et me fit voir la ville et le château. Elle est garnie de bonnes tours, close de fortes et épaisses murailles, et construite, comme le château de Provins, sur une roche, dans laquelle on a creusé au ciseau des fossés fort profonds. A l'une des extrémités se voit le château, beau et fort, tout en glaci jusqu'au pied du mur, et construit sur une élévation. Il est entouré d'une citadelle qu'il domine, et baigné par une rivière qu'on dit être l'une des quatre qui sortent du paradis terrestre. Si le fait est vrai, je l'ignore. Tout ce que je sais, c'est qu'elle descend entre le levant et le midi, plus près du premier que du second, (est-sud-est), et qu'elle va se perdre à Antioche.

Là est la roue la plus haute et la plus grande que j'aie vue de ma vie. Elle est mise en mouvement par la rivière, et fournit à la consommation des habitans, quoique leur nombre soit considérable, la quantité d'eau qui leur est nécessaire. Cette eau tombe en une auge

* On appeloit en France chansons de gestes celles qui célébroient les gestes et belles actions des anciens héros.

creusée dans la roche du château ; de là elle se porte vers la ville et en parcourt les rues dans un canal formé par de grands piliers carrés qui ont douze pieds de haut sur deux de large.

Il me manquoit encore différentes choses pour être en tout comme mes compagnons de voyage. Le mamelouk m'en avoit averti, et mon hôte Laurent me mena lui-même au bazar pour en faire l'acquisition. C'étoient de petites coiffes de soie à la mode des Turcomans, un bonnet pour mettre sous la coiffe, des cuillères Turques, des couteaux avec leur fusil, un peigne avec son étui, et un gobelet de cuir. Tout cela s'attache et se suspend à l'épée.

J'achetai aussi des pouçons* pour tirer de l'arc, un tarquais nouveau tout garni, pour épargner le mien, qui étoit très-beau, et que je voulois conserver ; enfin un capinat : c'est une robe de feutre, blanche, très-fine, et impénétrable à la pluie.

En route je m'étois lié avec quelques-uns de mes compagnons de caravane. Ceux-ci, quand ils surent que j'étois logé chez un Franc, vinrent me trouver pour me demander de leur procurer du vin. Le vin leur est défendu par leur loi, et ils n'auront osé en boire devant les leurs ; mais ils espéroient le faire sans risque chez un Franc, et cependant ils revenoient de la Mecque. J'en parlai à mon hôte Laurent, qui me dit qu'il ne l'auroit, parce que, si la chose étoit sue, il courroit les plus grands dangers. J'allai leur rendre cette réponse ; mais ils en avoient déjà cherché ailleurs, et venoient d'en trouver chez un Grec. Ils me proposèrent donc, soit par pure amitié, soit pour être autorisé auprès du Grec à boire, d'aller avec eux chez lui, et je les y accompagnai.

Cet homme nous conduisit dans une petite galerie, où nous nous assîmes par terre, en cercle, tous les six. Il posa d'abord au milieu de nous un grand et beau plat de terre, qui eût pu contenir au moins huit lets (seize pintes) ; ensuite il apporta pour chacun de nous un pot plein de vin, le versa dans le vase, et y mit deux écuelles de terre qui devoient nous servir de gobelets.

Un de la troupe commença le premier, et il but à son compagnon, selon l'usage du pays. Celui-ci en fit de même pour son suivant, et ainsi des autres. Nous bûmes de cette manière, et sans manger, pendant fort long-temps. Enfin, quand je m'aperçus que je ne pouvois pas continuer davantage sans m'incommoder, je les suppliai à mains jointes de m'en dispenser ; mais ils se fâchèrent beaucoup, et se plainquirent, comme si j'avois résolu d'interrompre leurs plaisirs et de leur faire tort.

Heureusement il y en avoit un parmi eux qui étoit plus lié avec moi, et qui m'aimoit tant qu'il m'appeloit kardays, c'est-à-dire frère. Celui-ci s'offrit à prendre ma place, et à boire pour moi quand ce seroit mon tour. Cette offre les satisfît ; ils l'acceptèrent, et la partie continua jusqu'au soir, où il nous fallut retourner au kan.

Le chef étoit en ce moment assis sur un siège de pierre, et il avoit devant lui un fallot allumé. Il ne lui fut pas difficile de deviner d'où nous venions : aussi y eut-il quatre de mes camarades qui s'esquivèrent ; il n'en resta qu'un avec moi. Je dis tout ceci, afin de prévenir les personnes qui, demain ou un jour quelconque, voyageroient, ainsi que moi, dans leur pays, qu'elles se gardent bien de boire avec eux, à moins qu'elles ne veuillent être obligées d'en prendre jusqu'à ce qu'elles tombent à terre.

Le mamelouk ne savoit rien de ma débauche. Pendant ce temps il avoit acheté une oie pour nous deux. Il venoit de la faire bouillir, et, au défaut de verjus, il l'avoit accommodée avec des feuilles vertes de porreaux. J'en mangeai avec lui, et elle nous dura trois jours.

J'aurois bien désiré voir Alep ; mais la caravane n'y allant point et se rendant directement à Antioche, il fallut y renoncer. Cependant, comme elle ne devoit se mettre en marche que deux jours après, le mamelouk fut d'avis que nous prissions tous deux les devants, afin de trouver plus aisément à nous loger. Quatre autres camarades, marchands Turcs, demandèrent à être des nôtres, et nous partîmes tous six ensemble.

A une demi-lieue de Hama, nous trouvâmes la rivière et nous la passâmes sur un pont. Elle étoit débordée, quoiqu'il n'eût point plu. Moi, je voulus y faire boire mon cheval ; mais la rive étoit escarpée et l'eau profonde, et infailliblement je m'y serois noyé si le mamelouk n'étoit venu à mon secours.

* Sorte de doigtier qu'on mettoit au pouce, afin de le garantir et de le défendre de l'impression de la corde.

Au delà du fleuve est une longue et vaste plaine qui dure toute une journée. Nous y rencontrâmes six à huit Turcomans accompagnés d'une femme. Elle portoit le tarquais ainsi qu'eux; et, à ce sujet, on me dit que celles de cette nation sont braves et qu'en guerre elles combattent comme les hommes. On ajouta même, et ceci m'étonna bien davantage, qu'il y en a environ trente mille qui portent ainsi le tarquais et qui sont soumises à un seigneur nommé Turcgadiroly, lequel habite les montagnes d'Arménie, sur les frontières de la Perse.

La seconde journée fut à travers un pays de montagnes. Il est assez beau quoique peu arrosé; mais par-tout on ne voyoit que des habitations détruites. Tout en le traversant, mon mamelouck m'apprit à tirer de l'arc, et il me fit acheter des pouçons et des anneaux pour tirer. Enfin nous arrivâmes à un village riche en bois, en vignobles, en terres à blé, mais qui n'avoit d'autres eaux que celles de citernes. Ce canton paroisoit avoir été habité autrefois par des chrétiens, et j'avoue qu'on me fit un grand plaisir quand on me dit que tout cela avoit été aux Francs, et qu'on me montra pour preuve des églises abattues.

Nous y logeâmes; et ce fut la première fois que je vis des habitations de Turcomans, et des femmes de cette nation à visage découvert. Ordinairement elles le cachent sous un morceau d'étamine noire, et celles qui sont riches y portent attachées des pièces de monnaie et des pierres précieuses. Les hommes sont bons archers. J'en vis plusieurs tirer de l'arc. Ils tirent assis et à but court: ce peu d'espace donne à leurs flèches une grande rapidité.

Au sortir de la Syrie on entre dans la Turcomanie, que nous appellons Arménie. La capitale est une très-grande ville qu'ils nomment Antéquayé, et nous Antioche. Elle fut jadis très-florissante et a encore de beaux murs bien entiers, qui renferment un très-grand espace et même des montagnes. Mais on n'y compte point à présent plus de trois cents maisons. Au midi elle est bornée par une montagne, au nord par un grand lac, au-delà duquel on trouve un beau pays bien ouvert. Le long des murs coule la rivière qui vient de Hama. Presque tous les habitans sont Turcomans ou Arabes, et leur état est d'élever des troupeaux, tels que chameaux, chèvres, vaches et brebis.

Ces chèvres, les plus belles que j'aie jamais vues, sont la plupart blanches; elles n'ont point comme celles de Syrie, les oreilles pendantes, et portent une laine longue, douce et crépue. Les moutons ont de grosses et larges queues. On y nourrit aussi des ânes sauvages qu'on apprivoise et qui, avec un poil, des oreilles et une tête pareils à ceux du cerf, ont comme lui le pied fendu. J'ignore s'ils ont son cri, car je ne les ai point entendus crier. Ils sont beaux, fort grands, et vont avec les autres bêtes; mais je n'ai point vu qu'on les montât*.

Pour le transport de leurs marchandises, les habitans se servent de bœufs et de buffles, comme nous nous servons de chevaux. Ils les emploient aussi en montures; et j'en ai vu des troupes dans lesquelles les uns étoient chargés de marchandises, et les autres étoient montés.

Le seigneur de ce pays étoit Ramedang, prince riche, brave et puissant. Pendant longtemps il se rendit si redoutable que le soudan le craignoit et n'osoit l'irriter. Mais le soudan voulut le détruire, et dans ce dessein il s'entendit avec le karman, qui pouvoit mieux que personne tromper Ramedang, puisqu'il lui avoit donné sa sœur en mariage. En effet, un jour qu'ils mangeoient ensemble, il l'arrêta et le livra au soudan, qui le fit mourir et s'empara de la Turcomanie, dont cependant il donna une portion au karman.

Au sortir d'Antioche, je repris ma route avec mon mamelouck; et d'abord nous eûmes à passer une montagne nommée Nègre, sur laquelle on me montra trois ou quatre beaux châteaux ruinés, qui jadis avoient appartenu à des chrétiens. Le chemin est beau et sans cesse on y est parfumé par les lauriers nombreux qu'elle produit; mais la descente en est une fois plus rapide que la montée. Elle aboutit au golfe qu'on nomme d'Asacs, et que nous autres nous appellons Layaste, parce qu'en effet c'est la ville d'Ayas qui lui donne son

* Cet animal ne peut être un âne, puisqu'il a le pied fendu et que l'âne ne l'a point. C'est probablement une espèce de gazelle, ou plutôt un bubale.

nom. Il s'étend entre deux montagnes, et s'avance dans les terres l'espace d'environ quinze milles. Sa largeur à l'occident m'a paru être de douze; mais sur cet article je m'en rapporte à la carte marine.

Au pied de la montagne, près du chemin et sur le bord de la mer, sont les restes d'un château fort, qui du côté de la terre étoit défendu par un marécage; de sorte qu'on ne pouvoit y aborder que par mer, ou par une chaussée étroite qui traversoit le marais. Il étoit inhabité, mais en avant s'étoient établis des Turcomans. Ils occupoient cent vingt pavillons, les uns de feutre, les autre de coton bleu et blanc, tous très-beaux, tous assez grands pour loger à l'aise quinze ou seize personnes. Ce sont leurs maisons, et, comme nous dans les nôtres, ils y font tout leur ménage, à l'exception du feu.

Nous nous arrêtâmes chez eux. Ils vinrent placer devant nous une de ces nappes à coussins dont j'ai parlé, et dans laquelle il y avoit encore des miettes de pain, des fragmens de fromage et des grains de raisin. Après quoi ils nous apportèrent une douzaine de pains plats avec un grand quartier de lait caillé, qu'ils appellent yogort. Ces pains, larges d'un pied, sont ronds et plus minces que des oublies. On les plie en cornet, comme une oublie à pointes, et on les mange avec le caillé.

Une lieue au-delà étoit un petit karvassera (caravanseraï) où nous logeâmes. Ces établissemens consistent en maisons, comme les kans de Syrie.

En route, dans le cours de la journée j'avois rencontré un Ermin (Arménien) qui parloit un peu Italien. S'étant aperçu que j'étois chrétien, il se lia de conversation avec moi, et me conta beaucoup de détails, tant sur le pays et les habitans, que sur le soudan et ce Ramedang, seigneur de Turcomanie, dont je viens de faire mention. Il me dit que ce dernier étoit un homme de haute taille, très-brave, et le plus habile de tous les Turcs à manier la masse et l'épée. Sa mère étoit une chrétienne, qui l'avoit fait baptiser à la loi Grégoise (selon le rit des Grecs) "pour lui ôter le flair et la senteur que ont ceux qui ne sont point baptisés*." Mais il n'étoit ni bon chrétien ni bon Sarrasin; et quand on lui parloit des deux prophètes Jésus et Mahomet, il disoit: Moi, je suis pour les prophètes vivans, ils me seront plus utiles que ceux qui sont morts.

Ses Etats touchoient d'un côté à ceux du karman, dont il avoit épousé la sœur; de l'autre à la Syrie, qui appartenoit au soudan. Toutes les fois que par son pays passoit un des sujets de celui-ci, il en exigeoit des péages. Mais enfin le soudan obtint du karman, comme je l'ai dit, qu'il le lui livrerait; et aujourd'hui il possède toute la Turcomanie jusqu'à Tharse et même une journée par-de-là.

Ce jour-là nous logeâmes de nouveau chez des Turcomans, où l'on nous servit encore du lait; et l'Arménien nous y accompagna. Ce fut là que je vis faire par des femmes ces pains minces et plats dont j'ai parlé. Voici comment elles s'y prennent. Elles ont une petite table ronde, bien unie, y jettent un peu de farine qu'elles détrempent avec de l'eau et en font une pâte plus molle que celle du pain. Cette pâte, elles la partagent en plusieurs morceaux ronds, qu'elles aplatissent autant qu'il leur est possible avec un rouleau en bois, d'un diamètre un peu moindre que celui d'un œuf, jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient amincis au point que j'ai dit. Pendant ce temps elles ont une plaque de fer convexe, qui est posée sur un trépied et échauffée en dessous par un feu doux. Elles y étendent la feuille de pâte et la retournent tout aussitôt, de sorte qu'elles ont plus-tôt fait deux de leurs pains qu'un oublieur chez nous n'a fait une oublie.

J'employai deux jours à traverser le pays qui est autour du golfe. Il est fort beau, et avoit autrefois beaucoup de châteaux qui appartenient aux chrétiens, et qui maintenant sont détruits. Tel est celui qu'on voit en avant d'Ayas, vers le levant.

Il n'y a dans la contrée que des Turcomans. Ce sont de beaux hommes, excellens archers et vivant de peu. Leurs habitations sont rondes comme des pavillons et couvertes de feutre. Ils demeurent toujours en plein champ, et ont un chef auquel ils obéissent; mais ils changent

* Les chrétiens d'Asie croyoient de bonne foi que les infidèles avoient une mauvaise odeur qui leur étoit particulière, et qu'ils perdoient par le baptême. Il sera encore parlé plus bas de cette superstition. Ce baptême étoit, selon la loi Grégoise, par immersion.

souvent de place, et alors ils emportent avec eux leurs maisons. Leur coutume dans ce cas est de se soumettre au seigneur sur les terres duquel ils s'établissent, et même de le servir de leurs armes s'il a guerre. Mais s'ils quittent ses domaines et qu'ils passent sur ceux de son ennemi, ils serviront celui-ci à son tour contre l'autre, et on ne leur en sait pas mauvais gré, parce que telle est leur coutume et qu'ils sont errans.

Sur ma route je rencontrai un de leurs chefs qui voloît (chassoit au vol) avec des faucons et prenoit des oies privées. On me dit qu'il pouvoit bien avoir sous ses ordres dix mille Turcomans. Le pays est favorable pour la chasse, et coupé par beaucoup de petites rivières qui descendent des montagnes et se jettent dans le golfe. On y trouve sur-tout beaucoup de sangliers.

Vers le milieu du golfe, sur le chemin de terre, est un défilé formé par une roche sur laquelle on passe, et qui se trouve à deux portées d'arc de la mer. Jadis ce passage étoit défendu par un château qui le rendoit très-fort. Aujourd'hui il est abandonné.

Au sortir de cette gorge on entre dans une belle et grande plaine, peuplée de Turcomans. Mais l'Arménien mon compagnon me montra sur une montagne un château où il n'y avoit, disoit-il, que des gens de sa nation, et dont les murs sont arrosés par une rivière nommée Jéhon. Nous côtoyâmes la rivière jusqu'à une ville qu'on nomme Misse-sur-Jéhon, parce qu'elle la traverse.

Misse, située à quatre journées d'Antioche, appartient à des chrétiens et fut une cité importante. On y voit encore plusieurs églises à moitié détruites et dont il ne reste plus d'entier que le chœur de la grande, qu'on a converti en mosquée. Le pont est en bois, parce que le premier a été détruit aussi. Enfin, des deux moitiés de la ville, l'une est totalement en ruines; l'autre a conservé ses murs et environ trois cents maisons qui sont remplies par des Turcomans.

De Misse à Adève (Adène) le pays continue d'être uni et beau; et ce sont encore des Turcomans qui l'habitent. Adène est à deux journées de Misse, et je me proposois d'y attendre la caravane.

Elle arriva. J'allai avec le mamelouk et quelques autres personnes, dont plusieurs étoient de gros marchands, loger près du pont, entre la rivière et les murs; et ce fut là que je vis comment les Turcs font leurs prières et leurs sacrifices; car non seulement ils ne se cachent point de moi, mais ils paroissent même contents quand "je disois mes patrenostre, qui leur sembloit merveilles. Je leur ouys dire acunes fois leurs heures en chantant, à l'entrée de la nuit, et se assiéent à la réonde (en rond) et branlent le corps et la teste, et chantent bien sauvaagement."

Un jour ils me menèrent avec eux aux étuves et aux bains de la ville; et comme je refusai de me baigner, parce qu'il eût fallu me déshabiller et que je craignois de montrer mon argent, ils me donnèrent leurs robes à garder. Depuis ce moment nous fûmes très-liés ensemble.

La maison du bain est fort élevée et se termine par un dôme, dans lequel a été pratiquée une ouverture circulaire qui éclaire tout l'intérieur. Les étuves et les bains sont beaux et très-propres. Quand ceux qui se baignent sortent de l'eau, ils viennent s'asseoir sur de petites claies d'osier fin, où ils s'essuient et peignent leur barbe.

C'est dans Adène que je vis pour la première fois les deux jeunes gens qui à la Mecque s'étoient fait crever les yeux après avoir vu la sépulture de Mahomet.

Les Turcs sont gens de fatigue, d'une vie dure, et à qui ne coûte rien, ainsi que je l'ai vu tout le long de la route, de dormir sur la terre comme les animaux. Mais ils sont d'humeur gaie et joyeuse, et chantent volontiers chansons de gestes. Aussi quelqu'un qui veut vivre avec eux ne doit être ni triste ni rêveur, mais avoir toujours le visage riant. Du reste, ils sont gens de bonne foi et charitables les uns envers les autres. "J'ay vu bien souvent, quant nous mengions, que s'il passoit un povre homme auprès d'eux, ils le faisoient venir mengier avec nous: ce que nous, ne fésiesmes point."

Dans beaucoup d'endroits j'ai trouvé qu'ils ne cuisent point leur pain la moitié de ce que l'est

l'est le nôtre. Il est mou, et à moins d'y être accoutumé, on a bien de la peine à le mâcher. Pour leur viande, ils la mangent crue, séchée au soleil. Cependant quand une de leurs bêtes, cheval ou chameau, est en danger de mort ou sans espoir, ils l'égorgent et la mangent non crue, un peu cuite. Ils sont très-propres dans l'apprêt de leurs viandes; mais ils mangent très-salement. Ils tiennent de même fort proprement leur barbe; mais jamais ils ne se lavent les mains que quand ils se baignent, qu'ils veulent faire leur prière, ou qu'ils se lavent la barbe ou le derrière.

Adène est une assez bonne ville marchande, bien fermée de murailles, située en bon pays et assez voisine de la mer. Sur ses murs passe une grosse rivière qui vient des hautes montagnes d'Arménie et qu'on nomme Adena. Elle a un pont fort long et le plus large que j'aie jamais vu. Ses habitans et son amiral (son seigneur, son prince) sont Turcomans: cet amiral est le frère de ce brave Ramedang que le soudan fit mourir ainsi que je l'ai raconté. On m'a dit même que le soudan a entre les mains son fils, et qu'il n'ose le laisser retourner en Turcomanie.

D'Adène j'allai à Therso que nous appellons Tharse. Le pays, fort beau encore, quoique voisin des montagnes, est habité par des Turcomans, dont les uns logent dans des villages et les autres sous des pavillons. Le canton où est bâtie Tharse abonde en blé, vins, bois et eaux. Elle fut une ville fameuse, et l'on y voit encore de très-anciens édifices. Je crois que c'est celle qu'assiégea Baudoin, frère de Godefroi de Bouillon. Aujourd'hui elle a un amiral nommé par le soudan, et il y demeure plusieurs Maures. Elle est défendue par un château, par des fossés à glacis et par une double enceinte de murailles, qui en certains endroits est triple. Une petite rivière la traverse, et à peu de distance il en coule une autre.

J'y trouvai un marchand de Cypre, nommé Antoine, qui depuis long-temps demeurait dans le pays et en savoit bien la langue. Il m'en parla pertinemment; mais il me fit un autre plaisir, celui de me donner de bon vin, car depuis plusieurs jours je n'en avois point bu.

Tharse n'est qu'à soixante milles du Korkène (Curco), château construit sur la mer, et qui appartient au roi de Cypre.

Dans tout ce pays on parle Turc, et on commence même à le parler dès Antioche, qui est, comme je l'ai dit, la capitale de Turcomanie. "C'est un très-beau langage, et brief, et bien aisé pour apprendre."

Comme nous avions à traverser les hautes montagnes d'Arménie, Hoyarbarach, le chef de notre caravane, voulut qu'elle fût toute réunie; et dans ce dessein il attendit quelques jours. Enfin nous partîmes la veille de la Toussaint. Le mamelouck m'avoit conseillé de m'approvisionner pour quatre journées. En conséquence j'achetai pour moi une provision de pain et de fromage, et pour mon cheval une autre d'orge et de paille.

Au sortir de Tharse je fis encore trois lieues Françaises à travers un beau pays de plaines, peuplé de Turcomans; mais enfin j'entrai dans les montagnes, montagnes les plus hautes que j'aie encore vues. Elles enveloppent par trois côtés tout le pays que j'avois parcouru depuis Antioche. L'autre partie est fermée au midi par la mer.

D'abord on a des bois à traverser. Ce chemin dure tout un jour, et il n'est pas malaisé. Nous logeâmes le soir dans un passage étroit où il me parut que jadis il y avoit eu un château. La seconde journée n'eut point de mauvaise route encore, et nous vîmes passer la nuit dans un caravanserai. La troisième, nous côtoyâmes constamment une petite rivière, et vîmes dans les montagnes une multitude immense de perdrix griaches. Notre halte du soir fut dans une plaine d'environ une lieue de longueur sur un quart de large.

Là se rencontrent quatre grandes combes (vallées). L'une est celle par laquelle nous étions venus; l'autre, qui perce au nord, tire vers le pays du seigneur, qu'on appelle Turcgadirony, et vers la Perse; la troisième s'étend au Levant, et j'ignore si elle conduit de même à la Perse; la dernière enfin est au couchant, et c'est celle que j'ai prise, et qui m'a conduit au pays du karman. Chacune des quatre a une rivière, et les quatre rivières se rendent dans ce dernier pays.

Il neigea beaucoup pendant la nuit. Pour garantir mon cheval, je le couvris avec mon capinat, cette robe de feutre qui me servoit de manteau. Mais moi j'eus froid, et il me prit une maladie qui est malhonnette (le dévoiement); j'eusse même été en danger, sans mon mamelouck, qui me secourut et qui me fit sortir bien vite de ce lieu.

Nous partîmes donc de grand matin tous deux, et entrâmes dans les hautes montagnes. Il y a là un château nommé Cublech, le plus élevé que je connoisse. On le voit à une distance de deux journées. Quelquefois cependant on lui tourne le dos, à cause des détours qu'occasionnent les montagnes; quelquefois aussi on cesse de le voir, parce qu'il est caché par des hauteurs: mais on ne peut pénétrer au pays du karman qu'en passant au pied de celle où il est bâti. Le passage est étroit. Il a fallu même en quelques parties l'ouvrir au ciseau; mais par-tout il est dominé par le Cublech. Ce château, le dernier* de ceux qu'ont perdus les Arméniens, appartient aujourd'hui au karman, qui l'a eu en partage à la mort de Ramedang.

Ces montagnes sont couvertes de neige en tout temps, et il n'y a qu'un passage pour les chevaux, quoiqu'on y trouve de temps en temps de jolies petites plaines. Elles sont dangereuses, par les Turcomans qui y sont répandus; mais pendant les quatre jours de marche que j'y ai faite, je n'y ai pas vu une seule habitation.

Quand on quitte les montagnes d'Arménie pour entrer dans le pays du karman, on en trouve d'autres qu'il faut traverser encore. Sur l'une de celles-ci est une gorge avec un château nommé Lève, où l'on paie au karman un droit de passage. Ce péage étoit affermé à un Grec, qui, en me voyant, me reconnut à mes traits pour chrétien, et m'arrêta. Si j'avois été obligé de retourner, j'étois un homme mort, et on me l'a dit depuis: avant d'avoir fait une demi-lieue j'eusse été égorgé; car la caravane étoit encore fort loin. Heureusement mon mamelouk gagna le Grec, et, moyennant deux ducats que je lui donnai, il me livra passage.

Plus loin est le château d'Asers, et par-de-là le château une ville nommée Araclic (Eregli).

En débouchant des montagnes on entre dans un pays aussi uni que la mer; cependant on y voit encore vers la trémontane (le nord) quelques hauteurs qui, semées d'espace en espace, semblent des îles au milieu des flots. C'est dans cette plaine qu'est Eregli, ville autrefois fermée, et aujourd'hui dans un grand délabrement. J'y trouvai au moins des vivres; car, dans mes quatre jours de marche depuis Tharse, la route ne m'avoit offert que de l'eau. Les environs de la ville sont couverts de villages habités en très-grande partie par des Turcomans.

Au sortir d'Eregli nous trouvâmes deux gentilshommes du pays qui paroissent gens de distinction; ils firent beaucoup d'amitié au mamelouk, et le menèrent, pour le régaler, à un village voisin dont les habitations sont toutes creusées dans le roc. Nous y passâmes la nuit; mais moi je fus obligé de passer dans une caverne le reste du jour, pour y garder nos chevaux. Quand le mamelouk revint, il me dit que ces deux hommes lui avoient demandé qui j'étois, et qu'il leur avoit répondu, en leur donnant le change, que j'étois un Circassien qui ne savoit point parler Arabe.

D'Eregli à Larande, où nous allâmes, il y a deux journées. Cette ville-ci, quoique non close, est grande, marchande et bien située. Il y avoit autrefois au centre un grand et fort château dont on voit encore les portes, qui sont en fer et très-belles; mais les murs sont abattus. D'une ville à l'autre on a, comme je l'ai dit, un beau pays plat; et depuis Lève je n'ai pas vu un seul arbre qui fût en rase campagne.

Il y avoit à Larande deux gentilshommes de Cypre, dont l'un s'appeloit Lyachin Castrico; l'autre, Léon Maschero, et qui tous deux parloient assez bien Français†. Ils me demandèrent

* Ce mot dernier signifie probablement ici le plus reculé, le plus éloigné à la frontière.

† Les Lusignan, devenus rois de Cypre sur la fin du douzième siècle, avoient introduit dans cette île la langue Française. C'est en Cypre, au passage de saint Louis pour sa croisade d'Egypte que fut fait et publié ce code qu'on appela Assises de Jérusalem, et qui devint le code des Cypriots. La langue Française continua d'être celle de la cour et des gens bien élevés.

quelle étoit ma patrie, et comment je me trouvais là. Je leur répondis que j'étois serviteur de monseigneur de Bourgogne, que je venois de Jérusalem et de Damas, et que j'avois suivi la caravane. Ils me parurent très-merveillés de ce que j'avois pu passer : mais quand ils m'eurent demandé où j'allois, et que j'ajoutai que je retournois par terre en France vers mondit seigneur, ils me dirent que c'étoit chose impossible, et que, quand j'aurois mille vies, je les perdrois toutes. En conséquence ils me proposèrent de retourner en Cypre avec eux. Il y avoit dans l'île deux galères qui étoient venues y chercher la sœur du roi, accordée en mariage au fils de monseigneur de Savoie*, et ils ne doutoient point que le roi, par amour et honneur pour monseigneur de Bourgogne, ne m'y accordât passage. Je leur répondis que puisque Dieu m'avoit fait la grace d'arriver jusqu'à Larande, il me feroit probablement celle d'aller plus loin, et qu'au reste j'étois résolu d'achever mon voyage ou d'y mourir.

A mon tour je leur demandai où ils alloient. Ils me dirent que leur roi venoit de mourir ; que pendant sa vie il avoit toujours entretenu trêve avec le grand karman, et que le jeune roi et son conseil les envoyoit vers lui pour renouveler l'alliance. Moi, qui étois curieux de connoître ce grand prince que sa nation considère comme nous notre roi, je les priai de permettre que je les accompagnasse ; et ils y consentirent.

Je trouvai à Larande un autre Cypriot. Celui-ci, nommé Perrin Passerot, et marchand, demouroit depuis quelque temps dans le pays. Il étoit de Famagouste, et en avoit été banni, parce qu'avec un de ses frères il avoit tenté de remettre dans les mains du roi cette ville, qui étoit dans celles des Génois.

Mon mamelouk venoit de rencontrer aussi cinq ou six de ses compatriotes. C'étoient de jeunes esclaves Circassiens que l'on conduisoit au soudan. Il voulut à leur passage les régaler ; et comme il avoit appris qu'il se trouvoit à Larande des chrétiens, et qu'il soupçonnoit qu'ils auroient du vin, il me pria de lui en procurer. Je cherchai tant que, moyennant la moitié d'un ducat, je trouvai à en acheter demi-peau de chèvre (une demi-outre), et je la lui donnai.

Il montra en la recevant une joie extrême, et alla aussitôt trouver ses camarades, avec lesquelles il passa la nuit tout entière à boire. Pour lui, il en prit tant que le lendemain, dans la route, il manqua d'en mourir ; mais il se guérit par une méthode qui leur est propre : dans ces cas-là, ils ont une très-grande bouteille pleine d'eau, et à mesure que leur estomac se vide et se débarrasse, ils boivent de l'eau tant qu'ils peuvent en avaler, comme s'ils vouloient rincer une bouteille, puis ils la rendent et en avalent d'autre. Il employa ainsi à se laver tout le temps de la route jusqu'à midi, et il fut guéri entièrement.

De Larande nous allâmes à Qulongue, appelée par les Grecs Quhonguopoly†. Il y a d'un lieu à l'autre deux journées. Le pays est beau et bien garni de villages ; mais il manque d'eau, et n'a, ni d'autres arbres que ceux qu'on a plantés près des habitations pour avoir du fruit, ni d'autre rivière que celle qui coule près de la ville.

Cette ville, grande, marchande, défendue par des fossés en glacis et par de bonnes murailles garnies de tours, est la meilleure qu'ait le karman. Il lui reste un petit château. Jadis elle en avoit un très-fort, qui étoit construit au centre. On l'a jeté bas pour y bâtir le palais du roi‡.

Je restai là quatre jours, afin de donner le temps à l'ambassadeur de Cypre et à la caravane d'arriver. Il arriva, ainsi qu'elle. Alors j'allai demander à l'ambassadeur que, quand il iroit saluer le karman, il me permit de me joindre à sa suite, et il me le promit. Cependant il avoit parmi ses esclaves quatre Grecs de Cypre renégats, dont l'un étoit son huissier d'armes, et qui tous quatre firent auprès de lui des efforts pour l'en détourner ; mais il leur répondit qu'il n'y voyoit point d'inconvénient : d'ailleurs j'en avois témoigné tant d'envie qu'il se fit un plaisir de m'obliger.

* Louis, fils d'Amédée VIII, duc de Savoie. Il épousa en 1432 Anne de Lusignan fille de Jean II, roi de Cypre, mort au moins de Juin, et sœur de Jean III, qui alors étoit sur le trône.

† Plus bas le copiste a écrit Quohongue et Quhongue. J'écrirai désormais Couhongue.

‡ L'auteur, d'après ses préjugés Européens, emploie ici le mot roi pour désigner le prince, le souverain du pays.

On vint le prévenir de l'heure à laquelle il pourroit faire sa révérence au roi, lui exposer le sujet de son ambassade, et offrir ses présens; car c'est une coutume au-delà des mers qu'on ne paroît jamais devant un prince sans en apporter quelques-uns. Les siens étoient six pièces de camelot de Cypre, je ne sais combien d'aunes d'écarlate, une quarantaine de pains de sucre, un faucon pèlerin et deux arbalètes, avec une douzaine de vives*.

On envoya chez lui des genets pour apporter les présens; et, pour sa monture ainsi que pour sa suite, les chevaux qu'avoient laissés à la porte du palais ceux des grands qui étoient venus faire cortège au roi pendant la cérémonie.

Il en monta un, et mit pied à terre à l'entrée du palais; après quoi, nous entrâmes dans une très-grande salle où il pouvoit y avoir environ trois cents personnes. Le roi occupoit la chambre suivante, autour de laquelle étoient rangés trente esclaves, tous debout. Pour lui, il étoit dans un coin, assis sur un tapis par terre, selon la coutume du pays, vêtu de drap d'or cramoisi, et le coude appuyé sur un carreau d'une autre sorte de drap d'or. Près de lui étoit son épée; en avant, son chancelier debout, et autour, à peu de distance, trois hommes assis.

D'abord on fit passer sous ses yeux les présens, qu'il parut à peine regarder; puis l'ambassadeur entra accompagné d'un trucheman, parce qu'il ne savoit point la langue Turque. Quand il eut fait sa révérence, le chancelier lui demanda la lettre dont il étoit porteur, et la lut tout haut. L'ambassadeur alors dit au roi, par son trucheman, que le roi de Cypre envoyoit le saluer, et qu'il le prioit de recevoir avec amitié les présens qu'il lui envoyoit.

Le roi ne lui répondit pas un mot. On le fit asseoir par terre, à leur manière, mais au-dessous des trois personnes assises, et assez loin du prince. Alors celui-ci demanda comment se portoit son frère le roi de Cypre, et il lui fut répondu qu'il avoit perdu son père, qu'il envoyoit renouveler l'alliance qu'il avoit faite avec le mort, avoit subsisté entre les deux pays, et que pour lui il la desiroit fort. Je la souhaite également, dit le roi.

Celui-ci demanda encore à l'ambassadeur quand étoit mort le défunt, quel âge avoit son successeur, s'il étoit sage, si son pays lui obéissoit bien; et comme à ces deux dernières questions la réponse fut un oui, il témoigna en être bien-aise.

Après ces paroles on dit à l'ambassadeur de se lever. Il obéit, et prit congé du roi, qui ne se remua pas plus à son départ qu'il ne l'avoit fait à son arrivée. En sortant il trouva devant le palais les chevaux qui l'avoient amené. On lui en fit de nouveau monter un pour le reconduire à sa demeure; mais à peine y fut-il arrivé que les huissiers d'armes se présentèrent à lui. En pareilles cérémonies, c'est la coutume qu'on leur distribue de l'argent, et il en donna.

Il alla ensuite saluer le fils aîné du roi, et lui présenter ses présens et ses lettres. Ce prince étoit, comme son père, entouré de trois personnes assises. Mais quand l'ambassadeur lui fit la révérence, il se leva, se rassit, le fit asseoir à son tour au-dessus des trois personnages. Pour nous autres qui l'accompagnions, on nous plaça bien en arrière. Moi j'avois aperçu à l'écart un banc, sur lequel j'allai me mettre sans façon; mais on vint m'en tirer, et il me fallut plier le jarret et m'accroupir à terre avec les autres. De retour à l'hôtel, nous vîmes arriver un huissier d'armes du fils, comme nous avions vu du père. On lui donna aussi de l'argent, et au reste ces gens-là se contentent de peu.

À leur tour, le roi et son fils en envoyèrent à l'ambassadeur pour sa dépense; et c'est encore là une coutume. Le premier lui fit passer cinquante aspres, le second trente. L'aspre est la monnaie du pays: il en faut cinquante pour un ducat de Venise.

Je vis le roi traverser la ville en cavalcade. C'étoit un Vendredi, jour de fête pour eux, et il alloit faire sa prière. Sa garde étoit composée d'une cinquantaine de cavaliers, la plupart ses esclaves, et d'environ trente archers à pied qui l'entouroient. Il portoit une épée à sa ceinture et un tabolcan à l'arçon de sa selle, selon l'usage du pays. Lui et son fils ont été baptisés à la Grecque, pour ôter le flair (la mauvaise odeur), et l'on m'a dit même que

* Vives, grosses flèches qui se lançoient avec l'arbalète.

la mère de son fils étoit chrétienne. Il en est ainsi de tous les grands, ils se font baptiser afin qu'ils ne puent point.

Ses états sont considérables; ils commencent à une journée en-de-çà de Tarse, et vont jusqu'au pays d'Amurat-Bey, cet autre karman dont j'ai parlé, et que nous appelons le grand-Turc. Dans ce sens, leur largeur est, dit-on, de vingt lieues au plus; mais ils ont seize journées de long, et je le sais, moi qui les ai traversées. Au nord-est, ils s'étendent, m'a-t-on dit, jusqu'aux frontières de Perse.

Le karman possède aussi une côte maritime qu'on nomme les Farsats. Elle se prolonge depuis Tharse jusqu'à Courco, qui est au roi de Cypre, et à un port nommé Zabari. Ce canton produit les meilleurs marins que l'on connoisse; mais ils se sont révoltés contre lui.

Le karman est un beau prince, âgé de trente-deux ans, et qui a épousé la sœur d'Amurat-Bey. Il est fort obéi dans ses états; cependant j'ai entendu des gens qui disent de lui qu'il est très-cruel, et qu'il passe peu de jours sans faire couper des nés, des pieds, des mains, ou mourir quelqu'un. Un homme est-il riche, il le condamne à mort pour s'emparer de ses biens; et j'ai oui dire qu'il s'étoit ainsi défait des plus grands de son pays. Huit jours avant mon arrivée il en avoit fait étrangler un par des chiens. Deux jours après cette exécution il avoit fait mourir une de ses femmes, la mère même de son fils aîné, qui, quand je le vis, ne savoit rien encore de ce meurtre.

Les habitans de ce pays sont de mauvaises gens, voleurs, subtils et grands assassins. Ils se tuent les uns les autres, et la justice qu'il en fait ne les arrête point.

Je trouvai dans Cohongue Antoine Passerot, frère de ce Perrin Passerot qui j'avois vu à Larande, qui tous deux accusés d'avoir voulu remettre Famagouste sous la puissance du roi de Cypre, en avoient été bannis, ainsi que je l'ai dit; et ils s'étoient retirés dans le pays du karman, l'un à Larande, l'autre à Couhongue. Mais Antoine venoit d'avoir une mauvaise aventure. Quelquefois péché aveugle les gens: on l'avoit trouvé avec une femme de la loi Mahométane; et sur l'ordre du roi, il avoit été obligé, pour échapper à la mort, de renier la foi catholique, quoiqu'il m'ait paru encore bon chrétien.

Dans nos conversations, il me conta beaucoup de particularités sur le pays, sur le caractère et le gouvernement du seigneur, et principalement sur la manière dont il avoit pris et livré Ramedang.

Le karman, me dit-il, avoit un frère qu'il chassa du pays, et qui alla se réfugier et chercher asile près du soudan. Le soudan n'osoit lui déclarer la guerre; mais il le fit prévenir que s'il ne lui livroit Ramedang, il enverroit son frère avec des troupes la lui faire. Le karman n'hésita point, et plutôt que d'avoir son frère à combattre, il fit envers son beau-frère une grande trahison. Antoine me dit aussi qu'il étoit lâche et sans courage, quoique son peuple soit le plus vaillant de la Turquie. Son vrai nom est Imbreymbas; mais on l'appelle karman, à cause qu'il est seigneur de ce pays.

Quoiqu'il soit allié au grand-Turc, puisqu'il a épousé sa sœur, il le hait fort, parce que celui-ci lui a pris une partie du Karman. Cependant il n'ose l'attaquer, vu que l'autre est trop fort; mais je suis persuadé que s'il le voyoit entrepris avec succès de notre côté, lui, du sien, ne le laisseroit pas en paix.

En traversant ses états j'ai côtoyé une autre contrée qu'on nomme Gaserie. Celle-ci confine, d'une part au Karman, et de l'autre à la Turcomanie, par les hautes montagnes qui sont vers Tharse et vers la Perse. Son seigneur est un vaillant guerrier appelé Gadiroly, lequel a sous ces ordres trente mille hommes d'armes Turcomans, et environ cent mille femmes, aussi braves et aussi bonnes pour le combat que les hommes.

Il y a là quatre seigneurs qui se font continuellement la guerre: c'est Gadiroly, Quharaynich, Quaraychust et le fils de Tamerlan, qui, m'a-t-on dit, gouverne la Perse.

Antoine m'apprit qu'en débouchant des montagnes d'Arménie par de-là Eregli, j'avois passé à demi-journée d'une ville célèbre où repose le corps de saint Basile; il m'en parla même de manière à me donner envie de la voir. Mais on me représenta si bien ce que je perdois

perdois d'avantages en me séparant de la caravane, et ce que j'allois courir de risques en m'exposant seul, que j'y renonçai.

Pour lui, il m'avoua que son dessein étoit de se rendre avec moi auprès de monseigneur le duc; qu'il ne se sentoit nulle envie d'être Sarrasin, et que s'il avoit pris quelque engagement à ce sujet, c'étoit uniquement pour éviter la mort. On vouloit le circoncrire; il s'y attendoit chaque jour, et le craignoit fort. C'est un fort bel homme, âgé de trente-six ans.

Il me dit encore que les habitans font, dans leurs mosquées, des prières publiques, comme nous, dans les paroisses, nous en faisons tous les dimanches pour les princes chrétiens et pour autres objets dont nous demandons à Dieu l'accomplissement. Or une des choses qu'ils lui demandent, c'est de les préserver de la venue d'un homme tel que Godefroi de Bouillon.

Le chef de la caravane s'appretoit à repartir, et j'allai en conséquence prendre congé des ambassadeurs du roi de Chypre. Ils s'étoient flattés de m'emmener avec eux, et ils renouvelèrent leurs instances en m'assurant que jamais je n'acheverois mon voyage; mais je persistai. Ce fut à Couhongue que quittèrent la caravane ceux qui la composoient. Hoyarbarach n'amenait avec lui que ses gens, sa femme, deux de ses enfans qu'il avoit conduits à la Mecque, une ou deux femmes étrangères, et moi.

Je dis adieu à mon mamelouk. Ce brave homme, qu'on appelloit Mahomet, m'avoit rendu des services sans nombre. Il étoit très-charitable, et faisoit toujours l'aumône quand on la lui demandoit au nom de Dieu. C'étoit par un motif de charité qu'il m'obligeoit, et j'avoue que sans lui je n'eusse pu achever mon voyage qu'avec de très-grandes peines, que souvent j'aurois été exposé au froid et à la faim, et fort embarrassé pour mon cheval.

En le quittant je cherchai à lui témoigner ma reconnaissance; mais il ne voulut rien accepter qu'un couvre-chef de nos toiles fines d'Europe, et cet objet parut lui faire grand plaisir. Il me raconta toutes les occasions venues à sa connoissance, où, sans lui, j'aurois couru risque d'être assassiné, et me prévint d'être bien circonspect dans les liaisons que je ferois avec les Sarrasins, parce qu'il s'en trouvoit parmi eux d'aussi mauvais que les Francs. J'écris ceci pour rappeler que celui qui, par amour de Dieu, m'a fait tant de bien, étoit "ung homme hors de nostre foy."

Le pays que nous eûmes à parcourir après être sortis de Couhongue est fort beau, et il a d'assez bons villages; mais les habitans sont mauvais: le chef me défendit même, dans un des villages où nous nous arrêtâmes, de sortir de mon logement, de peur d'être assassiné. Il y a près de ce lieu un bain renommé, où plusieurs malades accourent pour chercher guérison. On y voit des maisons qui jadis appartinrent aux hospitaliers de Jérusalem, et la croix de Jérusalem s'y trouve encore.

Après trois jours de marche nous arrivâmes à une petite ville nommée Achsaray, située au pied d'une haute montagne, qui la garantit du midi. Le pays est uni, mais mal-peuplé, et les habitans passent pour méchans: aussi me fut-il encore défendu de sortir la nuit hors de la maison.

Je voyageai la journée suivante entre deux montagnes dont les cimes sont couronnées d'un peu de bois. Le canton, assez bien peuplé, l'est en partie par des Turcomans; mais il y a beaucoup d'herbages et de marais.

Là je traversai une petite rivière qui sépare ce pays de Karman d'avec l'autre Karman que possède Amurat-Bey, nommé par nous le Grand-Turc. Cette portion ressemble à la première; elle offre comme elle un pays plat, parsemé çà et là de montagnes.

Sur notre route nous côtoyâmes une ville à château, qu'on nomme Achanay. Plus loin est un beau caravanseraï où nous comptons passer la nuit; mais il y avoit vingt-cinq ânes. Notre chef ne voulut pas y entrer, et il préféra retourner une lieue en arrière sur ses pas, jusqu'à un gros village où nous logeâmes, et où nous trouvâmes du pain, du fromage et du lait.

De ce lieu je vins à Karassar en deux jours. Carassar, en langue Turque, signifie pierre noire. C'est la capitale de ce pays, dont s'est emparé de force Amurat-Bey. Quoiqu'elle ne soit point fermée, elle est marchande, et a un des plus beaux châteaux que j'aie vus, quoiqu'il

quoiqu'il n'ait que de l'eau de citerne. Il occupe la cime d'une haute roche, si bien arrondie qu'on la croiroit taillée au ciseau. Au bas est la ville, qui l'entoure de trois côtés ; mais elle est à son tour enveloppée, ainsi que lui, par une montagne en croissant, depuis grec jusqu'à mestre (depuis le nord-est jusqu'au nord-ouest). Dans le reste de la circonférence s'ouvre une plaine que traverse une rivière. Il y avoit peu de temps que les Grecs s'étoient emparés de ce lieu ; mais ils l'avoient perdu par leur lâcheté.

On y apprête les pieds de mouton avec une perfection et une propreté que je n'ai vues nulle part. Je m'en régalai d'autant plus volontiers que depuis Couhongue je n'avois pas mangé de viande cuite. On y fait aussi, avec des noix vertes, un mets particulier. Pour cela on les pèle, on les coupe en deux, on les enfle avec une ficelle, et on les arrose de vin cuit, qui se prend tout autour et y forme une gelée comme de la colle. C'est une nourriture assez agréable, sur-tout quand on a faim. Nous fûmes obligés d'y faire une provision de pain et de fromage pour deux jours ; et je conviens que j'étois dégoûté de chair crue.

Ces deux jours furent employés à venir de Carassar à Cotthay. Le pays est beau, bien arrosé et garni de montagnes peu élevées. Nous traversâmes un bout de forêt qui me parut remarquable en ce qu'elle est composée entièrement de chênes, et que ces arbres y sont plus gros, plus droits et plus hauts que ceux que j'avois été à portée de voir jusque-là. D'ailleurs ils n'ont, comme les sapins, de branches qu'à leurs cimes.

Nous vinmes loger dans un caravanseraï qui étoit éloigné de toute habitation. Nous y trouvâmes de l'orge et de la paille, et il eût été d'autant plus aisé de nous en approvisionner, qu'il n'y avoit d'autre gardien qu'un seul valet. Mais on n'a rien de semblable à craindre dans ces lieux-là, et il n'est point d'homme assez hardi pour oser y prendre une poignée de marchandise sans payer.

Sur la route est une petite rivière renommée pour son eau. Hoyarbarach alla en boire avec ses femmes ; il voulut que j'en busse aussi, et lui-même m'en présenta dans son gobelet de cuir. C'étoit la première fois de toute la route qu'il me faisoit cette faveur.

Cotthay, quoique assez considérable, n'a point de murs ; mais elle a un beau et grand château composé de trois forteresses placées l'une au-dessus de l'autre sur le penchant d'une montagne, lequel a une double enceinte. C'est dans cette place qu'étoit le fils aîné du grand-Turc.

La ville possède un caravanseraï où nous allâmes loger. Déjà il y avoit des Turcs, et nous fûmes obligés d'y mettre tous nos chevaux pêle-mêle, selon l'usage ; mais le lendemain matin, au moment où j'apprêtois le mien pour partir, je m'aperçus qu'on m'avoit pris l'une des courroies qui me servoit à attacher derrière ma selle le tapis et autres objets que je portois en trousse.

D'abord je criai et me fâchai beaucoup. Mais il y avoit là un esclave Turc, l'un de ceux du fils aîné, homme de poids et d'environ cinquante ans, qui, m'entendant et voyant que je ne parlois pas bien la langue, me prit par la main et me conduisit à la porte du caravanseraï. Là il me demanda en Italien qui j'étois. Je fus stupéfait d'entendre ce langage dans sa bouche. Je répondis que j'étois Franc. "D'où venez-vous ? ajouta-t-il.—De Damas, dans la compagnie d'Hoyarbarach, et je vais à Bourse retrouver un de mes frères.—Eh bien, vous êtes un espion, et vous venez chercher ici des renseignements sur le pays. Si vous ne l'étiez pas, n'auriez-vous pas dû prendre la mer pour retourner chez vous ?"

Cette inculpation à laquelle je ne m'attendois pas m'interdit ; je répondis cependant que les Vénitiens et les Génois se faisoient sur mer une guerre si acharnée que je n'osois m'y risquer. Il me demanda d'où j'étois. Du royaume de France, repartis-je. Êtes-vous des environs de Paris ? reprit-il. Je dis que non, et je lui demandai à mon tour s'il connoissoit Paris. Il me répondit qu'il y avoit été autrefois avec un capitaine nommé Bernabo. "Croyez-moi, ajouta-t-il, allez dans le caravanseraï chercher votre cheval, et amenez-le moi ici ; car il y a là des esclaves Albaniens qui acheveront de vous prendre ce qu'il porte encore. Tandis que je le garderai, vous irez déjeuner, et vous ferez pour vous et pour lui une provision de cinq jours, parce que vous serez cinq journées sans rien trouver."

Je profitai du conseil ; j'allai m'approvisionner, et je déjeunai avec d'autant plus de plaisir que

que depuis deux jours je n'avois goûté viande, et que je courois risque de n'en point tâter encore pendant cinq jours.

Sorti du caravanserai, je pris le chemin de Bourse, et laissai à gauche, entre l'occident et le midi, celui de Troie-la-Grant*. Il y a d'assez hautes montagnes, et j'en eus plusieurs à passer. J'eus aussi deux journées de forêts, après quoi je traversai une belle plaine dans laquelle il y a quelques villages assez bons pour le pays. A demi-journée de Bourse il en est un où nous trouvâmes de la viande et du raisin; ce raisin étoit aussi frais qu'au temps des vendanges: ils savent le garder ainsi toute l'année; c'est un secret qu'ils ont. Les Turcs m'y régalerent de rôti; mais il n'étoit pas cuit à moitié. A mesure que la viande se rôtissoit, nous la coupions à la broche par tranches. Nous eûmes aussi du kaymac; c'est de la crème de buffle. Elle étoit si bonne et si douce, et j'en mangeai tant que je manquai d'en crever.

Avant d'entrer dans le village nous vîmes venir à nous un Turc de Bourse qui étoit envoyé à l'épouse de Hoyarbarach pour lui annoncer la mort de son père. Elle témoigna une grande douleur, et ce fut à cette occasion que s'étant découvert le visage, j'eus le plaisir de la voir; ce qui ne m'étoit pas encore arrivé de toute la route. C'étoit une fort belle femme.

Il y avoit dans le lieu un esclave Bulgare renégat, qui, par affectation de zèle et pour se montrer bon Sarrasin, reprocha aux Turcs de la caravane de me laisser aller dans leur compagnie, et dit que c'étoit un péché à eux qui revenoient du saint pèlerinage de la Mecque: en conséquence ils me notifèrent qu'il falloit nous séparer, et je fus obligé de me rendre à Bourse.

Je partis donc le lendemain, une heure avant le jour, avec l'aide de Dieu qui jusque-là m'avoit conduit; il me guida encore si bien que dans la route je ne demandai mon chemin qu'une seule fois.

En entrant dans la ville je vis beaucoup de gens qui en sortoient pour aller au-devant de la caravane. Tel est l'usage: les plus notables s'en font un devoir; c'est une fête. Il y en eut même plusieurs qui, me croyant un des pèlerins, me baisèrent les mains et la robe.

En y entrant je me vis embarrassé, parce que d'abord on trouve une place qui s'ouvre par quatre rues, et que je ne savois laquelle prendre. Dieu me fit encore choisir la bonne, laquelle me conduisit au bazar, où sont les marchandises et les marchands. Je m'adressai au premier chrétien que j'y vis, et ce chrétien se trouva heureusement un des espinolis de Génes, celui-là même pour qui Parvésin de Baruth m'avoit donné des lettres. Il fut fort étonné de me voir, et me conduisit chez un Florentin où je logeai avec mon cheval. J'y restai dix jours, temps que j'employai à parcourir la ville, conduit par les marchands, qui se firent un plaisir de me mener par-tout eux-mêmes.

De toutes celles que possède le Turc, c'est la plus considérable; elle est grande, marchande, et située au pied et au nord du mont Olimpoa (Olympe), d'où descend une rivière qui la traverse et qui, se divisant en plusieurs bras, forme comme un amas de petites villes, et contribue à la faire paroître plus grande encore.

C'est à Bourse que sont inhumés les seigneurs de Turquie (les sultans). On y voit de beaux édifices, et surtout un grand nombre d'hôpitaux, parmi lesquels il y en a quatre où l'on distribue souvent du pain, du vin et de la viande aux pauvres, qui veulent les prendre pour Dieu. A l'une des extrémités de la ville, vers le ponent, est un beau et vaste château bâti sur une hauteur, et qui peut bien renfermer mille maisons. Là est aussi le palais du seigneur, palais qu'on m'a dit être intérieurement un lieu très-agréable, et qui a un jardin avec un joli étang. Le prince avoit alors cinquante femmes, et souvent, dit-on, il va sur l'étang s'amuser en bateau avec quelqu'une d'elles.

Bourse étoit aussi le séjour de Camusat Bayschat (pacha), seigneur, ou, comme nous autres nous dirions, gouverneur et lieutenant de la Turquie. C'est un très-vailant homme, le

* L'auteur, en donnant ici à la fameuse Troie la dénomination de grande, ne fait que suivre l'usage de son siècle. Les historiens et les romanciers du temps la désignoient toujours ainsi, histoire de Troie-la-Grant, destruction de Troie-la-Grant, etc.

plus entreprenant qu'ait le Turc, et le plus habile à conduire sagement une entreprise. Aussi sont-ce principalement ces qualités qui lui ont fait donner ce gouvernement.

Je demandai s'il tenoit bien le pays et s'il savoit se faire obéir. On me dit qu'il y étoit obéi et respecté comme Amurat lui-même, qu'il avoit pour appointemens cinquante mille ducats par an, et que, quand le Turc entroit en guerre, il lui menoit à ses dépens vingt mille hommes; mais que lui, de son côté, il avoit également ses pensionnaires qui, dans ce cas, étoient tenus de lui fournir à leurs frais, l'un mille hommes, l'autre deux mille, l'autre trois, et ainsi des autres.

Il y a dans Burse deux bazars: l'un où l'on vend des étoffes de soie de toute espèce, de riches et belles pierreries, grande quantité de perles, et à bon marché, des toiles de coton, ainsi qu'une infinité d'autres marchandises dont l'énumération seroit trop longue; l'autre où l'on achète du coton et du savon blanc, qui fait là un gros objet de commerce.

Je vis aussi dans une halle un spectacle lamentable: c'étoient des chrétiens, hommes et femmes, que l'on vendoit. L'usage est de les faire asseoir sur des bancs. Celui qui veut les acheter ne voit d'eux que le visage et les mains, et un peu le bras des femmes. A Damas j'avois vu vendre une fille noire, de quinze à seize ans; on la menoit au long des rues toute nue, "fors que le ventre et le derrière, et ung pou au-dessous."

C'est à Burse que, pour la première fois, je mangeai du caviare* à l'huile d'olive. Cette nourriture n'est guère bonne que pour des Grecs, ou quand on n'a rien de mieux.

Quelques jours après qu'Hoyarbarach fut arrivé j'allai prendre congé de lui et le remercier des moyens qu'il m'avoit procurés de faire mon voyage. Je le trouvai au bazar, assis sur un haut siège de pierre avec plusieurs des plus notables de la ville. Les marchands s'étoient joints à moi dans cette visite.

Quelques-uns d'entre eux, Florentins de nation, s'intéressoient à un Espagnol qui, après avoir été esclave du soudan, avoit trouvé le moyen de s'échapper d'Egypte et d'arriver jusqu'à Burse. Ils me prièrent de l'emmener avec moi. Je le conduisis à mes frais jusqu'à Constantinople, où je le laissai; mais je suis persuadé que c'étoit un renégat. Je n'en ai point eu de nouvelles depuis.

Trois Génois avoient acheté des épices aux gens de la caravane, et ils se proposoient d'aller les vendre à Père (Péra), près de Constantinople, par-delà le détroit que nous appelons le Bras-de-Saint-George. Moi qui voulois profiter de leur compagnie, j'attendis leur départ, et c'est la raison qui me fit rester dans Burse; car, à moins d'être connu, l'on n'obtient point de passer le détroit. Dans cette vue ils me procurèrent une lettre du gouverneur. Je l'emportai avec moi; mais elle ne me servit point, parce que je trouvai moyen de passer avec eux. Nous partîmes ensemble. Cependant ils m'avoient fait acheter pour ma sûreté un chapeau rouge fort élevé, avec une huvette† en fil d'archal, que je portai jusqu'à Constantinople.

Au sortir de Burse nous traversâmes vers le nord une plaine qu'arrose une rivière profonde qui va se jeter, quatre lieues environ plus bas, dans le golfe, entre Constantinople et Galipoly. Nous eûmes une journée de montagnes, que des bois et un terrain argileux rendirent très-pénible. Là est un petit arbre qui porte un fruit un peu plus gros que nos plus fortes cerises, et qui a la forme et le goût de nos fraises, quoiqu'un peu aigrelet. Il est fort agréable à manger; mais si on en mange une certaine quantité, il porte à la tête et enivre. On le trouve en Novembre et Décembre‡.

Du haut de la montagne on voit le golfe de Galipoly. Quand on l'a descendue on entre dans une vallée terminée par un très-grand lac, autour duquel sont construites beaucoup de maisons. C'est là que j'ai vu pour la première fois faire des tapis de Turquie. Je passai la nuit dans la vallée. Elle produit beaucoup de riz.

* Caviare, caviar, cavial, caviat, sorte de ragoût ou de mets composé d'œufs d'esturgeons qu'on a saupoudrés de sel et séchés au soleil. Les Grecs en font une grande consommation dans leurs différens carêmes.

† Huvette, sorte d'ornement qu'on mettoit au chapeau.

‡ La description de l'auteur annonce qu'il s'agit ici de l'arbusier.

Au-delà on trouve, tantôt un pays de montagnes et de vallées, tantôt un pays d'herbages, puis une haute forêt qu'il seroit impossible de traverser sans guide, et où les chevaux enfoncent si fort qu'ils ont grande peine à s'en tirer. Pour moi je crois que c'est celle dont il est parlé dans l'histoire de Godefroi de Bouillon, et qu'il eut tant de difficulté à traverser.

Je passai la nuit par-delà, dans un village qui est à quatre lieues en-deçà de Nicomède (Nicomédie). Nicomédie est une grande ville avec havre. Ce havre, appelé le Lenguo, part du golfe de Constantinople et s'étend jusqu'à la ville, où il a de largeur un trait d'arc. Tout ce pays est d'un passage très-difficile.

Par-delà Nicomédie, en tirant vers Constantinople, il devient très-beau et assez bon. Là on trouve plus de Grecs que de Turcs ; mais ces Grecs ont pour les chrétiens (pour les Latins) plus d'aversion encore que les Turcs eux-mêmes.

Je côtoyai le golfe de Constantinople, et laissant le chemin de Nique (Nicée), ville située au nord, près de la mer Noire, je vins loger successivement dans un village en ruine, et qui n'a pour habitans que des Grecs ; puis dans un autre près de Scutari ; enfin à Scutari même, sur le détroit, vis-à-vis de Péra.

Là sont des Turcs auxquels il faut payer un droit, et qui gardent le passage. Il y a des roches qui le rendroient très-aisé à défendre si on vouloit le fortifier. Hommes et chevaux peuvent s'y embarquer et débarquer aisément. Nous passâmes, mes compagnons et moi, sur deux vaisseaux Grecs.

Ceux à qui appartenait celui que je montois me prirent pour Turc, et me rendirent de grands honneurs. Mais quand ils m'eurent descendu à terre, et qu'ils me virent, en entrant dans Péra, laisser à la porte mon cheval en garde, et demander un marchand Génois nommé Christophe Parvesin, pour qui j'avois des lettres, ils se doutèrent que j'étois chrétien. Deux d'entre eux alors m'attendirent à la porte, et quand je vins y reprendre mon cheval ils me demandèrent plus que ce que j'étois convenu de leur donner pour mon passage, et voulurent me rançonner. Je crois même qu'ils m'auroient battu s'ils l'avoient osé ; mais j'avois mon épée et mon bon tarquais : d'ailleurs un cordonnier Génois qui demeuroit près de là vint à mon aide, et ils furent obligés de se retirer.

J'écris ceci pour servir d'avertissement aux voyageurs qui, comme moi, auroient affaire à des Grecs. Tous ceux avec qui j'ai eu à traiter ne m'ont laissé que de la défiance. J'ai trouvé plus de loyauté en Turquie. Ce peuple n'aime point les chrétiens qui obéissent à l'église de Rome ; la soumission qu'il a faite depuis à cette église étoit plus intéressée que sincère*. Aussi m'a-t-on dit que, peu avant mon passage, le pape, dans un concile général, les avoit déclarés schismatiques et maudits, en les dévouant à être esclaves de ceux qui étoient esclaves†.

Péra est une grande ville habitée par des Grecs, par des Juifs et par des Génois. Ceux-ci en sont les maîtres sous le duc de Milan, qui s'en dit le seigneur ; ils y ont un podestat et d'autres officiers qui la gouvernent à leur manière. On y fait un grand commerce avec les Turcs ; mais les Turcs y jouissent d'un droit de franchise singulier : c'est que si un de leurs esclaves s'échappe et vient y chercher un asile, on est obligé de le leur rendre. Le port est le plus beau de tous ceux que j'ai vus, et même de tous ceux, je crois, que possèdent les chrétiens, puisque les plus grosses carques Génoises peuvent venir y mettre échelle à terre. Mais comme tout le monde sait cela, je m'abstiens d'en parler. Cependant il m'a

* En 1438, Jean Paléologue II vint en Italie pour réunir l'église Grecque avec la Latine, et la réunion eut lieu l'année suivante au concile de Florence. Mais cette démarche n'étoit de la part de l'empereur, ainsi que le remarque la Brocquière, qu'une opération politique dictée par l'intérêt, et qui n'eut aucune suite. Ses états se trouvoient dans une situation si déplorable, et il étoit tellement pressé par les Turcs, qu'il cherchoit à se procurer le secours des Latins ; et c'est dans cet espoir qu'il étoit venu leurrer le pape. Cette époque de 1438 est remarquable pour notre voyage. Elle prouve que la Brocquière, puisqu'il la cite, le publia postérieurement à cette année-là.

† Fait faux. Le concile général qui eut lieu peu avant le passage de l'auteur par Constantinople est celui de Bâle en 1431. Or, loin d'y maudire et anathématiser les Grecs, on s'y occupa de leur réunion. Cette prétendue malédiction étoit sans doute un bruit que faisoient courir dans Constantinople ceux qui ne vouloient pas de rapprochement, et le voyageur le fait entendre par cette expression, l'on m'a dit.

semblé que du côté de la terre, vers l'église qui est dans le voisinage de la porte, à l'extrémité du havre, il y a un endroit foible.

Je trouvai à Péra un ambassadeur du duc de Milan, qu'on appeloit messire Benedicto de Fourlino. Le duc, qui avoit besoin de l'appui de l'empereur Sigismond contre les Vénitiens, et qui voyoit Sigismond embarrassé à défendre des Turcs son royaume de Hongrie, envoyoit vers Amurat une ambassade pour négocier un accommodement entre les deux princes.

Messire Benedicto me fit, en l'honneur de monseigneur de Bourgogne, beaucoup d'accueil; il me conta même que, pour porter dommage aux Vénitiens, il avoit contribué à leur faire perdre Salonique, prise sur eux par les Turcs; et certes en cela il fit d'autant plus mal que depuis j'ai vu des habitans de cette ville renier Jésus-Christ pour embrasser la loi de Mahomet.

Il y avoit aussi à Péra un Napolitain nommé Piètre de Naples, avec qui je me liai. Celui-ci se disoit marié dans la terre du prêtre Jean, et il fit des efforts pour m'y emmener avec lui. Au reste, comme je le questionnai beaucoup sur ce pays, il m'en conta bien des choses que je vais écrire. J'ignore s'il me dit vérité ou non, mais je ne garantis rien.

Nota. La manière dont notre voyageur annonce ici la relation du Napolitain, annonce combien peu il y croyoit; et en cela le bon sens qu'il a montré jusqu'à présent ne se dément pas. Ce récit n'est en effet qu'un amas de fables absurdes et de merveilles révoltantes qui ne méritent pas d'être citées, quoiqu'on les trouve également dans certains auteurs du temps. Laissons l'auteur reprendre son discours.

Deux jours après mon arrivée à Péra je traversai le havre pour aller à Constantinople et visiter cette ville.

C'est une grande et spacieuse cité, qui a la forme d'un triangle. L'un des côtés regarde le détroit que nous appelons le Bras-de-Saint-George; l'autre a au midi un gouffre (golfe) assez large, qui se prolonge jusqu'à Galipoly. Au nord est le port.

Il existe sur la terre, dit-on, trois grandes villes dont chacune renferme sept montagnes; c'est Rome, Constantinople et Antioche. Selon moi, Rome est plus grande et plus arrondie que Constantinople. Pour Antioche, comme je ne l'ai vue qu'en passant, je ne puis rien dire sur sa grandeur; cependant ses montagnes m'ont paru plus hautes que celles des deux autres.

On donne à Constantinople, dans son triangle, dix-huit milles de tour, dont un tiers est situé du côté de terre, vers le couchant. Elle a une bonne enceinte de murailles, et surtout dans la partie qui regarde la terre. Cette portion, qu'on dit avoir six milles d'une pointe à l'autre, a en outre un fossé profond qui est en glacié, excepté dans un espace de deux cents pas, à l'une de ses extrémités, près du palais appelé la Blaquerne; on assure même que les Turcs ont failli prendre la ville par cet endroit foible. Quinze ou vingt pieds en avant du fossé est une fausse braie d'un bon et haut mur.

Aux deux extrémités de ce côté il y avoit autrefois deux beaux palais qui, si l'on en juge par les ruines et les restes qui en subsistent encore, étoient très-forts. On m'a conté qu'ils ont été abattus par un empereur dans une circonstance où, prisonnier du Turc, il courut risque de la vie. Celui-ci exigeoit qu'il lui livrât Constantinople, et, en cas de refus, il menaçoit de le faire mourir. L'autre répondit qu'il préféreroit la mort à la honte d'affliger la chrétienté par un si grand malheur, et qu'après tout sa perte ne seroit rien en comparaison de celle de la ville. Quand le Turc vit qu'il n'avanceroit rien par cette voie, il lui proposa la liberté, à condition que la place qui est devant Sainte-Sophie seroit abattue, ainsi que les deux palais. Son projet étoit d'affoiblir ainsi la ville, afin d'avoir moins de peine à la prendre. L'empereur consentir à la proposition, et la preuve en existe encore aujourd'hui.

Constantinople est formée de diverses parties séparées; de sorte qu'il y a plus de vide que de plein. Les plus grosses caraques peuvent venir mouiller sous ses murs, comme à Péra; elle a en outre dans son intérieur un petit havre qui peut contenir trois ou quatre galères. Il est au midi, près d'une porte où l'on voit une butte composée d'os de chrétiens qui, après la conquête de Jérusalem et d'Acre, par Godefroi de Bouillon, revenoient par le détroit. A mesure que les Grecs les passoient, ils les conduisoient dans cette place, qui est éloignée

éloignée et cachée, et les y égorgéient. Tous, quoiqu'en très-grand nombre, avoient péri ainsi, sans un page qui, ayant trouvé moyen de repasser en Asie, les avertit du danger qui les menaçait : ils se répandirent le long de la mer Noire, et c'est à eux, à ce qu'on prétend, que descendent ces peuples gros chrétiens (d'un christianisme grossier) qui habitent là : Circassiens, Migrelins, (Mingreliens), Ziques, Gothlans et Anangats. Au reste, comme ce fait est ancien, je n'en sais rien que par oui-dire.

Quoique la ville ait beaucoup de belles églises, la plus remarquable, ainsi que la principale, est celle de Sainte-Sophie, où le patriarche se tient, et autres gens comme chanoines (chanoines). Elle est de forme ronde, située près de la pointe orientale, et formée de trois parties diverses ; l'une souterraine, l'autre hors de terre, la troisième supérieure à celle-ci. Jadis elle étoit entourée de cloîtres, et avoit, dit-on, trois milles de circuit ; aujourd'hui elle est moins étendue, et n'a plus que trois cloîtres, qui tous trois sont pavés et revêtus en larges carreaux de marbre blanc, et ornés de grosses colonnes de diverses couleurs*. Les portes, remarquables par leur largeur et leur hauteur, sont d'airain.

Cette église possède, dit-on, l'une des robes de Notre-Seigneur, le fer de la lance qui le perça, l'éponge dont il fut abreuvé, et le roseau qu'on lui mit en main. Moi je dirai que derrière le chœur on m'a montré les grandes bandes du gril où fut rôti Saint-Laurent, et une large pierre en forme de lavoir, sur laquelle Abraham fit manger, dit-on, les trois anges qui alloient détruire Sodome et Gomorre.

J'étois curieux de savoir comment les Grecs célébroient le service divin, et en conséquence je me rendis à Sainte-Sophie un jour où le patriarche officioit. L'empereur y assistoit avec sa femme, sa mère et son frère, despote de Morée†. On y représenta un mystère, dont le sujet étoit les trois enfans que Nabuchodonosor fit jeter dans la fournaise‡.

L'impératrice, fille de l'empereur de Traseonde (Trébisonde), me parut une fort belle personne. Cependant, comme je ne pouvois la voir que de loin, je voulus la considérer de plus près : d'ailleurs j'étois curieux de savoir comment elle montoit à cheval ; car elle étoit venue ainsi à l'église, accompagnée seulement de deux dames, de trois vieillards, ministres d'état, et de trois de ces hommes à qui les Turcs confient la garde de leurs femmes (trois eunuques). Au sortir de Sainte-Sophie elle entra dans un hôtel voisin pour y dîner ; ce qui m'obligea d'attendre là qu'elle sortît, et par conséquent de passer toute la journée sans boire ni manger.

Elle parut enfin. On lui apporta un banc sur lequel elle monta. On fit approcher du banc son cheval, qui étoit superbe et couvert d'une selle magnifique. Alors un des vieillards prit le long manteau qu'elle portoit, et passa de l'autre côté du cheval, en le tenant étendu sur ses mains aussi haut qu'il pouvoit. Pendant ce temps elle mit le pied sur l'étrier, elle enfourcha le cheval comme le font les hommes, et dès qu'elle fut en selle le vieillard lui jeta le manteau sur les épaules ; après quoi il lui donna un de ces chapeaux longs, à pointe, usités en Grèce, et vers l'extrémité duquel étoient trois plumes d'or qui lui s'étoient très-bien.

J'étois si près d'elle qu'on me dit de m'éloigner : ainsi je pus la voir parfaitement. Elle avoit aux oreilles un fermail (anneau) large et plat, orné de plusieurs pierres précieuses, et particulièrement de rubis. Elle me parut jeune, blanche, et plus belle encore que dans l'église ; en un mot, je n'y eusse trouvé rien à redire si son visage n'avoit été peint, et assurément elle n'en avoit pas besoin.

Les deux dames montèrent à cheval en même temps qu'elle ; elles étoient belles aussi, et portoient comme elle manteau et chapeau. La troupe retourna au palais de la Blaquerne.

Au-devant de Sainte-Sophie est une belle et immense place, entourée de murs comme un

* Deux de ces galeries ou portiques, que l'auteur appelle cloîtres, subsistent encore aujourd'hui, ainsi que les colonnes. Celles-ci sont de matières différentes, porphyre, marbre, granit, etc. ; et voilà pourquoi le voyageur, qui n'étoit pas naturaliste, les représente comme étant de couleurs diverses.

† Cet empereur étoit Jean Paléologue II ; son frère, Dymétrius, despote ou prince du Péloponnèse ; sa mère, Irène, fille de Constantin Dragasès, souverain d'une petite contrée de la Macédoine ; sa femme, Marie Comnène, fille d'Alexis, empereur de Trébisonde.

‡ Ces farces dévotes étoient d'usage alors dans l'église Grecque, ainsi que dans la Latine. En France on les appeloit mystères, et c'est le nom que le voyageur donne à celle qu'il vit dans Sainte-Sophie.

palais, et où jadis on faisoit des jeux*. J'y vis le frère de l'empereur, despote de Morée, s'exercer avec une vingtaine d'autres cavaliers. Chacun d'eux avoit un arc : ils couraient à cheval le long de l'enceinte, jetoient leurs chapeaux en avant ; puis, quand ils l'avoient dépassé, ils tiroient par derrière, comme pour le percer, et celui d'entre eux dont la flèche atteignoit le chapeau de plus près étoit réputé le plus habile. C'est-là un exercice qu'ils ont adopté des Turcs, et c'est un de ceux auxquels ils cherchent à se rendre habiles.

De ce côté, près de la pointe de l'angle, est la belle église de Saint-George, qui a, en face de la Turquie, une tour à l'endroit où le passage est le plus étroit.

De l'autre côté, à l'occident, se voit une très-haute colonne carrée portant des caractères tracés, et sur laquelle est une statue équestre de Constantin, en bronze. Il tient un sceptre de la main gauche, et a le bras droit et la main étendus vers la Turquie et le chemin de Jérusalem, comme pour marquer que tout ce pays étoit sous sa loi.

Près de cette colonne il y en a trois autres, placées sur une même ligne, et d'un seul morceau chacune. Celles-ci portoient trois chevaux dorés qui sont maintenant à Venise†.

Dans la jolie église de Panthéocrator, occupée par des religieux caloyers, qui sont ce que nous appellerions en France moines de l'Observance, on montre une pierre ou table de diverses couleurs que Nicodème avoit fait tailler pour placer sur son tombeau, et qui lui servit à poser le corps de Notre-Seigneur quand il le descendit de la croix. Pendant ce temps la Vierge pleuroit sur le corps ; mais ses larmes, au lieu d'y rester, tombèrent toutes sur la pierre, et on les y voit toutes encore. D'abord je crus que c'étoient des gouttes de cire, et j'y portai la main pour les tâter ; je me baissai ensuite, afin de la regarder horizontalement et à contre-jour, et me sembla que c'étoient gouttes d'eau engellées. C'est là une chose que plusieurs personnes ont pu voir comme moi.

Dans la même église sont les tombeaux de Constantin et de sainte Hélène sa mère, placés chacun à la hauteur d'environ huit pieds, sur une colonne qui se termine comme un diamant pointu à quatre faces. On dit que les Vénitiens, pendant qu'ils eurent à Constantinople une grande puissance, tirèrent du tombeau de sainte Hélène son corps, qu'ils emportèrent à Venise, où il est encore tout entier. Ils tentèrent, dit-on, la même chose pour celui de Constantin, mais ils ne purent en venir à bout ; et le fait est assez vraisemblable, puisqu'on y voit encore deux gros morceaux brisés à l'endroit qu'on vouloit rompre. Les deux tombeaux sont couleur de jaspé sur le vermeil, comme une brique (de jaspé rouge).

On montre dans l'église de Sainte-Apostole un tronçon de la colonne à laquelle fut attaché Notre-Seigneur pour être battu de verges chez Pilate. Ce morceau, plus grand que la hauteur d'un homme, est de la même pierre que deux autres que j'ai vus, l'une à Rome, l'autre à Jérusalem ; mais ce dernier excède en grandeur les deux autres ensemble.

Il y a encore dans la même église, et dans des cercueils de bois, plusieurs corps saints qui sont entiers : les voit qui veut. L'un d'eux avoit eu la tête coupée ; on lui en a mis une d'un autre saint. Au reste les Grecs ne portent point à ces reliques le même respect que nous. Il en est de même pour la pierre de Nicodème et la colonne de Notre-Seigneur : celle-ci est seulement couverte d'une enveloppe en planches, et posée debout près d'un pilier, à main droite quand on entre dans l'église par la porte de devant.

Parmi les belles églises je citerai encore comme une des plus remarquables celle qu'on nomme la Blaquerne, parce qu'elle est près du palais impérial, et qui, quoique petite et mal couverte, a des peintures avec pavé et revêtemens en marbre. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'y en ait plusieurs autres également dignes d'être vantées ; mais je n'ai pu les visiter toutes. Les marchands (marchands Latins) en ont une où tous les jours on dit la messe à la romaine. Celle-ci est vis-à-vis le passage de Péra.

La ville a des marchands de plusieurs nations ; mais aucune n'y est aussi puissante que les Vénitiens. Ils y ont un baille (baile) qui connoît seul de toutes leurs affaires, et ne dé-

* L'hippodrome Grec, aujourd'hui l'atméidan des Turcs.

† Il s'agit ici de la Turquie d'Asie. On n'avoit point encore donné ce nom aux provinces que les Turcs possédoient en Europe.

‡ Ils sont maintenant à Paris, et il y en a quatre.

pend ni de l'empereur ni de ses officiers. C'est-là un privilège qu'ils possèdent depuis longtemps* : on dit même que par deux fois ils ont, avec leurs galères, sauvé des Turcs la ville ; pour moi je croy que Dieu l'a plus gardée pour les saintes reliques qui sont dedans que pour autre chose.

Le Turc y entretient aussi un officier pour le commerce qu'y font ses sujets, et cet officier est, de même que le baile, indépendant de l'empereur ; ils y ont même le droit, quand un de leurs esclaves s'échappe et s'y réfugie, de le redemander, et l'empereur est obligé de le leur rendre.

Ce prince est dans une grande sujétion du Turc, puisque annuellement il lui paie, m'a-t-on dit, un tribut de dix mille ducats ; et cette somme est uniquement pour Constantinople : car au-delà de cette ville il ne possède rien qu'un château situé à trois lieues vers le nord, et en Grèce une petite cité nommée Salubrie.

J'étois logé chez un marchand Catalan. Cet homme ayant dit à l'un des gens du palais que j'étois à monseigneur de Bourgogne, l'empereur me fit demander s'il étoit vrai que le duc eût pris la pucelle, ce que les Grecs ne pouvoient croire†. Je leur en dys la vérité tout ainsi que la chose avoit esté ; de quoy ils furent bien esmerveillés.

Le jour de la Chandeleur, les marchands me prévinrent que, l'après-dinée, il devoit y avoir au palais un office solennel pareil à celui que nous faisons ce jour-là ; et ils m'y conduisirent. L'empereur étoit à l'extrémité d'une salle, assis sur une couche (un coussin) : l'impératrice vit la cérémonie d'une pièce supérieure ; et sont les chappellains qui chantent l'office, estrangement vêtus et habillés, et chantent par cuer, selon leurs lois.

Quelques jours après, on me mena voir également une fête qui avoit lieu pour le mariage d'un des parens de l'empereur. Il y eut une joute à la manière du pays, et cette joute me parut bien étrange. La voici :

Au milieu d'une place on avoit planté, en guise de quintaine, un grand pieu auquel étoit attachée une planche large de trois pieds, sur cinq de long. Une quarantaine de cavaliers arrivèrent sur le lieu sans aucune pièce quelconque d'armure, et sans autre arme qu'un petit bâton.

D'abord ils s'amuserent à courir les uns après les autres, et cette manœuvre dura environ une demi-heure. On apporta ensuite soixante à quatre-vingts perches d'aune, telles et plus longues encore que celles dont nous nous servons pour les couvertures de nos toits en chaume. Le marié en prit une le premier, et il courut ventre à terre vers la planche, pour l'y briser. Elle plioit et branloit dans sa main ; aussi la rompit-il sans effort. Alors s'élevèrent des cris de joie, et les instrumens de musique, qui étoient des nacaires, comme chez les Turcs, se firent entendre. Chacun des autres cavaliers vint de même prendre sa perche et la rompre. Enfin le marié en fit lier ensemble deux, qui à la vérité n'étoient pas trop fortes, et il les brisa encore sans se blesser‡. Ainsi finit la fête, et chacun retourna chez soi sain et sauf. L'empereur et son épouse étoient à une fenêtre pour la voir.

Je m'étois proposé de partir avec ce messire Bénédicte de Fourlino, qui, comme je l'ai dit, étoit envoyé en ambassade vers le Turc par le duc de Milan. Il avoit avec lui un gentilhomme du duc, nommé Jean Visconti, sept autres personnes, et dix chevaux de suite, parce que, quand on voyage en Grèce, il faut porter sans exception tout ce dont on peut avoir besoin.

* Depuis la conquête de l'empire d'Orient par les Latins, en 1204, conquête à laquelle les Vénitiens avoient contribué en grande partie.

† La pucelle d'Orléans, après avoir combattu avec gloire les Anglais et le duc de Bourgogne ligüés contre la France, avoit été faite prisonnière en 1430, par un officier de Jean de Luxembourg, général des troupes du duc, puis vendue par Jean aux Anglais, qui la firent brûler vive l'année suivante. Cette vengeance atroce avoit retenti dans toute l'Europe. A Constantinople le bruit public l'attribuoit au duc ; mais les Grecs ne pouvoient croire qu'un prince chrétien eût été capable d'une pareille horreur, et leur sembloit, dit l'auteur, que c'étoit une chose impossible.

‡ La Brocquière devoit trouver ces joutes ridicules, parce qu'il étoit accoutumé aux tournois de France, où des chevaliers tout couverts de fer se battoient avec des épées, des lances, des massues, et où très-fréquemment il y avoit des hommes tués, blessés ou écrasés sous les pieds des chevaux. C'est ce qui lui fait dire par deux fois que dans la joute des perches il n'y eut personne de blessé.

Je sortis de Constantinople le 23 Janvier 1433, et traversai d'abord Rigory, passage jadis assez fort, et formé par une vallée dans laquelle s'avance un bras de mer qui peut bien avoir vingt milles de longueur. Il y avoit une tour que les Turcs ont abattue. Il y reste un pont, une chaussée et un village de Grecs. Pour arriver à Constantinople par terre on n'a que ce passage, et un autre un peu plus bas que celui-ci, plus fort encore, et sur une rivière qui vient là se jeter dans la mer.

De Rigory j'allai à Thiras, habité pareillement par des Grecs, jadis bonne ville, et passage aussi fort que le précédent, parce qu'il est formé de même par la mer. A chaque bout du pont étoit une grosse tour. La tour et la ville, tout a été détruit par les Turcs.

De Thiras je me rendis à Salubrie. Cette ville, située à deux journées de Constantinople, a un petit port sur le golfe, qui s'étend depuis ce dernier lieu jusqu'à Galipoly. Les Turcs n'ont pu la prendre, quoique du côté de la mer elle ne soit pas forte. Elle appartient à l'empereur, ainsi que le pays jusque-là; mais ce pays, tout ruiné, n'a que des villages pauvres.

De là je vins à Chourleu, jadis considérable, détruit par les Turcs et peuplé de Turcs et de Grecs;

De Chourleu à Mistério, petite place fermée: il n'y a que des Grecs, avec un seul Turc à qui son prince l'a donnée;

De Mistério à Pirgasy, où il ne demeure que des Turcs, et dont les murs sont abattus;

De Pirgasy à Zambry, également détruite;

De Zambry à Andrenopoly (Andrinople), grande ville marchande, bien peuplée, et située sur une très-grosse rivière qu'on nomme la Marisce, à six journées de Constantinople. C'est la plus forte de toutes celles que le Turc possède dans la Grèce, et c'est celle qu'il habite le plus volontiers. Le seigneur ou lieutenant de Grèce (le gouverneur) y fait aussi son séjour, et l'on y trouve plusieurs marchands Vénitiens, Catalans, Génois et Florentins. Depuis Constantinople jusque là, le pays est bon, bien arrosé, mais mal peuplé; il a des vallées fertiles, et produit de tout, excepté du bois.

Le Turc étoit à Lessère, grosse ville en Pyrrhe, près du lieu de Thessalie où se livra la bataille entre César et Pompée, et messire Benedicto prit cette route pour se rendre auprès de lui. Nous passâmes la Marisce en bateaux, et rencontrâmes, à peu de distance, cinquante de ses femmes, accompagnées d'environ seize eunuques, qui nous apprirent qu'ils les conduisoient à Andrinople, où lui-même se proposoit de venir bientôt.

J'allai à Dymodique, bonne ville, fermée d'une double enceinte de murailles. Elle est fortifiée d'un côté par une rivière, et de l'autre par un grand et fort château construit sur une hauteur presque ronde, et qui, dans son circuit, peut bien renfermer trois cents maisons. Le château a un donjon où le Turc, m'a-t-on dit, tient son trésor.

De Dymodique je me rendis à Ypsala, assez grande ville, mais totalement détruite, et où je passai la Marisce une seconde fois*. Elle est à deux journées d'Andrinople. Le pays, dans tout cet espace, est marécageux et difficile pour les chevaux.

Ayne, au-delà d'Ypsala, est sur la mer, à l'embouchure de la Marisce, qui a bien en cet endroit deux milles de large. Au tems de Troye-la-Grant, ce fut une puissante cité, qui avoit son roi: maintenant elle a pour seigneur le frère du seigneur de Matelin, qui est tributaire du Turc.

Sur une butte ronde on y voit un tombeau qu'on dit être celui de Polydore, le plus jeune des fils de Priam. Le père, pendant le siège de Troie, avoit envoyé son fils au roi d'Ayne, avec de grands trésors; mais, après la destruction de la ville, le roi, tant par crainte des Grecs que par convoitise des trésors, fit mourir le jeune prince.

A Ayne je passai la Marisca sur un gros bâtiment, et me rendis à Macry, autre ville maritime, à l'occident de la première, et habitée de Turcs et de Grecs. Elle est près de l'île de Samandra, qui appartient au seigneur d'Ayne, et elle paroît avoir été autrefois très-considérable; maintenant tout y est en ruines, à l'exception d'une partie du château.

* Ici le copiste écrit la Maresce, plus haut il avoit mis Maresche, et plus haut encore Marisce. Ces variations d'orthographe sont infiniment communes dans nos manuscrits, et souvent d'une phrase à l'autre. J'en ai fait la remarque dans mon discours préliminaire.

Caumissin, qu'on trouve ensuite après avoir traversé une montagne, a de bons murs, qui la rendent assez forte, quoique petite. Elle est sur un ruisseau, en beau et plat pays, fermé par d'autres montagnes à l'occident, et ce pays s'étend, dans un espace de cinq à six journées, jusqu'à Lessère.

Missy fut également et forte et bien close; mais une partie de ses murs sont abattus; tout y a été détruit, et elle n'a point d'habitans.

Péritoq, ville ancienne et autrefois considérable, est sur un golfe qui s'avance dans les terres d'environ quarante milles, et qui part de Monte-Santo, où sont tant de caloyers. Elle a des Grecs pour habitans, et pour défense de bonnes murailles, qui cependant sont entamées par de grandes brèches. De là, pour aller à Lessère, le chemin est une grande plaine. C'est près de Lessère, dit-on, que se livra la grande bataille de Thessale (de Pharsale).

Je n'allai point jusqu'à cette dernière ville. Instruits que le Turc étoit en route, nous l'attendîmes à Yamgbatsar, village construit par ses sujets. Il n'arriva que le troisième jour. Son escorte, quand il marchoit, étoit de quatre à cinq cents chevaux; mais comme il aimoit passionnément la chasse au vol, la plus grande partie de cette troupe étoit composée de fauconniers et d'ostriciers (autoursiers), gens dont il faisoit un grand cas, et dont il entretenoit, me dit-on, plus de deux mille. Avec ce goût il ne faisoit que de petites journées, et ses marches n'étoient pour lui qu'un objet d'amusement et de plaisir.

Il entra dans Yamgbatsar avec de la pluie, n'ayant pour cortège qu'une cinquantaine de cavaliers avec douze archers, ses esclaves, qui marchoient à pied devant lui. Son habillement étoit une robe de velours cramoisi, fourrée de martre zibeline, et sur la tête il portoit, comme les Turcs, un chapeau rouge; mais, pour se garantir de la pluie, par-dessus sa robe il en avoit mis une autre de velours, en guise de manteau, selon la mode du pays.

Il campa sous un pavillon qu'on avoit apporté; car nulle part on ne trouve à loger, nulle part on ne trouve de vivres que dans les grandes villes, et, en voyage, chacun est obligé de porter tout ce qui lui est nécessaire. Pour lui, il avoit un grand train de chameaux et d'autres bêtes de somme.

L'après-dînée il sortit pour aller prendre un bain, et je le vis à mon aise. Il étoit à cheval, avec son même chapeau et sa robe cramoisie, accompagné de six personnes à pied; je l'entendis même parler à ses gens, et il me parut avoir la parole lourde. C'est un prince de vingt-huit à trente ans, qui déjà devient très-gras.

L'ambassadeur lui fit demander par un des siens s'il pourroit avoir de lui une audience et lui offrir les présens qu'il apportoit. Il fit réponse qu'allant à ses plaisirs il ne vouloit point entendre parler d'affaires; que d'ailleurs ses bayschas (bachas) étoient absens, et que l'ambassadeur n'avoit qu'à les attendre ou aller l'attendre lui-même dans Andrinople.

Messire Bénédic prit ce dernier parti. En conséquence nous retournâmes à Caumissin, et de là, après avoir repassé la montagne dont j'ai parlé, nous vîmes gagner un passage formé par deux hautes roches entre lesquelles coule une rivière. Pour le garder on avoit construit sur l'une des roches un fort château nommé Coulony, qui maintenant est détruit presque en entier. La montagne est en partie couverte de bois, et habitée par des hommes méchans et assassins.

J'arrivai ainsi à Trajanopoly, ville bâtie par un empereur nommé Trajan, lequel fit beaucoup de choses dignes de mémoire. Il étoit fils de celui qui fonda Andrenopoly. Les Sarrasins disent qu'il avoit une oreille de mouton*.

Sa ville, qui étoit très-grande, est dans le voisinage de la mer et de la Marisce. On n'y voit plus que des ruines, avec quelques habitans. Elle a une montagne au levant et la mer au midi. L'un de ses bains porte le nom d'eau sainte.

* Trajanopoly ne fut point nommée ainsi pour avoir été construite par Trajan, mais parce qu'il y mourut. Elle existoit avant lui, et se nommoit Sélinunte.

Adrien ne fut pas le père de Trajan, mais au contraire son fils adoptif, et c'est par-là qu'il devint son successeur.

Andrinople n'a pas plus été fondée par Adrien que Trajanopoly par Trajan. Un tremblement de terre l'avoit ruinée; il la fit rebâtir et lui donna son nom. On doit excuser ces erreurs dans un auteur du quinzième siècle. Quant à l'oreille de mouton, il en parle comme d'une fable de Sarrasins.

Plus loin est Vyra, ancien château qu'on a démolé en plusieurs endroits. Un Grec m'a dit que l'église avoit trois cents chanoines. Le chœur en subsiste encore, et les Turcs en ont fait une mosquée. Ils ont aussi construit autour du château une grande ville, peuplée maintenant par eux et par des Grecs. Elle est sur une montagne près de la Marise.

Au sortir de Vyra nous recontrâmes le seigneur (gouverneur) de la Grèce, qui, mandé par le Turc, se rendoit auprès de lui avec une troupe de cent vingt chevaux. C'est un bel homme, natif de Bulgarie, et qui a été esclave de son maître; mais comme il a le talent de bien boire, le dit maître lui a donné le gouvernement de Grèce, avec cinquante mille ducats de revenu.

Dymodique, où je revins, me parut plus belle et plus grande encore qu'à mon premier passage; et s'il est vrai que le Turc y a déposé son trésor, assurément il a raison.

Nous fûmes obligés de l'attendre onze jours dans Andrinople. Enfin il arriva le premier de carême. Le grand calife (le muphti), qui est chez eux ce qu'est le pape chez nous, alla au-devant de lui avec tous les notables de la ville: ce qui formoit une troupe très-nombreuse. Il en étoit déjà assez près lorsqu'ils le rencontrèrent, et néanmoins il s'arrêta pour boire et manger, envoya en avant une partie de ses gens, et n'y entra qu'à la nuit.

J'ai eu occasion de me lier, pendant mon séjour à Andrinople, avec plusieurs personnes qui avoient vécu à sa cour, et qui, à portée de le bien connoître, m'ont donné sur lui quelques détails; et d'abord, moi qui l'ai vu plusieurs fois, je dirai que c'est un petit homme, gros et trapu, à physionomie Tartare, visage large et brun, joues élevées, barbe ronde, nez grand et courté, petits yeux; mais il est, m'a-t-on dit, doux, bon, libéral, distribuant volontiers seigneuries et argent.

Ses revenus sont de deux millions et demi de ducats, y compris vingt-cinq mille qu'il perçoit en tributs*. D'ailleurs, quand il leve une armée, non seulement elle ne lui coûte rien; mais il y gagne encore, parce que les troupes qu'on lui amène de Turquie en Grèce[†] paient à Gallipoly le comarch, qui est de trois aspres par homme et de cinq par cheval. Il en est de même au passage de la Dunoë (du Danube). D'ailleurs, quand ses soldats vont en course et qu'ils font des esclaves, il a le droit d'en prendre un sur cinq, à son choix.

Cependant il passe pour ne point aimer la guerre, et cette inculpation me paroît assez fondée. En effet il a jusqu'à présent éprouvé de la part de la chrétienté si peu de résistance que, s'il vouloit employer contre elle la puissance et les revenus dont il jouit, ce lui seroit chose facile d'en conquérir une très-grande partie[‡].

Un de ses goûts favoris est la chasse aux chiens et aux oiseaux. Il a, dit-on, plus de mille chiens et plus de deux mille oiseaux dressés, et de diverses espèces; j'en ai vu moi-même une très-grande partie.

Il aime beaucoup à boire, et aime ceux qui boivent bien. Pour lui, il va sans peine jusqu'à dix ou douze grondils de vin: ce qui fait six ou sept quartes[§]. C'est quand il a bien bu qu'il devient libéral et qu'il distribue ses grands dons: aussi ses gens sont-ils très-aises de le voir demander du vin. L'année dernière il y eut un Maure qui s'avisa de venir le prêcher sur cet objet, et qui lui représenta que cette liqueur étant défendue par le prophète, ceux qui en buvoient n'étoient pas de bons Sarrasins: pour toute réponse il le fit mettre en prison, puis chasser de ses états, avec défense d'y jamais remettre les pieds.

* Il y a ici erreur de copiste sur ces vingt-cinq mille ducats de tributs; la somme est trop foible. On verra plus bas que le despote de Servie en payoit annuellement cinquante mille à lui seul.

† J'ai déjà remarqué que l'auteur appelle Turquie les états que possédoient en Asie les Turcs, et qu'il désigne sous le nom de Grèce ceux qu'ils avoient en-deçà du détroit, et que nous nommons aujourd'hui Turquie d'Europe.

‡ Le sultan dont la Brocquière fait ici mention, et qu'il a désigné ci-devant sous le nom d'Amourat-Bay, est Amurat II, l'un des princes Ottomans les plus célèbres. L'histoire cite de lui plusieurs conquêtes qui à la vérité sont la plupart postérieures au temps dont parle ici la relation. S'il n'en a point fait davantage, c'est qu'il eut en tête Humiade et Scanderberg. D'ailleurs sa gloire fut éclipsée par celle de son fils, le fameux Mahomet II, la terreur des chrétiens, surnommé le grand par sa nation, et qui, vingt ans après, en 1453, prit Constantinople et détruisit le peu qui subsistoit encore de l'empire Grec.

§ La quarte s'appeloit ainsi, parce qu'elle étoit le quart du chenet, qui contenoit quatre pots et une pinte. Le pot étoit de deux pintes, et par conséquent la quarte faisoit deux bouteilles, plus un demi-setier; et douze grondils, vingt-trois bouteilles.

Au goût pour les femmes il joint celui des jeunes garçons. Il a trois cents des premières et une trentaine des autres; mais il se plaît davantage avec ceux-ci. Quand ils sont grands il les récompense par de riches dons et des seigneuries: il y en a un auquel il a donné en mariage l'une de ses sœurs, avec vingt-cinq mille ducats de revenu.

Certaines personnes font monter son trésor à un demi-million de ducats, d'autres à un million. Il en a en outre un second, qui consiste en esclaves, en vaisselle, et principalement en joyaux pour ses femmes. Ce dernier article est estimé seul un million d'or. Moi, je suis convaincu que s'il tenoit sa main fermée pendant un an, et qu'il s'abstînt de donner ainsi à l'aveugle, il épargneroit un million de ducats sans faire tort à personne.

De temps en temps il fait de grands exemples de justice bien remarquables; ce qui lui procure d'être parfaitement obéi tant dans son intérieur qu'au-dehors. D'ailleurs il sait maintenir son pays dans un excellent état de défense, et il n'emploie vis-à-vis de ses sujets Turcs ni taille ni aucun genre d'extorsion*.

Sa maison est composée de cinq mille personnes tant à pied qu'à cheval; mais à l'armée il n'augmente en rien leurs gages: de sorte qu'en guerre il ne dépense pas plus qu'en paix.

Ses principaux officiers sont trois baschas ou visiers-bachas (visirs-bachas.) Le visir est un conseiller; le bacha, une sorte de chef ou ordonnateur. Ces trois personnages sont chargés de tout ce qui concerne sa personne ou sa maison, et on ne peut lui parler que par leur entremise. Quand il est en Grèce, c'est le seigneur de Grèce (le gouverneur) qui a l'inspection sur les gens de guerre; quand il est en Turquie, c'est le seigneur de Turquie.

Il a donné de grandes seigneuries; mais il peut les retirer à son gré. D'ailleurs ceux auxquels il les accorde sont tenus de le servir en guerre avec un certain nombre de troupes à leurs frais. C'est ainsi que, tous les ans, ceux de Grèce lui fournissent trente mille hommes qu'il peut employer et conduire par-tout où bon lui semble; et ceux de Turquie dix mille, auxquels il n'a que des vivres à fournir. Veut-il former une armée plus considérable, la Grèce seule, m'a-t-on dit, peut alors lui donner cent vingt mille hommes; mais ceux-ci, il est obligé de les soudoyer. La paie est de cinq aspres pour un fantassin, de huit pour un cavalier.

Cependant j'ai entendu dire que sur ces cent vingt mille hommes il n'y en avoit que la moitié, c'est-à-dire les gens de cheval, qui fussent en bon état, bien armés de tarquais et d'épée; le reste est composé de gens de pied mal équipés. Celui d'entre eux qui a une épée n'a point d'arc, celui qui a un arc n'a ni épée ni arme quelconque, beaucoup même n'ont qu'un bâton. Et il en est ainsi des piétons que fournit la Turquie: la moitié n'est armée que de bâtons; cependant ces piétons Turcs sont plus estimés que les Grecs, et meilleurs soldats.

D'autres personnes dont je regarde le témoignage comme véritable m'ont dit depuis que les troupes qu'annuellement la Turquie est obligée de fournir quand le seigneur veut former son armée, montent à trente mille hommes, et celles de Grèce à vingt mille, sans compter deux ou trois mille esclaves qui sont à lui, et qu'il arme bien.

Parmi ces esclaves il y a beaucoup de chrétiens. Il y en a aussi beaucoup dans les troupes Grecques; les uns Albaniens, les autres Bulgares ou d'autres contrées. C'est ainsi que dans la dernière armée de Grèce il se trouva trois mille chevaux de Serbie, que le despote de cette province envoya sous le commandement d'un de ses fils. C'est bien à regret que tous ces gens-là viennent le servir; mais ils n'oseroient refuser.

Les bachas arrivèrent à Andrinople trois jours après leur seigneur, et ils y amenoient avec eux une partie de ses gens et de son bagage. Ce bagage consiste en une centaine de chameaux et deux cents cinquante, tant mulets que somniers, parce que la nation ne fait point usage de chariots.

* Ceci est une satire indirecte des gouvernemens d'Europe, où chaque jour les rois, et même les seigneurs particuliers, vexoient ce qu'ils appeloient leurs hommes ou leurs sujets par des tailles arbitraires et des milliers d'impôts dont les noms étoient aussi bizarres que l'assiette et la perception en étoient abusives.

Messire Bénédicte, qui desiroit avoir de lui une audience, fit demander aux bachas s'il pouvoit les voir, et ils répondirent que non. La raison de ce refus étoit qu'ils avoient bu avec leur seigneur, et qu'ils étoient ivres ainsi que lui. Cependant ils envoyèrent le lendemain chez l'ambassadeur pour le prévenir qu'ils étoient visibles, et il se rendit aussitôt chez chacun d'eux avec des présens : telle est la coutume ; on ne peut leur parler sans apporter quelque chose, et il en est de même pour les esclaves qui gardent leurs portes. Je l'accompagnai dans cette visite.

Le jour suivant, dans l'après-dînée, ils lui firent dire qu'il pouvoit venir au palais. Il monta aussitôt à cheval pour s'y rendre avec sa suite, et je me joignis à elle : mais nous étions tous à pied ; lui seul avoit un cheval.

Devant la cour nous trouvâmes une grande quantité d'hommes et de chevaux. La porte étoit gardée par une trentaine d'esclaves sous le gouvernement d'un chef, et armés de bâtons. Si quelqu'un se présente pour entrer sans permission, ils lui disent de se retirer ; s'il insiste, ils le chassent à coups de bâton.

Ce que nous appelons la cour du roi, les Turcs l'appellent porte du seigneur. Toutes les fois que le seigneur reçoit un message ou ambassade, ce qui lui arrive presque tous les jours, il fait porte. Faire porte est pour lui ce qu'est pour nos rois de France tenir état royal et cour ouverte, quoique cependant il y ait entre les deux cérémonies beaucoup de différence, comme je le dirai tout-à-l'heure.

Quand l'ambassadeur fut entré on le fit asseoir près de la porte avec beaucoup d'autres personnes qui attendoient que le maître sortît de sa chambre pour faire porte. D'abord les trois bachas entrèrent avec le gouverneur de Grèce et autres qu'ils appellent seigneurs. Sa chambre donnoit sur une très-grande cour. Le gouverneur alla l'y attendre. Il parut.

Son vêtement étoit, selon l'usage, une robe de satin cramoisi, par-dessus laquelle il en avoit, comme manteau, une autre de satin vert à figures, fourrée de martre zibeline. Ses jeunes garçons l'accompagnoient ; mais ils ne le suivirent que jusqu'à l'entrée de la pièce, et rentrèrent. Il ne resta près de lui qu'un petit nain et deux jeunes gens qui faisoient les fous*.

Il traversa l'angle de la cour, et vint dans une galerie où l'on avoit préparé un siège pour lui. C'étoit une sorte de couche couverte en velours (un sofa), où il avoit quatre ou cinq degrés à monter. Il alla s'y asseoir à la manière Turque, comme nos tailleurs quand ils travaillent, et aussitôt les trois bachas vinrent prendre place à peu de distance de lui. Les autres officiers qui dans ces jours-là font partie de son cortège entrèrent également dans la galerie, et ils allèrent se ranger le long des murs, aussi loin de lui qu'ils le purent. En dehors, mais en face, étoient assis vingt gentilshommes Valaques, détenus à sa suite comme otages du pays. Dans l'intérieur de la salle on avoit placé une centaine de grands plats d'étain, qui chacun contenoient une pièce de mouton et du riz.

Quand tout le monde fut placé on fit entrer un seigneur du royaume de Bossène (Bosnie), lequel prétendoit que la couronne de ce pays lui appartenait : en conséquence il étoit venu en faire hommage au Turc et lui demander du secours contre le roi. On le mena prendre place auprès des bachas ; on introduisit ses gens, et l'on fit venir l'ambassadeur du duc de Milan.

Il partit suivi de ses présens, qu'on alla placer près des plats d'étain. Là, des gens proposés pour les recevoir, les prirent et les levèrent au-dessus de leurs têtes aussi haut qu'ils le purent, afin que le seigneur et sa cour pussent les voir. Pendant ce temps, messire Bénédicte avançoit lentement vers la galerie. Un homme de distinction vint au-devant de lui pour l'y introduire. En entrant il fit une révérence sans ôter l'aumusse qu'il avoit sur la tête ; arrivé près des degrés, il en fit une autre très-profonde.

Alors le seigneur se leva : il descendit deux marches pour s'approcher de l'ambassadeur,

* L'usage d'avoir des nains et des fous étoit très-ancien dans les cours d'Orient. Il avoit passé avec les croisades dans celles des princes chrétiens d'Europe, et dura en France, pour les fous, jusqu'à Louis XIV.

et le prit par la main. Celui-ci voulut lui baiser la sienne ; mais il s'y refusa, et demanda, par la voie d'un interprète Juif qui savoit le Turc et l'Italien, comment se portoit son bon frère et voisin le duc de Milan. L'ambassadeur répondit à cette question ; après quoi on le mena prendre place près du Bosnien, mais à reculons, selon l'usage, et toujours le visage tourné vers le prince.

Le seigneur attendit, pour se rasseoir, qu'il fût assis. Alors les diverses personnes de service qui étoient dans la salle se mirent par terre, et l'introducteur qui l'avoit fait entrer alla nous chercher, nous autres qui formions sa suite, et il nous plaça près des Bosniens.

Pendant ce temps on attachoit au seigneur une serviette en soie ; on plaçoit devant lui une pièce de cuir rouge, ronde et mince, parce que leur coutume est de ne manger que sur des nappes de cuir ; puis on lui apporta de la viande cuite, sur deux plats dorés. Lorsqu'il fut servi, les gens de service allèrent prendre les plats d'étain dont j'ai parlé, et ils les distribuèrent par la salle aux personnes qui s'y trouvoient : un plat pour quatre. Il y avoit dans chacun un morceau de mouton et du riz clair, mais point de pain et rien à boire. Cependant j'aperçus dans un coin de la cour un haut buffet à gradins qui portoit un peu de vaisselle, et au pied duquel étoit un grand vase d'argent en forme de calice. Je vis plusieurs gens y boire ; mais j'ignore si c'étoit de l'eau ou du vin.

Quant à la viande des plats, quelques-uns y goûtèrent ; d'autres, non : mais, avant qu'ils fussent tous servis, il fallut desservir, parce que le maître n'avoit point voulu manger. Jamais il ne prend rien en public, et il y a très-peu de personnes qui puissent se vanter de l'avoir entendu parler, ou vu manger ou boire.

Il sortit, et alors se firent entendre des ménestrels (musiciens) qui étoient dans la cour, près du buffet. Ils touchèrent des instrumens et chantèrent des chansons de gestes, dans lesquelles ils célébroient les grandes actions des guerriers Turcs. A mesure que ceux de la galerie entendoient quelque chose qui leur plaisoit, ils pousoient à leur manière des cris épouvantables. J'ignoreis quels étoient les instrumens dont on jouoit : j'allai dans la cour, et je vis qu'ils étoient à cordes et fort grands. Les ménestrels vinrent dans la salle, où ils mangèrent ce qui s'y trouvoit. Enfin on desservit ; chacun se leva, et l'ambassadeur se retira sans avoir dit un mot de son ambassade : ce qui, pour la première audience, est de coutume.

Une autre coutume encore est que quand un ambassadeur a été présenté au seigneur, celui-ci, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait fait sa réponse, lui envoie de quoi fournir à sa dépense ; et cette somme est de deux cents aspres. Le lendemain donc un des gens du trésorier, celui-là même qui étoit venu prendre messire Bénédicte pour le conduire à la cour, vint lui apporter la somme ; mais peu après les esclaves qui gardent la porte vinrent chercher ce qu'en pareil cas il est d'usage de leur donner, et au reste ils se contentent de peu.

Le troisième jour, les bachas lui firent savoir qu'ils étoient prêts à apprendre de lui le sujet qui l'amenoit. Il se rendit aussitôt à la cour, et je l'y accompagnai. Déjà le maître avoit tenu son audience ; il venoit de se retirer, et les bachas seuls étoient restés avec le béguelar ou seigneur de Grèce. Quand nous eûmes passé la porte nous les trouvâmes tous quatre assis en dehors de la galerie, sur une pièce de bois qui se trouvoit là. Ils envoyèrent dire à l'ambassadeur d'approcher. On mit par terre, devant eux, un tapis, et ils l'y firent asseoir comme un criminel qui est devant son juge. Cependant il y avoit dans le lieu une assez grande quantité de monde.

Il leur exposa le sujet de sa mission, qui consistoit, m'a-t-on dit, à prier leur maître, de la part du duc de Milan, de vouloir bien abandonner à l'empereur Romain Sigismond la Hongrie, la Valachie, toute la Bulgarie jusqu'à Sophie, le royaume de Bosnie, et la partie qu'il possédoit d'Albanie dépendante d'Esclavonie. Ils répondirent qu'ils ne pouvoient pour le moment en instruire leur seigneur, parce qu'il étoit occupé ; mais que dans dix jours ils feroient connoître sa réponse, s'il la leur avoit donnée. C'est encore là une chose d'usage, que dès le moment où un ambassadeur est annoncé tel, il ne peut plus parler au prince ; et ce règlement a lieu depuis que le grand-père de celui-ci a péri de la main d'un ambassadeur de Servie. L'envoyé étoit venu solliciter auprès de lui quelque adoucissement en faveur de ses compatriotes,

compatriotes, que le prince vouloit réduire en servitude. Désespéré de ne pouvoir rien obtenir, il le tua, et fut lui-même massacré à l'instant*.

Le dixième jour, nous allâmes à la cour chercher réponse. Le seigneur étoit, comme la première fois, sur son siège; mais il n'y avoit avec lui dans la galerie que ceux de ses gens qui lui servoient à manger. Je n'y vis ni buffet, ni ménestrels, ni le seigneur de Bosnie, ni les Valaques; mais seulement Magnoly, frère du duc de Chifalonie (Céphalonie), qui se conduisit envers le prince comme un serviteur bien respectueux. Les bachas eux-mêmes étoient en dehors, debout et fort loin, ainsi que la plupart des personnes que j'avois vues autrefois dans l'intérieur; encore leur nombre étoit-il beaucoup moindre.

On nous fit attendre en dehors. Pendant ce temps, le grand cadî, avec ses autres associés, rendoit justice à la porte extérieure de la cour, et j'y vis venir devant lui des chrétiens étrangers pour plaider leur cause. Mais quand le seigneur se leva, les juges levèrent aussi leur séance, et se retirèrent chez eux.

Pour lui, je le vis passer avec tout son cortège dans la grande cour; ce que je n'avois pu voir la première fois. Il portoit un robe de drap d'or, verte et peu riche, et il me parut avoir la démarche vive.

Dès qu'il fut rentré dans sa chambre, les bachas, assis, comme la fois précédente, sur la pièce de bois, firent venir l'ambassadeur. Leur réponse fut que leur maître le chargeoit de saluer pour lui son frère le duc de Milan; qu'il désireroit faire beaucoup en sa faveur, mais que sa demande en ce moment n'étoit point raisonnable; que, par égard pour lui, leur dit seigneur s'étoit souvent abstenu de faire dans le royaume de Hongrie de grandes conquêtes, qui d'ailleurs lui eussent peu coûté, et que ce sacrifice devoit suffire; que ce seroit pour lui chose fort dure de rendre ce qu'il avoit gagné par l'épée; que, dans les circonstances présentes, lui et ses soldats n'avoient, pour occuper leur courage, que les possessions de l'empereur, et qu'ils y renonçoient d'autant moins que jusqu'alors ils ne s'étoient jamais trouvés en présence sans l'avoir battu ou vu fuir, comme tout le monde le savoit.

En effet, l'ambassadeur étoit instruit de ces détails. A la dernière défaite qu'éprouva Sigismond devant Couloubath, il avoit été témoin de son désastre; il avoit même, la veille de la bataille, quitté son camp pour se rendre auprès du Turc. Dans nos entretiens il me conta sur tout cela beaucoup de particularités. Je vis également deux arbalétriers Génois qui s'étoient trouvés à ce combat, et qui me racontèrent comment l'empereur et son armée repassèrent le Danube sur ces galères.

Après avoir reçu la réponse des bachas, l'ambassadeur revint chez lui; mais à peine y étoit-il arrivé qu'il reçut, de la part du seigneur, cinq mille aspres avec une robe de camocas cramoisi, doublée de boccassin jaune. Trente-six aspres valent un ducat de Venise; mais sur les cinq mille le trésorier qui les délivra en retint dix par cent pour droits de sa charge.

Je vis aussi pendant mon séjour à Andrinople un présent d'un autre genre, fait également par le seigneur à une mariée, le jour de ses noces. Cette mariée étoit la fille du béguelar-bay, gouverneur de la Grèce, et c'étoit la fille d'un des bachas qui, accompagnée de trente et quelques autres femmes, avoit été chargée de le présenter. Son vêtement étoit un tissu

* Le grand-père d'Amurath II est Bajazet I^{er}, qui mourut prisonnier de Tamerlan, soit qu'il ait été traité avec égards par son vainqueur, comme le veulent certains écrivains, soit qu'il ait péri dans une cage de fer, comme le prétendent d'autres: ainsi l'historiette de l'ambassadeur de Serbie ne peut le regarder. Mais on lit dans la vie d'Amurath I^{er}, père de Bajazet, et par conséquent bisaïeul d'Amurath II, un fait qui a pu donner lieu à la fable de l'assassinat. Ce prince, en 1389, venoit de remporter sur le despote de Serbie une victoire signalée dans laquelle il l'avoit fait prisonnier, et il parcourait le champ de bataille quand, passant auprès d'un soldat Tréballyen blessé à mort, celui-ci le reconnoît, ranime ses forces et le poignarde.

Selon d'autres auteurs, le despote, qui se nommoit Lazare ou Eléazar Bulcowitz, se voit attaqué par une puissante armée d'Amurath. Hors d'état de résister, il emploie la trahison: il gagne un des grands seigneurs de sa cour, qui feint de passer dans le parti du sultan, et l'assassine. (Ducange, Famille: Bisant. p. 334.)

Enfin, selon une autre relation, Amurath fut tué dans le combat; mais Lazare, fait prisonnier par les Turcs, est par eux coupé en morceaux sur le cadavre sanglant de leur maître.

Il paroît, d'après le récit de la Brocquière, que la version de l'assassinat du sultan par le Servien est la véritable. C'est au moins ce que paroissent prouver les précautions prises à la cour Ottomane contre les ambassadeurs étrangers. Aujourd'hui encore, quand ils paroissent devant le souverain, on les tient par la manche.

d'or

d'or cramoisi, et elle avoit le visage couvert, selon l'usage de la nation, d'un voile très-riche et orné de pierreries. Les dames portoient de même de magnifiques voiles, et pour habillement les unes avoient des robes de velours cramoisi, les autres des robes de drap d'or sans fourrures. Toutes étoient à cheval, jambe de-çà, jambe de-là, comme des hommes, et plusieurs avoient de superbes selles.

En avant et à la tête de la troupe marchaient treize ou quatorze cavaliers et deux ménestrels, également à cheval, ainsi que quelques autres musiciens qui portoient une trompette, un très-grand tambour et environ huit paires de timbales. Tout cela faisoit un bruit affreux. Après les musiciens venoit le présent, et après le présent, les dames.

Ce présent consistoit en soixante-dix grands plateaux d'étain chargés de différentes sortes de confitures et de compotes, et vingt-huit autres dont chacun portoit un mouton écorché. Les moutons étoient peints en blanc et en rouge, et tous avoient un anneau d'argent suspendu au nez et deux autres aux oreilles.

J'eus occasion de voir aussi dans Andrinople des chaînes de chrétiens qu'on amenoit vendre. Ils demandoient l'aumône dans les rues. Mais le cœur saigne quand on songe à tout ce qu'ils souffrent de maux.

Nous quittâmes la ville le 12 de Mars, sous la conduite d'un esclave que le seigneur avoit donné à l'ambassadeur pour l'accompagner. Cet homme nous fut en route d'une grande utilité, sur-tout pour les logemens; car par-tout où il demandoit quelque chose pour nous, à l'instant on s'empressoit de nous l'accorder.

Notre première journée fut à travers un beau pays, en remontant le long de la Marisce, que nous passâmes à un bac. La seconde, quoiqu'avec bons chemins, fut employée à traverser des bois. Enfin nous entrâmes dans le pays de Macédoine. Là je trouvai une grande plaine entre deux montagnes, laquelle peut bien avoir quarante milles de large, et qui est arrosée par la Marisce. J'y rencontrai quinze hommes et dix femmes enchaînés par le cou. C'étoient des habitans du royaume de Bosnie que des Turcs venoient d'enlever dans une course qu'ils avoient faite. Deux d'entre eux les menoient vendre dans Andrinople.

Peu après j'arrivai à Phéropoly*, capitale de la Macédoine, et bâtie par le roi Philippe. Elle est sur la Marisce, dans une grande plaine et un excellent pays, où l'on trouve toutes sortes de vivres et à bon compte. Ce fut jadis une ville considérable, et elle l'est encore. Elle renferme trois montagnes, dont deux sont à une extrémité vers le midi, et l'autre au centre. Sur celle-ci étoit construit un grand château en forme de croissant allongé; mais il a été détruit. On me montra l'emplacement du palais du roi Philippe, qu'on a de même démoli, et dont les murs subsistent encore. Philippopoli est peuplée en grande partie de Bulgares qui tiennent la loi Grégoise (qui suivent la religion Grecque).

Pour en sortir je passai la Marisce sur un pont, et chevauchai pendant une journée toute entière à travers cette plaine dont j'ai parlé; elle aboutit à une montagne longue de seize à vingt milles, et couverte de bois. Ce lieu étoit autrefois infesté de voleurs, et très-dangereux à passer. Le Turc a ordonné que quiconque y habiteroit fût Franc, et en conséquence il s'y est élevé deux villages peuplés de Bulgares, et dont l'un est sur les confins de Bulgarie et de Macédoine. Je passai la nuit dans le premier.

Après avoir traversé la montagne, on trouve une plaine de six milles de long sur deux de large; puis une forêt qui peut bien en avoir seize de longueur; puis une autre grande plaine totalement close de montagnes, bien peuplée de Bulgares, et où l'on a une rivière à traverser. Enfin j'arrivai en trois jours à une ville nommée Sophie, qui fut autrefois très-considérable, ainsi qu'on le voit par les débris de ses murs rasés jusqu'à terre, et qui aujourd'hui encore est la meilleure de la Bulgarie. Elle a un petit château, et se trouve assez près d'une montagne au midi, mais située au commencement d'une grande plaine d'environ soixante milles de long sur dix de large. Ses habitans sont, pour la plupart des Bulgares, et il en est

* C'est une erreur de copiste: lui-même, quelques lignes plus bas, a écrit Phélippopoli, et en effet c'est de Phélippopoli qu'il est mention.

de même des villages. Les Turcs n'y forment que le très-petit nombre; ce qui donne aux autres un grand désir de se tirer de servitude, s'ils pouvoient trouver qui les aidât.

J'y vis arriver des Turcs qui venoient de faire une course en Hongrie. Un Génois qui se trouvoit dans la ville, et qu'on nomme Nicolas Ciba, me raconta qu'il avoit vu revenir également ceux qui repassèrent le Danube, et qui sur dix il n'y en avoit pas un qui eût à la fois un arc et une épée. Pour moi, je dirai que parmi ceux-ci j'en trouvai beaucoup plus n'ayant ou qu'un arc ou qu'une épée seulement, que de ceux qui eussent les deux armes ensemble. Les mieux fournis portoient une petite targe (bouclier) en bois. En vérité, c'est pour la chrétienté une grande honte, il faut en convenir, qu'elle se laisse subjuguier par de telles gens. Ils sont bien au-dessous de ce qu'on les croit.

En sortant de Sophie je traversai pendant cinquante milles cette plaine dont j'ai fait mention. Le pays est bien peuplé, et les habitans sont des Bulgares de religion Grecque. J'eus ensuite un pays de montagnes, qui cependant est assez bon pour le cheval; puis je trouvai en plaine une très-petite ville nommée Pirotte, située sur la Nissave. Elle n'est point fermée; mais elle a un petit château qui, d'une part est défendu par la rivière, et de l'autre par un marais. Au nord est une montagne. Il n'y a d'habitans que quelques Turcs.

Au-delà de Pirotte on retrouve un pays montagneux; après quoi l'on revient sur ces pas pour se rapprocher de la Nissave, qui traverse une belle vallée entre deux assez hautes montagnes. Au pied d'une des deux étoit la ville d'Ysvourière, aujourd'hui totalement détruite, ainsi que ses murs. On côtoie ensuite la rivière, en suivant la vallée; on trouve une autre montagne dont le passage est difficile, quoiqu'il y passe chars et charrettes. Enfin on arrive dans une vallée agréable qu'arrose encore la Nissave; et après avoir traversé la rivière sur un pont, on entre dans Nisce (Nissa).

Cette ville, qui avoit un beau château, appartenoit au despote de Servie. Le Turc l'a prise de force il y a cinq ans, et il l'a entièrement détruite; elle est dans un canton charmant qui produit beaucoup de riz. Je continuai par-delà Nissa de côtoyer la rivière; et le pays, toujours également beau, est bien garni de villages. Enfin je la passai à un bac, où je l'abandonnai. Alors commencèrent des montagnes. J'eus à traverser une longue forêt fangeuse, et, après dix journées de marche depuis Andrinople, j'arrivai à Corsebech, petite ville à un mille de la Morave (Morave.)

La Morave est une grosse rivière qui vient de Bosnie. Elle sépare la Bulgarie d'avec la Rascie ou Servie, province qui porte également ces deux noms, et que le Turc a conquise depuis six ans.

Pour Corsebech, il avoit un petit château qu'on a détruit. Il a encore une double enceinte de murs; mais on en a démoli la partie supérieure jusqu'au-dessous des créneaux.

J'y trouvai Cénamin-Bay, capitaine (commandant) de ce vaste pays frontière, qui s'étend depuis la Valaquie jusqu'en Esclavonie. Il passe dans la ville une partie de l'année. On m'a dit qu'il étoit né Grec, qu'il ne boit point de vin, comme les autres Turcs, et que c'est un homme sage et vaillant, qui s'est fait craindre et obéir. Le Turc lui a confié le commandement de cette contrée, et il en possède en seigneurie la plus grande partie. Il ne laisse passer la rivière qu'à ceux qu'il connoît, à moins qu'ils ne soient porteurs d'une lettre du maître, ou, en son absence, du seigneur de la Grèce.

Nous vîmes là une belle personne, genti-femme du royaume de Hongrie, dont la situation nous inspira bien de la pitié. Un renégat Hongrois, homme du plus bas état, l'avoit enlevée dans une course, et il en usoit comme de sa femme. Quand elle nous aperçut elle fondit en larmes; car elle n'avoit pas encore renoncé à sa religion.

Au sortir de Corsebech, je traversai la Morave à un bac, et j'entrai sur les terres du despote de Rascie ou de Servie, pays beau et peuplé. Ce qui est en-deçà de la rivière lui appartient, ce qui se trouve au-delà est au Turc; mais le despote lui paie annuellement cinquante mille ducats de tribut.

Celui-ci possède sur la rivière et aux confins communs de Bulgarie, d'Esclavonie, d'Albanie et de Bosnie, une ville nommée Nyeuberger, qui a une mine portant or et argent tout à la fois.

fois. Chaque année elle lui donne plus de deux cent mille ducats, m'ont dit gens qui sont bien instruits : sans cela il ne seroit pas long-temps à être chassé de son pays.

Sur ma route je passai près du château d'Escalache, qui lui appartenait. C'étoit une forte place, sur la pointe d'une montagne au pied de laquelle la Nissane se jette dans la Morave. On y voit encore une partie de murs avec une tour en forme de donjon ; mais c'est tout ce qui en reste.

A cette embouchure des deux rivières le Turc tient habituellement quatre-vingts ou cent fustes, galiottes et gripperies, pour passer, en temps de guerre, sa cavalerie et son armée. Je n'ai pu les voir, parce qu'on ne permet point aux chrétiens d'en approcher ; mais un homme digne de foi m'a dit qu'il y a toujours, pour les garder, un corps de trois cents hommes, et que ce corps est renouvelé de deux en deux mois.

D'Escalache au Danube il y a bien cent milles, et néanmoins, dans toute la longueur de cet espace, il n'existe d'autre forteresse ou lieu de quelque défense qu'un village et une maison que Cénaym-Bay a fait construire sur le penchant d'une montagne, avec une mosquée.

Je suivis le cours de la Morave ; et, à l'exception d'un passage très-houeux qui dure près d'un mille, et que forme le resserrement de la rivière par une montagne, j'eus beau chemin et pays agréable et bien peuplé. Il n'en fut pas de même à la seconde journée : j'eus des bois, des montagnes, beaucoup de fange ; néanmoins le pays continua d'être aussi beau que peut l'être un pays de montagnes. Il est bien garni de villages, et par-tout on y trouve tout ce dont on a besoin.

Depuis que nous avons mis le pied en Macédoine, en Bulgarie et en Russie, sans cesse sur notre passage j'avois trouvé que le Turc faisoit crier son est, c'est-à-dire qu'il faisoit annoncer que quiconque est tenu de se rendre à l'armée, se tint prêt à marcher. On nous dit que ceux qui, pour satisfaire à ce devoir, nourrissent un cheval sont exempts du comarch ; que ceux des chrétiens qui veulent être dispensés de service paient cinquante aspres par tête, et que d'autres y marchent forcés ; mais qu'on les prend pour augmenter le nombre.

L'on me dit aussi, à la cour du despote, que le Turc a partagé entre trois capitaines la garde et défense de ces provinces frontières. L'un, nommé Dysem-Bay, a depuis les confins de la Valachie jusqu'à la mer Noire ; Cénaym-Bay, depuis la Valachie jusqu'aux confins de Bosnie ; et Ysaac-Bay, depuis ces confins jusqu'à l'Esclavonie, c'est-à-dire tout ce qui est par-delà la Morave.

Pour reprendre le récit de ma route, je dirai que je vins à une ville, ou plutôt à une maison de campagne nommée Nichodem. C'est là que le despote a fixé son séjour, parce que le terroir en est bon, et qu'il y trouve bois, rivières et tout ce qu'il lui faut pour les plaisirs de la chasse et du vol, qu'il aime beaucoup.

Il étoit aux champs et alloit voler sur la rivière, accompagné d'une cinquantaine de chevaux, de trois de ses enfans et d'un Turc qui, de la part du maître, étoit venu le sommer d'envoyer à l'armée un de ses fils avec son contingent. Indépendamment du tribut qu'il paie, c'est-là une des conditions qui lui sont imposées. Toutes les fois que le seigneur lui fait passer ses ordres, il est obligé de lui envoyer mille ou huit cents chevaux sous le commandement de son second fils.

Il a donné à ce maître une de ses filles en mariage, et cependant il n'y a point de jour qu'il ne craigne de se voir enlever par lui ses Etats ; j'ai même entendu dire qu'on en avoit voulu inspirer de l'envie à celui-ci, et qu'il avoit répondu : "J'en tire plus que si je les possédois. Dans ce cas je serois obligé de les donner à l'un de mes esclaves, et je n'en aurois rien."

Les troupes qu'il levoit étoient destinées contre l'Albanie, disoit-on. Déjà il en avoit fait passer dans ce pays dix mille ; et voilà pourquoi il avoit près de lui si peu de monde à Lessère quand je l'y vis : mais cette première armée avoit été détruite*.

* C'est en effet dans cette même année 1433 que le célèbre Scanderberg, après être rentré par ruse en possession de l'Albanie, dont ses ancêtres étoient souverains, commença contre Amurath cette guerre savante qui le couvrit de gloire et qui termina les dernières années du sultan.

Le seigneur despote est un grand et bel homme de cinquante-huit à soixante ans ; il a cinq enfans, trois garçons et deux filles. Des garçons, l'un a vingt ans, l'autre seize, l'autre quatorze, et tous trois sont, comme leur père, d'un extérieur très-agréable. Quant aux filles, l'une est mariée au Turc, l'autre au comte de Seil ; mais je ne les ai point vues, et ne puis rien en dire*.

Lorsque nous le rencontrâmes aux champs, ainsi que je l'ai dit, l'ambassadeur et moi nous lui prîmes la main et je la lui baisai, parce que tel est l'usage. Le lendemain nous allâmes le saluer chez lui. Sa cour, assez nombreuse, étoit composée de très-beaux hommes qui portent longs cheveux et longue barbe, vu qu'ils sont de la religion Grecque. Il y avoit dans la ville un évêque et un maître (docteur) en théologie, qui se rendoient à Constantinople, et qui étoient envoyés en ambassade vers l'empereur par le saint concile de Bâle†.

De Coursebech j'avois mis deux jours pour venir à Nicodem ; de Nicodem à Belgrado j'en mis un demi. Ce ne sont jusqu'à cette dernière ville que grands bois, montagnes et vallées ; mais ces vallées foisonnent de villages dans lesquels on trouve beaucoup de vivres, et spécialement de bons vins.

Belgrade est en Rascie, et elle appartenoit au despote ; mais depuis quatre ans il l'a cédée au roi de Hongrie, parce qu'on a craint qu'il ne la laissât prendre au Turc, comme il a laissé prendre Coulumbach. Cette perte fut un grand malheur pour la chrétienté. L'autre en seroit un plus grand encore, parce que la place est plus forte, et qu'elle peut loger jusqu'à cinq à six mille chevaux‡.

Le long de ses murs, d'un côté, coule une grosse rivière qui vient de Bosnie, et qu'on nomme la Sanne ; de l'autre elle a un château près duquel passe le Danube, et là, dans ce Danube, se jette la Sanne. C'est sur la pointe formée par les deux rivières qu'est bâtie la ville.

Dans le pourtour de son enceinte son terrain a une certaine hauteur, excepté du côté de terre, où il est tellement uni qu'on peut par là venir de plain pied jusqu'au bord du fossé. De ce côté encore il y a un village qui, s'étendant depuis la Sanne jusqu'au Danube, enveloppe la ville à la distance d'un trait d'arc.

Ce village est habité par des Rasciens. Le jour de Pâques j'y entendis la messe en langue Slavonne. Il est dans l'obédience de l'église Romaine, et leurs cérémonies ne diffèrent en rien des nôtres.

La place, forte par sa situation et par ses fossés, tous en glacis, a une enceinte de doubles murs bien entretenus, et qui suivent très-exactement les contours du terrain. Elle est composée de cinq forteresses, dont trois sur le terrain élevé dont je viens de parler, et deux sur la rivière. De ces deux-ci, l'une est fortifiée contre l'autre ; mais toutes deux sont commandées par les trois premières.

Il y a aussi un petit port qui peut contenir quinze à vingt galères, et qui est défendu par une tour construite à chacune de ses extrémités. On le ferme avec une chaîne qui va d'une tour à l'autre. Au moins c'est ce qu'on m'a dit ; car les deux rives sont si éloignées que moi je n'ai pu la voir.

Je vis sur la Sanne six galères et cinq galiottes. Elles étoient près l'une des cinq forteresses, la moins forte de toutes. Dans cette forteresse sont beaucoup de Rasciens ; mais on ne leur permet point d'entrer dans les quatre autres.

* Le despote dont il s'agit se nommoit George Brancovitz ou Wkovitz. On trouve dans Ducange (Familie Bisant. p. 336) quelques détails sur lui et sa famille.

† Ce saint concile, qui finit par citer à son tribunal et déposer le pape, tandis que le pape lui ordonnoit de se dissoudre et en convoquoit un autre à Ferrare, puis à Florence, avoit entrepris de réunir l'église Grecque à la Latine ; et c'est dans ce dessein qu'il députoit vers l'empereur. Celui-ci se rendit effectivement en Italie, et il signa dans Florence cette réunion politique et simulée dont il a été parlé plus haut.

‡ On sera étonné de voir l'auteur, en parlant de la garnison d'une place de guerre, ne faire mention que de chevaux. Ci-dessus, lorsqu'il a spécifié le contingent que le despote étoit obligé de fournir à l'armée Turque, il n'a parlé que de chevaux. Sans cesse il parle de chevaux. C'est qu'alors en Europe on ne faisoit cas que de la gendarmerie, et que l'infanterie ou piétaille, presque toujours mal composée et mal armée, étoit comptée pour très-peu.

Toutes

Toutes cinq sont bien garnies d'artillerie. J'y ai remarqué sur-tout trois bombards de métal (canons de bronze) dont deux étoient de deux pièces*, et l'une d'une telle grosseur que jamais je n'en ai vu de pareille : elle avoit quarante-deux pouces de large dedens où la pierre entre (sa bouche avoit quarante-deux pouces de diamètre) ; mais elle me parut courte pour sa grosseur†.

Le capitaine (commandant) de la place étoit messire Mathico, chevalier de Aragouse (d'Arragon), et il avoit pour lieutenant un sien frère, qu'on appeloit le seigneur frère.

Sur le Danube, deux journées au-dessous de Belgrade, le Turc possède ce château de Coulombach, qu'il a pris au despote. C'est encore une forte place, dit-on, quoique cependant il soit aisé de l'attaquer avec de l'artillerie et de lui fermer tout secours ; ce qui est un grand désavantage. Il y entretient cent fustes pour passer en Hongrie quand il lui plaît. Le capitaine du lieu est ce Ceynam-Bay dont j'ai parlé ci-devant.

Sur le Danube encore, mais à l'opposite de Belgrade, et dans la Hongrie, le despote possède également un ville avec château. Elle lui a été donnée par l'empereur‡, avec plusieurs autres, qui lui font un revenu de cinquante mille ducats, et c'étoit à condition qu'il deviendrait son homme§ ; mais il obéit plus au Turc qu'à l'empereur.

Deux jours après mon arrivée dans Belgrade j'y vis entrer vingt-cinq hommes armés à la manière du pays, que le gouverneur comte Mathico y faisoit venir pour demeurer en garnison. On me dit que c'étoient des Allemands pour garder la place, tandis qu'on avoit si près des Hongrois et des Serviens. On me répondit que les Serviens, étant sujets et tributaires du Turc, on se garderoit bien de la leur confier ; et que quant aux Hongrois, ils le redoutoient tant que s'il paroisoit, ils n'oseroient la défendre contre lui, quelque forte qu'elle fût. Il falloit donc y appeler des étrangers ; et cette mesure devenoit d'autant plus nécessaire que c'étoit la seule place que l'empereur possédât pour passer sur l'autre rive du Danube, ou pour le repasser en cas de besoin.

Ce discours m'étonna beaucoup ; il me fit faire des réflexions sur l'étrange sujettion où le Turc tient la Macédoine et la Bulgarie, l'empereur de Constantinople et les Grecs, le despote de Rascie et ses sujets. Cette dépendance me parut chose lamentable pour la chrétienté. Et comme j'ai vécu avec les Turcs, que je connois leur manière de vivre et de combattre, que j'ai hanté des gens notables qui les ont vus de près dans leurs grandes entreprises, je me suis enhardi à écrire, selon mes lumières, quelque chose sur eux, et à montrer, sauf correction de la part de ceux qui sont plus instruits que moi, comment il est possible de reprendre les états dont ils se sont emparés, et de les battre sur un champ de bataille.

Et d'abord, pour commencer par leur personnel, je dirai que ce sont d'assez beaux hommes, portant tous de longues barbes, mais de moyenne taille et de force médiocre. Je sais bien que, dans le langage ordinaire, on dit fort comme un Turc ; cependant j'ai vu une infinité de chrétiens qui, dans les choses où il faut de la force, l'emportoient sur eux ; et moi-même, qui ne suis pas des plus robustes, j'en ai trouvé, lorsque les circonstances exigeoient quelque travail, de plus foibles que moi encore.

* La remarque que l'auteur fait ici sur ces trois canons sembleroit annoncer que ceux de bronze étoient rares encore, et qu'on les regardoit comme une sorte de merveille. Louis XI en fit fondre une douzaine, auxquels il donna le nom des douze pairs. (Daniel, Mil. Franc. t. I, p. 325.)

† La mode alors étoit de faire des pièces d'artillerie d'une grosseur énorme. Peu de temps après l'époque où écrivoit notre auteur, Mahomet II, assiégeant Constantinople, en employa qui avoient été fondues sur les lieux, et qui portoient, dit-on, deux cents livres de balle. La Chronique scandaleuse et Monstrelet parlent d'une sorte d'obus que Louis XI fit fondre à Tours, puis conduire à Paris, et qui portoit des balles de cinq cents livres. En 1717, le prince Eugène, après sa victoire sur les Turcs, trouva dans Belgrade un canon long de près de vingt-cinq pieds, qui tiroit des boulets de cent dix livres, et dont le charge étoit de cinquante-deux livres de poudre (Ibid. p. 323.) C'étoit encore un usage ordinaire de faire les boulets en grès ou en pierre, arrondis et taillés de calibre pour la pièce. Et voilà pourquoi la Brocquière, parlant de l'embouchure du canon, emploie cette expression, " dedens où la pierre entre".

‡ Sigismond, roi de Bohême et de Hongrie. On prétend que Sigismond ne les donna qu'en échange de Belgrade.

§ Deviendrait son homme. Cette expression de la féodalité du temps indique l'obligation du service militaire et de la fidélité que le vassal devoit à son suzerain.

Ils sont gens diligens, se lèvent matin volontiers, et vivent de peu en campagne; se contentant de pain mal cuit, de chair crue séchée au soleil, de lait soit caillé soit non caillé, de miel, fromage, raisins, fruits, herbages, et même d'une poignée de farine avec laquelle ils feront un brouet qui leur suffira pour un jour à six ou huit. Ont-ils un cheval ou un chameau malade sans espoir de guérison, ils lui coupent la gorge et le mangent. J'en ai été témoin maintes fois. Pour dormir ils ne sont point embarrassés, et couchent par terre.

Leur habillement consiste en deux ou trois robes de coton l'une sur l'autre, et qui descendent jusqu'aux pieds. Par-dessus celles-là ils en portent, en guise de manteau, une autre de feutre qu'on nomme capinat. Le capinat, quoique léger, résiste à la pluie, et il y en a de très-beaux et de très-fins. Ils ont des bottes qui montent jusqu'aux genoux, et de grandes braies (caleçons), qui pour les uns sont de velours cramoisi, pour d'autres de soie, de futaine, d'étoffes communes. En guerre ou en route, pour n'être point embarrassés de leurs robes, ils les relèvent et les enferment dans leurs caleçons; ce qui leur permet d'agir librement.

Leurs chevaux sont bons, coûtent peu à nourrir, courent bien et longtemps; mais ils les tiennent très-maigres et ne les laissent manger que la nuit, encore ne leur donnent-ils alors que cinq ou six jointées d'orge et le double de paille picade (hachée): le tout mis dans une besace qu'ils leur pendent aux oreilles. Au point du jour, ils les brident, les nettoient, les étrillent; mais ils ne les font boire qu'à midi, puis l'après-dîner, toutes les fois qu'ils trouvent de l'eau, et le soir quand ils logent ou campent; car ils campent toujours de bonne heure, et près d'une rivière, s'ils le peuvent. Dans cette dernière circonstance ils les laissent bridés encore pendant une heure, comme les mules. Enfin vient un moment où chacun fait manger le sien.

Pendant la nuit ils les couvrent de feutre ou d'autres étoffes, et j'ai vu de ces couvertures qui étoient très-belles; ils en ont même pour leurs lévriers*, espèce dont ils sont très-curieux, et qui chez eux est belle et forte, quoiqu'elle ait de longues oreilles pendantes et de longues queues feuillées (touffues), que cependant elle porte bien.

Tous leurs chevaux sont Hongres: ils n'en gardent d'entiers que quelques-uns pour servir d'étalons, mais en si petit nombre que je n'en ai pas vu un seul. Du reste ils les sellent et brident à la jennette†. Leurs selles, ordinairement fort riches, sont très-creuses. Elles n'ont qu'un arçon devant, un autre derrière, avec de courtes étrivières et de larges étriers.

Quant à leurs habillemens de guerre, j'ai été deux fois dans le cas de les voir, à l'occasion des Grecs renégats qui renonçoient à leur religion pour embrasser le Mahométisme: alors les Turcs font une grande fête; ils prennent leurs plus belles armes et parcourent la ville en cavalcade aussi nombreuse qu'il leur est possible. Or dans ces circonstances, je les ai vus porter d'assez belles brigandines (cottes d'armes) pareilles aux nôtres, à l'exception que les écailles en étoient plus petites. Leurs garde-bras (brassarts) étoient de même. En un mot ils ressembloient à ces peintures où l'on nous représente les temps de Jules César. La brigandine descend presque à mi-cuisse; mais à son extrémité est attachée circulairement une étoffe de soie qui vient jusqu'à mi-jambe.

Sur la tête ils portent un harnois blanc qui est rond comme elle, et qui, haut de plus d'un demi-pied, se termine en pointe‡. On le garnit de quatre clinques (lames), l'une devant, l'autre derrière, les deux autres sur les côtés, afin de garantir du coup d'épée la face, le cou et les joues. Elles sont pareilles à celles qu'ont en France nos salades§.

Outre cette garniture de tête ils en ont assez communément une autre qu'ils mettent par-

* Le mot *lévrier* n'avait pas alors l'acception exclusive qu'il a aujourd'hui; il se prenoit pour le chien de chasse ordinaire.

† Les mors et les selles à la genette avoient été adoptés en France, et jusqu'au dernier siècle ils furent d'usage dans nos manèges. On disoit monter à la genette quand les jambes étoient si courtes que l'éperon portoit vis-à-vis les flancs du cheval. Le mors à la genette étoit celui qui avoit sa gourmette d'une seule pièce et de la forme d'un grand anneau, mis et arrêté au haut de la liberté de la langue.

‡ Harnois, dans la langue du temps, étoit un terme général qui signifioit à la fois habillement et armure: ici il désigne une sorte de bonnet devenu arme défensive.

§ Salades, sorte de casque léger alors en usage, et qui, n'ayant ni visière ni gorgerin, avoit besoin de cette bande de fer en saillie pour défendre le visage.

dessus leurs chapeaux ou leurs toques : c'est une coiffe de fil d'archal. Il y a de ces coiffes qui sont si riches et si belles qu'elles coûtent jusqu'à quarante et cinquante ducats, tandis que d'autres n'en coûtent qu'un ou deux. Quoique celles-ci soient moins fortes que les autres, elles peuvent résister au coup de taille d'une épée.

J'ai parlé de leurs selles : ils y sont assis comme dans un fauteuil, bien enfoncés, les genoux fort hauts et les étriers courts ; position dans laquelle ils ne pourroient pas supporter le moindre coup de lance sans être jetés bas.

L'arme de ceux qui ont quelque fortune est un arc, un tarquais, une épée et une forte masse à manche court, dont le gros bout est taillé à plusieurs carnes. Ce bâton a du danger quand on l'assène sur des épaules ou des bras dégarnis. Je suis même convaincu qu'un coup bien appuyé sur une tête armée de salade étourdirait l'homme.

Plusieurs portent de petits pavois (boucliers) en bois, et ils savent très-bien s'en couvrir à cheval quand ils tirent de l'arc. C'est ce que m'ont assuré gens qui les ont long-temps pratiqués, et ce que j'ai vu par moi-même.

Leur obéissance aux ordres de leur seigneur est sans bornes. Pas un seul n'oseroit les transgresser quand il s'agiroit de la vie, et c'est principalement à cette soumission constante qu'il doit les grandes choses qu'il a exécutées et ces vastes conquêtes qui l'ont rendu maître d'une étendue de pays beaucoup plus considérable que n'est la France.

On m'a certifié que quand les puissances chrétiennes ont pris les armes contre eux, ils ont toujours été avertis à temps. Dans ce cas, le seigneur fait épier leur marche par des hommes qui sont propres à cette fonction, et il va les attendre avec son armée à deux ou trois journées du lieu où il se propose de les combattre. Croit-il l'occasion favorable, il fond sur eux tout-à-coup, et ils ont pour ces circonstances une sorte de marche qui leur est propre. Le signal est donné par un gros tambour. Alors ceux qui doivent être en tête partent les premiers et sans bruit ; les autres suivent de même en silence, sans que la file soit jamais interrompue, parce que les chevaux et les hommes sont dressés à cet exercice. Dix mille Turcs, en pareil cas, font moins de tapage que ne feroient cent hommes d'armes chrétiens. Dans leurs marches ordinaires, ils ne vont jamais qu'au pas ; mais dans celles-ci ils emploient le galop, et comme d'ailleurs ils sont armés légèrement, ils font du soir au matin autant de chemin qu'en trois de leurs journées communes ; et voilà pourquoi ils ne pourroient porter d'armures complètes, ainsi que les Français et les Italiens : aussi ne veulent-ils en chevaux que ceux qui ont un grand pas ou qui galopent long-temps, tandis que nous il nous les faut trottant bien et aisés.

C'est par ces marches forcées qu'ils ont réussi, dans leurs différentes guerres, à surprendre les chrétiens et à les battre si complètement ; c'est ainsi qu'ils ont vaincu le duc Jean, à qui Dieu veuille pardonner*, et l'empereur Sigismond, et tout récemment encore cet empereur devant Coulmbach, où périt messire Advis, chevalier de Poulaine (Pologne).

Leur manière de combattre varie selon les circonstances. Voient-ils un lieu et une occasion favorables pour attaquer, ils se divisent en plusieurs pelotons, selon la force de leur troupe, et viennent ainsi assaillir par différens côtés. Ce moyen est surtout celui qu'ils emploient en pays de bois et de montagnes, parce qu'ils ont l'art de se réunir sans peine.

D'autres fois ils se mettent en embuscade et envoient à la découverte quelques gens bien montés. Si le rapport est que l'ennemi n'est point sur ses gardes, ils savent prendre leur parti sur-le-champ et tirer avantage des circonstances. Le trouvent-ils en bonne ordonnance, ils voltigent autour de l'armée à la portée du trait, caracolent ainsi en tirant sans cesse aux hommes et aux chevaux, et le font si long-temps qu'enfin ils la mettent en dé-

* Jean, comte de Nevers, surnommé Sans-peur, et fils de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne. Sigismond ayant formé une ligue pour arrêter les conquêtes de Bajazet, notre roi Charles VI lui envoya un corps de troupes dans lequel il y avoit deux mille gentilshommes, et qui étoit conduit par le comte Jean. L'armée chrétienne fut défaite à Nicopolis le 1396, et nos Français tués ou faits prisonniers. On sait qu'avant la bataille, pour se débarrasser de captifs Turcs qu'ils avoient reçus à rançon, ils eurent l'indignité de les égorger, et qu'après la victoire le sultan n'ayant accordé la vie qu'aux principaux d'entre eux, il fit par représailles massacrer devant eux leurs camarades. Jean, devenu duc de Bourgogne, fit lâchement assassiner dans Paris le duc d'Orléans, frère du roi. Il fut tué à son tour par Tannequi du Châtel, ancien officier du duc. On voit par ces faits que la Brocquière avoit grande raison, en parlant de Jean, de demander que Dieu lui pardonnât.

sordre. Si l'on veut les poursuivre et les chasser, il fuient, et se dispersent chacun de leur côté, quand même on ne leur opposeroit que le quart de ce qu'ils sont; mais c'est dans leur fuite qu'ils sont redoutables, et c'est presque toujours ainsi qu'ils ont déconfi les chrétiens. Tout en fuyant ils ont l'art de tirer de l'arc si adroitement qu'ils ne manquent jamais d'atteindre le cavalier ou le cheval.

D'ailleurs chacun d'eux porte attaché à l'arçon de sa selle un tabolcan. Si le chef ou quelqu'un des officiers s'aperçoit que l'ennemi qui poursuit est en désordre, il frappe trois coups sur son instrument; chacun de son côté et de loin en loin en fait autant: en un instant tous se rassemblent autour du chef, "comme pourceaux au cry l'un de l'autre," et, selon les circonstances, ils reçoivent en bon ordre les assaillans ou fondent sur eux par pelotons, en les attaquant de toutes parts.

Dans les batailles rangées ils emploient quelquefois une autre sorte de stratagème, qui consiste à jeter des feux à travers les chevaux de la cavalerie pour les épouvanter; souvent encore ils mettent en tête de leur ligne un grand nombre de chameaux ou de dromadaires forts et hardis; ils les chassent en avant sur les chevaux, et y jettent le désordre.

Telles sont les manières de combattre que les Turcs ont jusqu'à présent mises en usage vis-à-vis des chrétiens. Assurément je ne veux point en dire du mal ni les déprécier; j'avouerai au contraire que, dans le commerce de la vie, je les ai trouvés francs et loyaux, et que dans les occasions où il falloit du courage ils se sont bien montrés: mais cependant je n'en suis pas moins convaincu que, pour des troupes bien montées et bien commandées, ce seroit chose peu difficile de les battre; et quant à moi je déclare qu'avec moitié moins de monde qu'eux je n'hésiterois pas à les attaquer.

Leurs armées, je le sais, sont ordinairement de cent à deux cent mille hommes; mais la plupart sont à pied, et la plupart manquent, comme je l'ai dit, de tarquais, de coiffe, de masse ou d'épée; fort peu ont une armure complète.

D'ailleurs ils ont parmi eux un très-grand nombre de chrétiens qui servent forcément: Grecs, Bulgares, Macédoniens, Albanois, Esclavons, Valaques, Rasciens et autres sujets du despote de Rascie. Tous ces gens-là détestent le Turc, parce qu'il les tient dans une dure servitude; et s'ils voyoient marcher en forces contre lui les chrétiens, et sur-tout les Français, je ne doute nullement qu'ils ne lui tournassent le dos et ne le grevassent beaucoup.

Les Turcs ne sont donc ni aussi terribles, ni aussi formidables que je l'ai entendu dire. J'avoue pourtant qu'il faudroit contre eux un général bien obéi, et qui voulût spécialement prendre et suivre les avis de ceux qui connoissent leur manière de faire la guerre. C'est la faute que fit à Coulumbach, m'a-t-on dit, l'empereur Sigismond lorsqu'il fut battu par eux. S'il avoit voulu écouter les conseils qu'on lui donna, il n'eût point été obligé de lever honteusement le siège, puisqu'il y avoit vingt-cinq à trente mille Hongrois. Ne vit-on pas deux cents arbalétriers Lombards et Génois arrêter seuls l'effort des ennemis, les contenir, et favoriser sa retraite pendant qu'il s'embarquoit dans les galères qu'il avoit sur le Danube; tandis que six mille Valaques, qui, avec le chevalier Polonois dont j'ai parlé ci-dessus, s'étoient mis à l'écart sur une petite hauteur, furent tous taillés en pièces?

Je ne dis rien sur tout ceci que je n'aie vu ou entendu. Ainsi donc, dans le cas où quelque prince ou général chrétien voudroit entreprendre la conquête de la Grèce ou même pénétrer plus avant, je crois que je puis lui donner des renseignemens utiles. Au reste je vais parler selon mes facultés; et s'il m'échappoit chose qui déplût à quelqu'un, je prie qu'on m'excuse et qu'on la regarde comme nulle.

Le souverain qui formeroit un pareil projet devroit d'abord se proposer pour but, non la gloire et la renommée, mais Dieu, la religion, et le salut de tant d'âmes qui sont dans la voie de perdition. Il faudroit qu'il fût bien assuré d'avance du paiement de ses troupes, et qu'il n'eût que des corps bien famés, de bonne volonté, et sur-tout point pillards. Quant aux moyens de solde, ce seroit, je crois, à notre saint-père le pape qu'il conviendrait de les assurer; mais jusqu'au moment où l'on entreroit sur les terres des Turcs on devroit se faire une loi de ne rien prendre sans payer. Personne n'aime à se voir dérober ce qui lui appartient, et j'ai entendu dire que ceux qui l'ont fait s'en sont souvent mal trouvés. Au reste

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je m'en rapporte sur tous ces détails aux princes et à messeigneurs de leur conseil ; moi je ne m'arrête qu'à l'espèce de troupes qui me paroît la plus propre à l'entreprise, et avec laquelle je desirerois être, si j'avois à choisir.

Je voudrois donc, 1°. de France, gens d'armes, gens de trait, archers et arbalétriers, en aussi grand nombre qu'il seroit possible, et composés comme je l'ai dit ci-dessus ; 2°. d'Angleterre, mille hommes d'armes et dix mille archers ; 3°. d'Allemagne, le plus qu'on pourroit de gentilshommes et de leurs crennequiniens à pied et à cheval*. Assemblez en gens de trait, archers et crennequiniens quinze à vingt mille hommes de ces trois nations, bien unis ; joignez-y deux à trois cents ribaudequins†, et je demanderai à Dieu la grace de marcher avec eux ; et je réponds bien qu'on pourra les mener sans peine de Belgrade à Constantinople.

Il leur suffiroit, ainsi que je l'ai remarqué, d'une armure légère, attendu que le trait Turc n'a point de force. De près, leurs archers tirent juste et vite ; mais ils ne tirent point à beaucoup près aussi loin que les nôtres. Leurs arcs sont gros, mais courts, et leurs traits courts et minces. Le fer y est enfoncé dans le bois, et ne peut ni supporter un grand coup, ni faire plaie que quand il trouve une partie découverte. D'après ceci, on voit qu'il suffiroit à nos troupes d'avoir une armure légère, c'est-à-dire un léger harnois de jambes‡, une légère brigandine ou blanc-harnois, et une salade avec bavière et visière un peu large§. Le trait d'un arc Turc pourroit fausser un haubergeon|| ; mais il s'émuoussera contre une brigandine ou blanc-harnois.

J'ajouterai qu'en cas de besoin nos archers pourroient se servir des traits des Turcs, et que les leurs ne pourroient se servir des nôtres, parce que la coche n'est pas assez large, et que les cordes de leurs arcs étant de nerfs, sont beaucoup trop grosses.

Selon moi, ceux de nos gens d'armes qui voudroient être à cheval devroient avoir une lance légère à fer tranchant, avec une forte épée bien affilée. Peut-être aussi leur seroit-il avantageux d'avoir une petite hache à main. Ceux d'entre eux qui seroient à pied porteroient guisarme¶, ou bon épieu tranchant** ; mais les uns et les autres auroient les mains armées de gantelets. Quant à ces gantelets, j'avoue que pour moi j'en connois en Allemagne qui sont de cuir bouilli, dont je ferois autant de cas que de ceux qui sont en fer.

Lorsqu'on trouvera une plaine rase et un lieu pour combattre avec avantage, on en profitera ; mais alors on ne fera qu'un seul corps de bataille. L'avant-garde et l'arrière-garde seront employées à former les deux ailes. On entremêlera par-ci par-là tout ce qu'on aura de gens d'armes, à moins qu'on ne préférât de les placer en dehors pour escarmoucher ; mais on se gardera bien de placer ainsi les hommes d'armes. En avant de l'armée et sur ses ailes seront épars et semés çà et là les ribaudequins ; mais il sera défendu à qui que ce soit, sous peine de la vie, de poursuivre les fuyards.

Les Turcs ont la politique d'avoir toujours des armées deux fois plus nombreuses que celles des chrétiens. Cette supériorité de nombre augmente leur courage, et elle leur permet en même temps de former différents corps pour attaquer par divers côtés à la fois. S'ils parviennent à percer, ils se précipitent en foule innombrable par l'ouverture, et alors c'est un grand miracle si tout n'est pas perdu.

Pour empêcher ce malheur on placera la plus grande quantité de ribaudequins vers les angles du corps de bataille, et l'on tâchera de se tenir serré de manière à ne point se laisser entamer. Au reste, cette ordonnance me paroît d'autant plus facile à garder qu'ils ne sont

* Cranquiniens, c'étoit le nom qu'en Autriche et dans une partie de l'Allemagne on donnoit aux archers.

† Ribaudequins, sortes de troupes légères qui servoient aux escarmouches et représentoient nos tirailleurs d'aujourd'hui.

‡ Harnois de jambes, sorte d'armure défensive en fer qui emboîtoit la jambe, et qu'on nommoit jambards ou grèves.

§ J'ai déjà dit que la salade étoit un casque beaucoup moins lourd que le heaume. Il y en avoit qui laissoient le visage totalement découvert ; d'autres qui, pour le garantir, portoient en avant une lame de fer ; d'autres qui, comme le heaume, le couvroient en entier, haut et bas : ce qu'on appelloit visière et bavière.

|| Haubergeon, cotte de mailles plus légère que le haubert. Étant en mailles, elle pouvoit être faussée plus aisément que la brigandine, qui étoit de fer plein ou en écailles de fer.

¶ Guisarme, hache à deux têtes.

** Epieu, lance beaucoup plus forte que la lance ordinaire.

point assez bien armés pour former une colonne capable par son poids d'une forte impulsion. Leurs lances ne valent rien. Ce qu'ils ont de mieux ce sont leurs archers, et ces archers ne tirent ni aussi loin ni aussi fort que les nôtres.

Ils ont aussi une cavalerie beaucoup plus nombreuse; et leurs chevaux, quoique inférieurs en force aux nôtres, quoique moins capables de porter de lourds fardeaux, courent mieux, escarmouchent plus long-temps et ont plus d'haleine. C'est une raison de plus pour se tenir toujours bien serré, toujours bien en ordre.

Si l'on suit constamment cette méthode ils seront forcés, ou de combattre avec désavantage, et par conséquent de tout risquer, ou de faire retraite devant l'armée. Dans le cas où ils prendroient ce dernier parti, on mettra de la cavalerie à leurs trousses; mais il faudra qu'elle ne marche jamais qu'en bonne ordonnance, et toujours prête à combattre et à les bien recevoir s'ils reviennent sur leurs pas. Avec cette conduite il n'est point douteux qu'on ne les batte toujours. En suivant le contraire, ce seront eux qui nous battront, comme il est toujours arrivé.

On me dira peut-être que rester ainsi en présence et sur la défensive vis-à-vis d'eux, seroit une honte pour nous. On me dira que, vivant de peu et de tout ce qu'ils trouvent, ils nous affameroient bientôt si nous ne sortions de notre fort pour aller les combattre.

Je répondrai que leur coutume n'est point de rester en place; qu'aujourd'hui dans un endroit, demain éloignés d'une journée et demie, ils reparoissent tout-à-coup aussi vite qu'ils ont disparu, et que, si l'on n'est point continuellement sur ses gardes, on court de gros risques. L'important est donc, du moment où on les a vus, d'être toujours en défiance, toujours prêt à monter à cheval et à se battre.

Si l'on a quelque mauvais pas à passer, on ne manquera pas d'y envoyer des gens d'armes et des gens de trait autant que le lieu permettra d'en recevoir pour combattre, et l'on aura grand soin qu'ils soient constamment en bon ordre de bataille.

Jamais n'envoyez au fourrage, ce seroit autant d'hommes perdus; d'ailleurs vous ne trouveriez plus rien aux champs. En temps de guerre les Turcs font tout transporter dans les villes.

Avec toutes ces précautions, la conquête de la Grèce* ne sera pas une entreprise extrêmement difficile, pourvu, je le répète, que l'armée fasse toujours corps, qu'elle ne se divise jamais, et ne veuille point envoyer de pelotons à la poursuite de l'ennemi. Si l'on me demande comment on aura des vivres, je dirai que la Grèce et la Rassie ont des rivières navigables, et que la Bulgarie, la Macédoine et les provinces Grecques sont fertiles.

En avançant ainsi toujours en masse, on forcera les Turcs à reculer, et il faudra qu'ils choisissent entre deux extrémités, comme je l'ai déjà dit, ou de repasser en Asie et d'abandonner leurs biens, leurs femmes et leurs enfans, puisque le pays n'est point de défense, ainsi qu'on l'a pu voir par la description que j'en ai donnée, ou de risquer une bataille, comme ils l'ont fait toutes les fois qu'ils ont passé le Danube.

Je conclus qu'avec de bonnes troupes composées des trois nations que j'ai nommées, Français, Anglais et Allemands, on sera sûr du succès, et que si elles sont en nombre suffisant, bien unies et bien commandées, elles iront par terre jusqu'à Jerusalem. Mais je reprends mon récit.

Je traversai le Danube à Belgrade. Il étoit en ce moment extraordinairement gonflé, et pouvoit bien avoir douze milles de large. Jamais, de mémoire d'homme, on ne lui avoit vu une crue pareille. Ne pouvant me rendre à Boude (Bude) par le droit chemin, j'allai à une ville champêtre (un village) nommé Pensey. De Pensey j'arrivai par la plaine la plus unie que je connoisse, et après avoir traversé en bac une rivière à Beurquerel, ville qui appartient au despote de Rassie, et où je passai deux autres rivières sur un pont. De Beurquerel je vins à Verchet, qui est également au despote, et là je passai la Tiste (la Teisse), rivière large et profonde. Enfin je me rendis à Ségadin (Ségédin) sur la Tiste.

Dans toute la longueur de cette route, à l'exception de deux petits bois qui étoient enclos

* On a déjà vu plus haut que par le mot Grèce l'auteur entend les États que les Turcs possédoient en Europe.

d'un

d'un ruisseau, je n'ai pas vu un seul arbre. Les habitans n'y brûlent que de la paille ou des roseaux qu'ils ramassent le long des rivières ou dans leurs nombreux marécages. Ils mangent, au lieu de pain, des gâteaux tendres; mais ils n'en ont pas beaucoup à manger.

Ségédin est une grande ville champêtre, composée d'une seule rue qui m'a paru avoir une lieue de longueur environ. Elle est dans un terroir fertile, abondant en toutes sortes de denrées. On y prend beaucoup de grues et de bistardes (outardes), et j'en vis un grand marché tout rempli; mais on les y apprête fort malproprement, et on les mange de même. La Teisse fournit aussi quantité de poissons, et nulle part je n'ai vu rivière en donner d'aussi gros.

On y trouve également une grande quantité de chevaux sauvages à vendre; mais on sait les dompter et les apprivoiser, et c'est une chose curieuse à voir. On m'a même assuré que qui en voudroit trois ou quatre mille, les trouveroit dans la ville. Ils sont à si bon marché que pour dix florins de Hongrie on auroit un très-beau roussin (cheval de voyage).

L'empereur, m'a-t-on dit, avoit donné Ségédin à un évêque. J'y vis ce prélat, et me sembla homme de grosse conscience. Les cordeliers ont dans la ville une assez belle église. J'y entendis le service. Ils le font un peu à la Hongroise.

De Ségédin je vins à Paele (Pest), assez bonne ville champêtre sur le Danube, vis-à-vis Bude. D'une ville à l'autre le pays continue d'être bon et uni. On y trouve une quantité immense de haras de jumens, qui vivent abandonnées à elles-mêmes en pleine campagne, comme les animaux sauvages; et telle est la raison qui fait qu'on en voit tant au marché de Ségédin.

A Pest je traversai le Danube et entrai dans Bude sept jours après mon départ de Belgrade. Bude, la principale ville de Hongrie, est sur une hauteur beaucoup plus longue que large. Au levant elle a le Danube, au couchant un vallon, et au midi un palais qui commande la porte de la ville, palais qu'a commencé l'empereur, et qui, quand on l'aura fini, sera grand et fort. De ce côté, mais hors des murs, sont de très-beaux bains chauds. Il y en a encore au levant, le long du Danube, mais qui ne valent pas les autres.

La ville est gouvernée par des Allemands, tant pour les objets de justice et de commerce que pour ce qui regarde les différentes professions. On y voit beaucoup de Juifs qui parlent bien Français, et dont plusieurs sont de ceux qu'on a chassés de France. J'y trouvai aussi un marchand d'Arras appelé Clays Davion; il faisoit partie d'un certain nombre de gens de métier que l'empereur Sigismond avoit amenés de France. Clays travailloit en haute-lice*.

Les environs de Bude sont agréables, et le terroir est fertile en toutes sortes de denrées, et spécialement en vins blancs qui ont un peu d'ardeur: ce qu'on attribue aux bains chauds du canton et au soufre sur lequel les eaux coulent. A une lieue de la ville se trouve le corps de saint Paul, hermite, qui s'est conservé tout entier.

Je retournai à Pest, où je trouvai également six à huit familles Françaises que l'empereur y avoit envoyées pour construire sur le Danube, et vis-à-vis de son palais une grande tour. Son dessein étoit d'y mettre une chaîne avec laquelle il pût fermer la rivière. On seroit tenté de croire qu'il a voulu en cela imiter la tour de Bourgogne qui est devant le château de l'Ecluse; mais ici je ne crois pas que le projet soit exécutable: la rivière est trop large. J'eus la curiosité d'aller visiter la tour. Elle avoit déjà une hauteur d'environ trois lances, et l'on voyoit à l'entour une grande quantité de pierres taillées; mais tout étoit resté là, parce que les premiers maçons qui avoient commencé l'ouvrage étoient morts, disoit-on, et que ceux qui avoient survécu n'en savoient pas assez pour le continuer.

Pest a beaucoup de marchands de chevaux, et qui leur en demanderoit deux mille bons les y trouveroit. Ils les vendent par écurie composée de dix chevaux, et chaque écurie est de deux cents florins. J'en ai vu plusieurs dont deux ou trois chevaux seuls valoient ce prix. Ils viennent la plupart des montagnes de Transylvanie, qui bornent la Hongrie au

* Sigismond, dans son voyage en France, avoit été à portée d'y voir nos manufactures, et spécialement celles de Flandre, renommées dès-lors par leurs tapisseries. Il avoit voulu en établir de pareilles dans sa capitale de Hongrie, et avoit engagé des ouvriers de différentes professions à l'y suivre.

levant. J'en achetai un qui étoit grand coureur : ils le sont presque tous. Le pays leur est bon par la quantité d'herbages qu'il produit ; mais ils ont le défaut d'être un peu quinteux, et spécialement mal aisés à ferrer. J'en ai même vu qu'on étoit alors obligé d'abattre.

Les montagnes dont je viens de parler ont des mines d'or, et de sel qui tous les ans rapportent au roi chacune cent mille florins de Hongrie. Il avoit abandonné celle d'or au seigneur de Prusse et au comte Mathico, à condition que le premier garderoit la frontière contre le Turc, et le second Belgrade. La reine s'étoit réservé le revenu de celle du sel.

Ce sel est beau. Il se tire d'une roche et se taille en forme de pierre, par morceaux d'un pied de long environ, carrés, mais un peu convexes en dessus. Qui les verroit dans un chariot les prendroit pour des pierres. On le broie dans un mortier, et il en sort passablement blanc, mais plus fin et meilleur que tous ceux que j'ai goûtés ailleurs.

En traversant la Hongrie j'ai souvent rencontré des chariots qui portoient six, sept ou huit personnes, et où il n'y avoit qu'un cheval d'attelé ; car leur coutume, quand ils veulent faire de grandes journées, est de n'en mettre qu'un. Tous ont les roues de derrière beaucoup plus hautes que celles de devant. Il en est de couverts à la manière du pays, qui sont très-beaux et si légers qu'y compris les roues un homme, ce me semble, les porteroit sans peine suspendus à son cou. Comme le pays est plat et très-uni, rien n'empêche le cheval de trotter toujours. C'est à raison de cette égalité de terrain que, quand on y laboure, on fait des sillons d'une telle longueur que c'est une merveille à voir.

Jusqu'à Pest je n'avois point eu de domestique ; là je m'en donnai un, et pris à mon service un de ces compagnons maçons Français qui s'y trouvoient. Il étoit de Brai-sur-Somme.

De retour à Bude j'allai, avec l'ambassadeur de Milan, saluer le grand comte de Hongrie, titre qui répond à celui de lieutenant de l'empereur. Le grand comte m'accueillit d'abord avec beaucoup de distinction, parce qu'à mon habit il me prit pour Turc ; mais quand il sut que j'étois chrétien il se refroidit un peu. On me dit que c'étoit un homme peu sûr dans ses paroles, et aux promesses duquel il ne falloit pas trop se fier. C'est un peu là en général ce qu'on reproche aux Hongrois ; et, quant à moi, j'avoue que, d'après l'idée que m'ont donnée d'eux ceux que j'ai hantés, je me ferois moins à un Hongrois qu'à un Turc.

Le grand comte est un homme âgé. C'est lui, m'a-t-on dit, qui autrefois arrêta Sigismond, roi de Behaigne (Bohême) et de Hongrie, et depuis empereur ; c'est lui qui le mit en prison, et qui depuis l'en tira par accommodement.

Son fils venoit d'épouser une belle dame Hongroise. Je le vis dans une joute qui, à la manière du pays, eut lieu sur de petits chevaux et avec des selles basses. Les jouteurs étoient galamment habillés, et ils portoient des lances fortes et courtes. Ce spectacle est très-agréable. Quand les deux champions se touchent il faut que tous deux, ou au moins l'un des deux nécessairement, tombent à terre. C'est là que l'on connoît sûrement ceux qui savent se bien tenir en selle*.

Quand ils joutent à l'estivée pour des verges d'or, tous les chevaux sont de même hauteur ; toutes les selles sont pareilles et tirées au sort, et l'on joute par couples toujours paires, un contre un. Si l'un des deux adversaires tombe, le vainqueur est obligé de se retirer, et il ne joute plus.

Jusqu'à Bude j'avois toujours accompagné l'ambassadeur de Milan ; mais, avant de quitter la ville, il me prévint qu'en route il se sépareroit de moi pour se rendre auprès du duc. D'après cette annonce j'allai trouver mon Artésien Clays Davion, qui me donna, pour Vienne en Autriche, une lettre de recommandation adressée à un marchand de sa connoissance. Comme je m'étois ouvert à lui, et que je n'avois cru devoir lui cacher ni mon état et mon

* En France, pour les tournois et les joutes, ainsi que pour les batailles, les chevaliers montoient de ces grands et forts chevaux qu'on appelloit palefrois. Leurs selles avoient par-devant et par-derrière de hauts arçons qui, par les points d'appui qu'ils leur fournisoient, leur donnoient bien plus de moyens de résister au coup de lance que les petits chevaux et les selles basses des Hongrois ; et voilà pourquoi notre auteur dit que c'est dans les joutes Hongroises qu'on peut reconnaître le cavalier qui sait bien se tenir en selle.

nom, ni le pays d'où je venois, et l'honneur que j'avois d'appartenir à monseigneur le duc (duc de Bourgogne), il mit tout cela dans la lettre à son ami, et je m'en trouvai bien.

De Bude je vins à Thiate, ville champêtre où le roi se tient volontiers, me dit-on; puis à Janiz, en Allemand Jane, ville sur le Danube. Je passai ensuite devant une autre qui est formée par une île du fleuve, et qui avoit été donnée par l'empereur à l'un des gens de monseigneur de Bourgogne, que je crois être messire Rénier Pot. Je passai par celle de Brut, située sur une rivière qui sépare le royaume de Hongrie d'avec le duché d'Autriche. La rivière coule à travers un marais où l'on a construit une chaussée longue et étroite. Ce lieu est un passage d'une grande importance; je suis même persuadé qu'avec peu de monde on pourroit le défendre et le fermer du côté de l'Autriche.

Deux lieues par-delà Brut l'ambassadeur de Milan se sépara de moi: il se rendit vers le duc son maître, et moi à Vienne en Autriche, où j'arrivai après cinq jours de marche.

Entré dans la ville, je ne trouvai d'abord personne qui voulût me loger, parce qu'on me prenoit pour un Turc. Enfin quelqu'un, par aventure, m'enseigna une hôtellerie où l'on consentit à me recevoir. Heureusement pour moi le domestique que j'avois pris à Pest savoit le Hongrois et le haut Allemand, et il demanda qu'on fît venir le marchand pour qui j'avois une lettre. On alla le chercher. Il vint, et non seulement il m'offrit tous ses services, mais il alla instruire monseigneur le duc Aubert*, cousin-germain de mondit seigneur, qui aussitôt dépêcha vers moi un poursuivant†, et peu après messire Albrech de Potardof.

Il n'y avoit pas encore deux heures que j'étois arrivé quand je vis messire Albrech descendre de cheval à la porte de mon logis, et me demander. Je me crus perdu. Peu avant mon départ pour les saints lieux, moi et quelques autres nous l'avions arrêté entre Flandres et Brabant, parce que nous l'avions cru sujet de Phédérich d'Autriche‡, qui avoit défié mondit seigneur; et je ne doutai pas qu'il ne vînt m'arrêter à mon tour, et peut-être faire pis encore.

Il me dit que mondit seigneur d'Autriche, instruit que j'étois serviteur de mondit seigneur le duc, l'envoyoit vers moi pour m'offrir tout ce qui dépendoit de lui; qu'il m'invitoit à le demander aussi hardiment que je le ferois envers mondit seigneur, et qu'il vouloit traiter ses serviteurs comme il feroit les siens même. Messire Albrech parla ensuite en son nom: il me présenta de l'argent, m'offrit des chevaux et autres objets; en un mot il me rendit le bien pour le mal, quoiqu'après tout cependant je n'eusse fait envers lui que ce que l'honneur me permettoit et m'ordonnoit même de faire.

Deux jours après, mondit seigneur d'Autriche m'envoya dire qu'il vouloit me parler; et ce fut encore messire Albrech qui vint me prendre pour lui faire la révérence. Je me présentai à lui au moment où il sortoit de la messe, accompagné de huit ou dix vieux chevaliers notables. A peine l'eus-je salué qu'il me prit la main sans vouloir permettre que je lui parlasse à genoux. Il me fit beaucoup de questions, et particulièrement sur mondit seigneur; ce qui me donna lieu de présumer qu'il l'aimoit tendrement.

C'étoit un homme d'assez grande taille et brun; mais doux et affable, vaillant et libéral, et qui passoit pour avoir toutes sortes de bonnes qualités. Parmi les personnes qui l'accompagnoient étoient quelques seigneurs de Bohême que les Hous en avoient chassés, parce qu'ils ne vouloient pas être de leur religion§.

Il se présenta également à lui un grand baron de ce pays, appelé Paanepot, qui, avec quelques autres personnes, venoit, au nom des Hussites, traiter avec lui et demander la paix. Ceux-ci se proposoient d'aller au secours du roi de Pologne contre les seigneurs de Prusse, et ils lui faisoient de grandes offres, m'a-t-on dit, s'il vouloit les seconder; mais il répondit, m'a-t-on encore ajouté, que s'ils ne se soumettoient à la loi de Jésus-Christ, jamais, tant qu'il seroit en vie, il ne feroit avec eux ni paix ni trêve.

* Albert II, duc d'Autriche, depuis empereur, à la mort de Sigismond.

† Poursuivant d'armes, sorte de héraut en usage dans les cours des princes.

‡ Frédéric, duc d'Autriche, empereur après Albert II.

§ Hous, Hussites, disciples de Jean Hus (qu'on prononçoit Hous), sectaires fanatiques qui dans ce siècle inondèrent la Bohême de sang, et se rendirent redoutables par leurs armes.

En effet, au temps où il leur parloit il les avoit déjà battus deux fois. Il avoit repris sur eux toute la Morane (Moravie), et, par sa conduite et sa vaillance, s'étoit agrandi à leurs dépens.

Au sortir de son audience je fus conduit à celle de la duchesse, grande et belle femme, fille de l'empereur, et par lui héritière du royaume de Hongrie et de Bohême, et des autres seigneuries qui en dépendent. Elle venoit tout récemment d'accoucher d'une fille; ce qui avoit occasionné des fêtes et des joutes d'autant plus courues, que jusque-là elle n'avoit point eu d'enfans.

Le lendemain mondit seigneur d'Autriche m'envoya inviter à dîner par messire Albrech, et il me fit manger à sa table avec un seigneur Hongrois et un autre Autrichien. Tous ses gens sont à gages, et personne ne mange avec lui que quand on est en prévenu par son maître-d'hôtel.

La table étoit carrée. La coutume est qu'on n'y apporte qu'un plat à la fois, et que celui qui s'en trouve le plus voisin en goûte le premier. Cet usage tient lieu d'essai*. On servit chair et poisson, et sur-tout beaucoup de différentes viandes fort épicées, mais toujours plat à plat.

Après le dîner on me mena voir les danses chez madame la duchesse. Elle me donna un chapeau de fil d'or et de soie, un anneau et un diamant pour mettre sur ma tête, selon la coutume du pays. Il y avoit là beaucoup de noblesse en hommes et en femmes; j'y vis des gens très-aimables, et les plus beaux cheveux qu'on puisse porter.

Quand j'eus été là quelque temps, un gentilhomme nommé Payser, qui, bien qu'il ne fût qu'écuyer†, étoit chambellan et garde des joyaux de mondit seigneur d'Autriche, vint de sa part me prendre pour me les montrer. Il me fit voir la couronne de Bohême, qui a d'assez belles pierreries, et entr'autres un rubis, le plus considérable que j'aie vu. Il m'a paru plus gros qu'une grosse datte; mais il n'est point net, et offre quelques cavités dans le fond desquelles on aperçoit des taches noires.

De là ledit garde me mena voir les waguebonnes‡, que mondit seigneur avoit fait construire pour combattre les Bohémiens. Je n'en vis aucun qui pût contenir plus de vingt hommes; mais on me dit qu'il y en avoit un qui en porteroit trois cents, et auquel il ne falloit pour le traîner que dix-huit chevaux.

Je trouvai à la cour monseigneur de Valse, gentil chevalier, et le plus grand seigneur de l'Autriche après le duc; j'y vis messire Jacques Troussel, joli chevalier de Zoave (Souabe): mais il y en avoit un autre, nommé le Chant, échanson né de l'Empire, qui, ayant perdu à la bataille de Bar un sien frère et plusieurs de ses amis, et sachant que j'étois à monseigneur le duc, me fit épier pour savoir le jour de mon départ et me saisir en Bavière lorsque j'y passerois. Heureusement pour moi monseigneur d'Autriche fut instruit de son projet. Il le congédia, et me fit rester à Vienne plus que je ne comptois, pour attendre le départ de monseigneur de Valse et de messire Jacques, avec lesquels je partis.

Pendant mon séjour j'y vis trois de ces joutes dont j'ai parlé, à petits chevaux et à selles basses. L'une eut lieu à la cour, et les deux autres dans les rues; mais, à celles-ci, plusieurs de ceux qui furent renversés tombèrent si lourdement qu'ils se blessèrent avec danger.

Mondit seigneur d'Autriche me fit offrir en secret de l'argent. Je reçus les mêmes offres de messire Albert et de messire Robert Daurestof, grand seigneur du pays, lequel, l'année d'auparavant, étoit allé en Flandre déguisé, et y avoit vu mondit seigneur le duc, dont il disoit beaucoup de bien. Enfin j'en reçus de très-vives d'un poursuivant Breton-bretonnant (Bas-Breton) nommé Toutseul, qui, après avoir été au service de l'amiral d'Espagne, étoit à celui de mondit seigneur d'Autriche. Ce Breton venoit tous les jours me chercher pour aller à la messe, et il m'accompagnait par-tout où je voulois aller. Persuadé que j'avois dû dépenser

* Chez les souverains on faisoit l'essai des viandes à mesure qu'on les leur servoit, et il y avoit un officier chargé de cette fonction qui, dans l'origine, avoit été une précaution prise contre le poison.

† Qui n'étoit pas encore chevalier.

‡ Waguebonne, sorte de chariot ou de tour ambulante pour les combats.

en route tout ce que j'avois d'argent, il vint, peu avant mon départ, m'en présenter cinquante marcs qu'il avoit en émaux. Il insista beaucoup pour que je les vendisse à mon profit; et comme je refusois également de recevoir et d'emprunter, il me protesta que jamais personne n'en sauroit rien.

Vienne est une ville assez grande, bien fermée de bons fossés et de hauts murs, et où l'on trouve de riches marchands et des ouvriers de toute profession. Au nord elle a le Danube qui baigne ses murs. Le pays aux environs est agréable et bon, et c'est un lieu de plaisirs et d'amusemens. Les habitans y sont mieux habillés qu'en Hongrie, quoiqu'ils portent tous de gros pourpoints bien épais et bien larges.

En guerre, ils mettent par-dessus le pourpoint un bon haubergeon, un glaçon*, un grand chapeau de fer et d'autres harnois à la mode du pays.

Ils ont beaucoup de crennequiniers. C'est ainsi qu'en Autriche et en Bohême on nomme ceux qu'en Hongrie on appelle archers. Leurs arcs sont semblables à ceux des Turcs, quoiqu'ils ne soient ni si bons ni si forts; mais ils ne les manient point aussi bien qu'eux. Les Hongrois tirent avec trois doigts, et les Turcs avec le pouce et l'anneau.

Quand j'allai prendre congé de mondit seigneur d'Autriche et de madame, il me recommanda lui-même à mes deux compagnons de voyage, messire Jacques Troussel et mondit seigneur de Walsce, qui alloit se rendre sur la frontière de Bohême où il commandoit. Il me fit demander de nouveau si j'avois besoin d'argent. Je lui répondis, comme je l'avois déjà fait à ceux qui m'en avoient offert, qu'à mon départ mondit seigneur le duc m'en avoit si bien pourvu qu'il m'en restoit encore pour revenir auprès de lui; mais je lui demandai un saufconduit, et il me l'accorda.

Le Danube, depuis Vienne jusqu'à trois journées pardelà, a son cours dirigé vers le levant; depuis Bude et même au-dessus, jusqu'à la pointe de Belgrade, il coule au midi. Là, entre la Hongrie et la Bulgarie, il reprend sa direction au levant, et va, dit-on, se jeter dans la mer Noire à Mont-Castre.

Je partis de Vienne dans la compagnie de mondit seigneur de Valse et de messire Jacques Troussel. Le premier se rendit à Lints, auprès de son épouse; le second dans sa terre.

Après deux journées de marche nous arrivâmes à Saint-Polquin (Saint-Pelten), où se font les meilleurs couteaux du pays. De là nous vîmes à Mélich (Mælek) sur le Danube, ville où l'on fabrique les meilleures arbalètes, et qui a un très-beau monastère de chartreux; puis à Valse, qui appartient audit seigneur, et dont le château, construit sur une roche élevée, domine le Danube. Lui-même me montra les ornemens d'autel qu'a le lieu. Jamais je n'en ai vu d'aussi riches en broderie et en perles. J'y vis aussi des bateaux qui remontoient le Danube, tirés par des chevaux.

Le lendemain de notre arrivée, un gentilhomme de Bavière vint saluer mondit seigneur de Valse. Messire Jacques Troussel, averti de sa venue, annonça qu'il alloit le faire pendre à une aubépine qui étoit dans le jardin. Mondit seigneur accourut aussitôt, et il le pria de ne point lui faire chez lui un pareil affront. S'il vient jusqu'à moi, répondit messire, il ne peut l'échapper, et sera pendu. Ledit seigneur courut donc au devant du gentilhomme; il lui fit un signe, et celui-ci se retira. La raison de cette colère est que messire Jacques, ainsi que la plupart des gens qu'il avoit avec lui, étoit de la secrète compagnie, et que le gentilhomme, qui en étoit aussi, avoit mésusé†.

De Valse nous allâmes à Oens (Ens), sur la rivière de ce nom; à Evresperch, qui est sur la même rivière, et du domaine de l'évêque de Passot (Passau); puis à Lins (Lintz), très-bonne ville, qui a un château sur le Danube, et qui n'est pas éloignée de la frontière

* Glaçon ou glachon, sorte d'armure défensive. Les Suisses estoient assez communément habillez de jacques, de pans, de haubergeon, de glachons et de chapeaux de fer à la façon d'Allemagne (Mat. de Coucy, p. 536.)

† En François on appeloit glaçon une sorte de toile fine qui sans doute étoit glacée. Je soupçonne que le glaçon Allemand étoit une espèce de cotte d'armes faite de plusieurs doubles de toile piquée, comme nos gambisons. Peut-être aussi n'étoit-ce qu'une cuirasse.

‡ Probablement il s'agit ici de franc-maçonnerie, et le Bavaois que Troussel vouloit faire pendre étoit un faux frère qui avoit révélé les mystères de la compagnie secrète.

de Bohême. Elle appartient à monseigneur d'Autriche, et a pour gouverneur ledit seigneur de Valse.

J'y vis madame de Valse, très-belle femme, du pays de Bohême, laquelle me fit beaucoup d'accueil. Elle me donna un roussin d'un excellent trot, un diamant pour mettre sur mes cheveux, à la mode d'Autriche, et un chapeau de perles orné d'un anneau et d'un rubis*.

Mondit seigneur de Valse restant à Lintz avec son épouse, je partis dans la compagnie de messire Jacques Troussel, et vins à Erfort, qui appartient au comte de Chambourg. Là finit l'Autriche, et depuis Vienne jusque-là nous avions mis six journées. D'Erfort nous allâmes à Riet, ville de Bavière, et qui est au duc Henri ; à Prenne, sur la rivière de Sceine ; à Bourchaze, ville avec château sur la même rivière, où nous trouvâmes le duc ; à Mouldrouf, où nous passâmes le Taing. Enfin, après avoir traversé le pays du duc Louis de Bavière, sans être entrés dans aucune de ses villes, nous arrivâmes à Munèque (Munich), la plus jolie petite ville que j'aie jamais vue, et qui appartient au duc Guillaume de Bavière.

A Lansperch je quittai la Bavière pour entrer en Souabe, et passai par Meindelahan (Mindelheim), qui est au duc ; par Mamines (Memingen), ville d'Empire, et de là à Walpouch, l'un des châteaux de messire Jacques. Il ne s'y rendit que trois jours après moi, parce qu'il vouloit aller visiter dans le voisinage quelques-uns de ses amis ; mais il donna ordre à ses gens de me traiter comme ils le traiteroient lui-même.

Quand il fut revenu nous partîmes pour Ravespouch (Ravensburg), ville d'Empire ; de là à Martorf, à Mersporch (Mersbourg), ville de l'évêque de Constance, sur le lac de ce nom. Le lac en cet endroit peut bien avoir en largeur trois milles d'Italie. Je le traversai et vins à Constance, où je passai le Rhin, qui commence à prendre là son nom en sortant du lac.

C'est dans cette ville que se sépara de moi messire Jacques Troussel. Ce chevalier, l'un des plus aimables et des plus vaillans de l'Allemagne, m'avoit fait l'honneur et le plaisir de m'accompagner jusque-là par égard pour mondit seigneur le duc ; il m'eût même escorté plus loin, sans un fait d'armes auquel il s'étoit engagé : mais il me donna pour le suppléer un poursuivant, qu'il chargea de me conduire aussi loin que je l'exigerois.

Ce fait d'armes étoit une entreprise formée avec le seigneur de Valse. Tous deux s'aiment comme frères, et ils devoient jouter à fer de lance, avec targe et chapeau de fer, selon l'usage du pays, treize contre treize, tous amis et parens. Il est parfaitement muni d'armes pour joutes et batailles. Lui-même me les avoit montrées dans son château de Walpouch. Je pris congé de lui, et le quittai avec bien du regret.

De Constance je vins à Etran (Stein), où je passai le Rhin ; à Chaufoze (Schaffouse), ville de l'empereur ; à Vualscot (Waldshutt) ; à Lausemberg (Lauffembourg) ; à Rinbel (Rhinfeld), toutes trois au duc Frédéric d'Autriche, et à Bâle, autre ville de l'Empereur où il avoit envoyé comme son lieutenant le duc Guillaume de Bavière, parce que le saint concile y étoit assemblé.

Le duc voulut me voir, ainsi que madame la duchesse son épouse. J'assistai à une session du concile où il représenta l'Empereur, et où furent présens monseigneur le cardinal de Saint-Ange, légat de notre saint père le pape Eugène ; sept autres cardinaux, plusieurs patriarches, archevêques et évêques. J'y vis des gens de mondit seigneur le duc, messire Guillebert de Lannoy, seigneur de Villerval, son ambassadeur ; maître Jean Germain, et l'évêque de Châlons. J'eus un entretien avec ledit légat, qui me fit beaucoup de questions sur les pays que j'avois vus, et particulièrement sur la Grèce ; il me parut avoir fort à cœur la conquête de ce pays, et me recommanda de répéter à mondit seigneur, touchant cette conquête, certaines choses que je lui avois racontées.

A Bâle je quittai mon poursuivant, qui retourna en Autriche ; et moi, après avoir traversé la comté de Férette, qui est au duc Frédéric d'Autriche, et passé par Montbéliart,

* Ces chapeaux, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec les nôtres, n'étoient que des cercles, des couronnes en cerceau.

qui est à la comtesse de ce nom, j'entrai dans la comté de Bourgogne (la Franche-comté), qui appartient à monseigneur le duc, et vins à Besançon.

Je le croyois en Flandre, et en conséquence, voulant me rendre près de lui par les marches (frontières) de Bar et de Lorraine, je pris la route de Vésou; mais à Villeneuve j'appris qu'il étoit à l'entrée de Bourgogne, et qu'il avoit fait assiéger Mussi-l'Evêque. Je me rendis donc par Aussonne à Dijon, où je trouvai monseigneur le chancelier de Bourgogne, avec qui j'allai me présenter devant lui. Ses gens étoient au siège, et lui dans l'abbaye de Poitiers.

Je parus en sa présence avec les mêmes habillemens que j'avois au sortir de Damas, et j'y fis conduire le cheval que j'avois acheté dans cette ville, et qui venoit de m'amener en France. Mondit seigneur me reçut avec beaucoup de bonté. Je lui présentai mon cheval, mes habits, avec le koran et la vie de Mahomet en Latin, que m'avoit donnés à Damas le chapelain du consul de Venise. Il les fit livrer à maître Jean Germain pour les examiner; mais onc depuis je n'en ai entendu parler. Ce maître Jean étoit docteur en théologie; il a été évêque de Châlons-sur-Saone et chevalier de la toison*.

Je me suis peu étendu sur la description du pays depuis Vienne jusqu'ici, parce qu'il est connu; quant aux autres que j'ai parcourus dans mon voyage, si j'en publie la relation j'avertis ceux qui la liront que je l'ai entreprise, non par ostentation et vanité, mais pour instruire et guider les personnes qu'un même desir conduiroit dans ces contrées, et pour obéir à mon très-redouté seigneur monseigneur le duc, qui me l'a ordonné. J'avois rapporté un petit livret où en route j'écrivois toutes mes aventures quand j'en avois le temps, et c'est d'après ce mémorial que je l'ai rédigée. Si elle n'est pas composée aussi bien que d'autres pourroient le faire, je prie qu'on m'excuse.

* Jean Germain, né à Cluni, et par conséquent sujet du duc de Bourgogne, avoit plu, étant enfant, à la duchesse, qui l'envoya étudier dans l'Université de Paris, où il se distingua. Le duc, dont il sut gagner la faveur par la suite, le fit, en 1431, chancelier de son ordre de la toison d'or (et non chevalier, comme le dit la Brocquière). L'année suivante il le nomma à l'évêché de Nevers; l'envoya, l'an 1432, ambassadeur à Rome, puis au concile de Bâle, comme l'un de ses représentans. En 1436 il le transféra de l'évêché de Nevers à celui de Châlons-sur-Saone.

Ce que la Brocquière dit de cet évêque annonce de l'humeur, et l'on conçoit que n'entendant point parler des deux manuscrits intéressans qu'il avoit apportés d'Asie, il devoit en avoir. Cependant Germain s'en occupa; mais ce ne fut que pour travailler à les réfuter. A sa mort, arrivée en 1461, il laissa en manuscrit deux ouvrages dont on trouve des copies dans quelques bibliothèques, l'un intitulé, *De conceptione beatæ Mariæ virginis, adversus mahometanos et infideles, libri duo*; l'autre, *Adversus Alcoranum, libri quinque*.

THE
NAUIGATION AND VYAGES

OF

Lewes Hertomannus,

GENTELMAN OF THE CITIE OF ROME,

TO THE

REGIONS OF ARABIA, EGYPTE, PERSIA, SYRIA, ETHIOPIA, AND EAST INDIA,

BOTH WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE RYUER OF GANGES, ETC.

IN THE YEERE OF OUR LORDE 1503.

CONTYNING

MANY NOTABLE AND STRAUNGE THINGES,

BOTH HYSTORICALL AND NATURALI.

TRANSLATED OUT OF LATINE INTO ENGLYSHE,

By Richarde Eden.

IN THE YEERE OF OUR LORD 1576.

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THE
P R E F A C E
OF THE
AUTHOUR.

THERE haue been many before me, who to know the miracles of the worlde, haue with diligent studie read dyuers authours which haue written of such thinges. But other giuing more credit to the lyuely voyce, haue been more desirous to know the same by relation of such as haue traueyled in those countreys, and seene such thinges whereof they make relation, for that in many bookes, geathered of vncertaine auctoritie, are myxt false thinges with true. Other there are so greatly desirous to know the trueth of these thinges, that they can in no wyse be satisfied, vntyll by theyr owne experience they haue founde the trueth, by voyages and peregrinations into straunge countreys and people, to know their maners, fashions, and customes, with dyuers thinges there to be seene: wherein the only rea-lyng of bookes, could not satisfie their thirst of such knowledge, but rather increased the same, in so much that they feared not with losse of goods and daunger of lyfe to attempte great vyages to dyuers countreys, with witnesse of theyr eyes to see that they so greatly desired to knowe. The whiche thyng among other chaunced vnto me also, for as often as in the bookes of hystories and Cosmographie, I read of such marueylous thinges whereof they make mention (especially of thinges in the East partes of the world), there was nothing that coulde pacifie my vnquiet mynde, vntyll I had with myne eyes seene the trueth thereof. I knowe that some there are indued with hygh knowledge, mountyng vnto the heauens, whiche will contempne these our wringings, as base and humble, bycause we doe not here, after their maner, with high and subtile inquisition intreate of the motions and dispositions of the starres, and gyue reason of theyr woorkyng on the earth, with their motions, retrogradations, directions, mutations, epicicles, reuolutions, inclinations, diuinations, reflexions, and suche other partyeyng to the science of astrologie: which certeynely we doe not condempne, but greatly prayse. But measuryng vs with our owne foote, we will leaue that heauie burden of heauen to the strong shoulders of Atlas and Hercules: and only creepyng vpon the earth, in our owne person beholde the situations of landes and regions, with the maners and customes of men, and variable fourmes, shapes, natures, and proprieties of beastes, fruites, and trees, especially suche as are among the Arabians, Persians, Indians, Ethiopians. And whereas in the searchyng of these thinges, we haue (thanked be God) satisfied our desire, we thinke neuerthelesse that we haue done little, excepte we should communicate to other, such thinges as we haue seene and had experience of, that they lykewyse by the readyng therof, may take pleasure, for whose sakes we haue written this long and dangerous discourse,
of

THE PREFACE OF THE AUTHOUR.

of thinges which we haue seene in dyuers regions and sectes of men, desiryng nothyng more then that the trueth may be knownen to them that desyre the same. But what incommodities and troubles chaunced vnto me in these viages, as hunger, thirst, colde, heate, warres, captiuitie, terrours, and dyuers other suche daungers, I will declare by the way in theyr due places.

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THE
FIRST CHAPTER
OF THE
NAUIGATION FROM VENICE
TO
ALEXANDRIA IN EGYPTE.

IF any man shall demaunde of me the cause of this my vyage, certeynely I can shewe no better reason then is the ardent desire of Knowledge, which hath moued many other to see the worlde and miracles of God therin. And forasmuch as other knowen partes of the world, haue heretofore ben sufficiently traueyled of other, I was determyned to visite and describe suche partes as here before haue not been sufficiently knowen; and therefore with the grace of God, and calling vppon his holy name to prosper our enterprise, departyng from Venice with prosperous wyndes, in fewe dayes we arryued at the cite of Alexandria in Egypte: where the desyre we had to knowe thinges more straunge and further of, would not permit vs to tarrie long. And therefore departyng from thence, and saylyng vp the ryuer of Nilus, we came to the cite of new Babylon, commonly called Cayrus or Alcayr.

Of the cite named Babylon, or Alcayr, a cite of Nilus in Egypt. Cap. 2.

Wilen we arryued there, I marueyled more then I am able to say: yet when I approached so neare the cite that I myght wel see into it, it seemed to me much inferior to the reporte and fame that was thereof: for the greatnesse thereof, seemed nothyng agreeable to the bruite, and appeared no more in circuite then the cite of Rome, although much more peopled, and better inhabited. But the large fieldes of the suburbes haue deceyued many, being dispersed with in maner innumerable villages, which some haue thought to haue been part of the cite, whiche is nothyng so, for those villages and dispersed houses, are two or three myles from the cite, and round about it on euery syde. Neyther is it here needefull to spende much tyme in declaryng of theyr maners, or religion, forasmuch as it is well known, that all the inhabitantes of those regions are Mahumetans, and Mamalukes, which are suche Christians as haue forsaken theyr fayth, to serue the Mahumetans and Turkes: Although commonly they that serued the Soltan of Babylon in tyme past, before the Soltan was ouercome by the Turke, were called Mamaluchi, as they that serue the Turke, are called Ienetzari. But these Mamaluke Mahumetans, are subiecte to the Soltan of Syria.

The same was
also called Mem-
phis in tyme
past.

Mamelukes.
Mahumetans.

Ienetzari.

Of the cities of Berynto, Tripoli, and Antioch. Cap. 3.

THE riches, fayrenesse and magnificence of Babylon aforesayde, and the straunge souldiers Mamalukes, as things knowen we will now pretermit. Therefore departing from Babylon, and

and returnyng to Alexandria, where we agayne entered into our sea, we came to Berynto, a citie on the sea coast of Syria Phœnicia, where we spent many dayes. This is inhabited of Mahumetans, and plentifull of all thinges. The sea beateth on the walles of the towne: it is not compassed with walles, but on the west syde toward the sea. Here found we nothyng memorable, but only an olde place ruinate, where they say Sainct George deliuered the kynges daughter from a cruell Dragon, whiche he slue, and restored her to her father. Departyng from hence, we sayled to Tripoli: This is a citie of Syria, Eastwarde from Berynto two dayes sayling. The inhabitautes are subiecte to the Lieutenant or gouernour of Syria, and are Mahumetans. The soile is very fertile, and for the great traffique of merchaundies, incredibly aboundeth with all thinges. Departyng from thence, we came to the citie Comagen of Syria, commonly called Alepo, and named of our men Antioch. It is a goodly citie, situate vnder the mount Taurus, and is subiecte to the Lieuetenant, or Soltan of Babilon. There be the scales or ladders (for so they call them) of the Turkes and Syrians, for it is neare the mount of Olympus. It is a famous marte towne of the Azamians and Persians. The Azamians, are people of Mesopotamia, neare vnto the Persians, and of the religion of Mahumet, from thence, is the iourney to the Turkes and Syrians, and especially of them that come from the part of Mesopotamia, named Azamia.

Of the cities of Aman and Menin. Cap. 4.

DEpartyng from thence, we came to Damasco, in ten dayes iourney. But before you come there, in the myd way, is a citie named Aman, where is great abundance of gossampine or cotton wool, and all maner of pleasant fruites. Goyng a little from Damasco, the space of sixe myles, is a citie named Menin, situate on the declining of a mountayne. It is inhabited of Christians of the Greeke profession, who also obaye to the gouernour of Damasco. There are seene two fayre Temples, which (as the inhabitantes reporte) were builded by Helena, the mother of the Emperour Constantine. There are all kyndes of fruites, and goodly Grapes, and Gardens watered with continuall sprynges. Departyng from thence, we came to the citie of Damasco.

Of the citie of Damasco. Cap. 5.

IT is in maner incredible, and passeth all beleefe to thinke howe fayre the citie of Damasco is, and how fertile is the soyle. And therefore allured by the marueilous beautie of the citie, I remayned there many dayes, that learning theyr language, I might knowe the maners of the people. The inhabitants are Mahumetans and Mamalukes, with also many Christians, lyuyng after the maner of the Greekes. By the way, it shall not be from my purpose to speake of theyr Hexarchatus: the whiche (as we haue sayde) is subiect to the Lieutenaut, viceroye or gouernour of Syria, whiche some call Sorya. There is a very strong fortresse or Castell, which a certayne Etruscan, borne in the citie of Florence, buylded at his owne charges, while he was there y^e chiefe Hexarchatus or gouernour, as appeareth by the flower of a Lillie there graven in marble beyng the armes of the citie of Florence. The citie is compassed with a deep fosse or dicke, with foure goodly high towres. They passe the dyche with a hangyng brydge, which is lifted vp or lette downe at theyr pleasure. There is all kynde of great artillerie and munition, with also a garde of fyfte Mamalukes, whiche dayly assyste the gouernour or captayne of the castell, and receyue theyr stipende of the gouernour or viceroye of Syria. Fortune seemed to giue the Hexarchatus or principate to the sayde Florentine, whiche we wyll declare as we haue hearde of thinhabitautes. They saye that poyson was once geuen to the Soltan of Syria: and when he sought for remedie, he chaunced to be healed by the sayde Florentine, which was one of the companye of the Mamalukes. After whiche good fortune, he grewe dayely in fauoure with the sayde Prince, who for rewarde gaue hym that citie: where also the sayde Florentine buylded a Castel, and dyed: whom to this daye the Citisens honour for a sainte, for sayyng the lyfe of theyr prince: after whose death, the gouernment returned to the Syrians. They saye furthermore that the Soltan is well beloued of his lordes and princes, for that he easely graunteth them principates

Christians
Greekes.
Hexarchatus is a
principate or
gouernment.

Sainct Helene
the mother of
Constantine the
Emperour.

Aleppo or Antioch.
The mount
Taurus.
The mount
Olympus.
Azamia.
Mesopotamia.
Persia.

Syria Phœnicia.

Sainct George
and the Dragon.

Tripoli.

cipates and gouvernemens: yet with condition to paye yeerely many thousandes of those peeces of gold which they call Saraphos. They that denye to paye the summe agreed of, are in daunger of imminent death. Of the chiefe noble men or gouvernours 10 or 12 euer assiste the Prince. And when it pleaseth hym to extorte a certayne summe of golde of his noble men or merchautes (for they vse great tyrannye and oppression by the iniuries and thefts of the Mamalukes agaynst the Mahumetans) the Prince geueth two letters to the capitaine of the Castell. In the one is contayned, that with an oration he inuite to the Castell suche as pleaseth hym. In the other is declared the mynde of the Prynce, what he demaundeth of his subiectes. When the letters be read, withal expedition they accomlishe his commaundement, be it ryght or wrong, without respecte. This meanes the Prynce inuented to extorte mony. Yet sometymes it commeth to passe, that the noble men are of suche strength, that they wyll not come when they are commaunded, knowyng that the tyrant wyll offer them violence. And therefore oftentimes when they knowe that the captayne of the Castell wyll call them, they flee into the dominions of the Turke. This haue we geathered as touchyng theyr maners, we haue also obserued, that the watchemen in towres, do not geue warning to the garde with lyuely voyce, but with drommes, the one answearyng the other by course. But if any of the watchemen be so sleepe, that in the moment of an houre he aunswaere not to the sounde of the watche, he is immediately committed to prison for one whole yeere.

A strange manner
to demaund a
subside.

Of such thynges as are seene in the citie of Damasco. Cap. 6.

AFTER that I haue declared the maners of the Princes of Damasco, it seemeth agreeable to speake of some suche thynges as I haue seene there. And therefore to speake fyrst of the excellencie and beautie of the citie, it is certaynely marueylously wel peopled, and greatly frequented, and also marueylously ryche. It is of goodly buildyng, and exceedeth in abundance and fruitfulness of all thynges, and especialye of all kynde of victuales, flesh, corne and frutes, as freshe damesenne grapes all the whole yeere: also Pomegranets, Oranges, Lemons, and excellent Olyve trees. Lykewyse Roses, both white and red, the fayrest that euer I sawe: and all kyndes of sweete apples, yet pears and peaches were vnsauery. The cause whereof, they say to be to much moysture. A goodly and cleare ryuer runneth about the citie: and therefore in maner in euery house are seene fountaynes of curious worke embossed and grauen. Theyr houses outwardly are not very beautifull, but inwardly marueylously adorned with variable woorkes of the stone called Ophis, or serpentine Marble. Within the towne are many temples or churches, which they call Moscheas. But that which is most beautifull of all other, is buylded after the maner of Saint Peters church in Rome, if you respect the greatnesse, exceptyng this, that in the myddle is no rooffe or couerture, but is all open: but about the rest of the temple, it is altogether vaulted. There they obserue religiously the bodye of the holy Prophet Zacharie. The temple hath also foure great double gates of metal, very fayre, and many goodly fountaynes within it. There are yet seene the ruins of many decayed houses, which were once inhabited by the Christians. Those houses they cal Canonicas, and are of woorkes both carued and imbossed.

Theyr churches.

The bodye of the
Prophet Zacharie.

There is also to be seene the place where (as they say) our sauour Christ spake to Saint Paule these wordes, Paule, Paule, why doest thou persecute me, etc. This place is without the citie about a myle.

The place of the
conversion of
Saint Paule.

There are buried the Christians that die in the citie. There is seene also the Tower in whiche Saint Paule was committed to pryson, and ioyneth to the wall of the citie. But that place of the Tower where Paule was brought forth by the Angell, the Mahumetans do not attempt to close vp: Saying, that yf it be closed ouer nyght, they fynde it open agayne in the morning. I saw also there, those houses in the whiche (as they say) Cain slue his brother Abell. These are on the other part of the citie a myle of, in a certayne valley, yet on the syde of a hyll. But let vs nowe returne to the stranger Solgiers, which they call Mamaluchos, and to speake somewhat howe licenciously they lyue in that citie.

The prison of
Saint Paule.

The place wher
Cain slue Abel.

Of the Mamalukes of Damasco. Cap. 7.

The Mamalukes therefore, are that kynde of men, which haue forsaken our fayth, and as slanes are bought by the gouerner of Syria. They are very actiue, and brought vp both in learnyng and warlike discipline, vntill they come to great perfection. As wel the litle as y great, without respect, receiue stipend of the gouernour: which for euery moneth amounteth to syxe of those peeces of gold which they call Saraphos, besyde the meate and drynke of themselves and theyr seruantes, and also prouision for theyr horses. And the valiaunt they be, and of greater actiuitie, they are hyred for the greater wages. They walke not in the cite but by two or three together, for it is counted dishonour for any of them to walke without a companion. And if by the way they chaunce to meete with two or three women (for they lay wayte to tarry for them about suche houses whyther they know the women resort) lycence is graunted them, as they by chaunce fyrst meete with them, to bryng them into certaine tauerns, where they abuse them. When the Mamalukes attempt to descouer theyr faces (for they go with theyr faces couered) they striue with them because they wyl not be knowen. But when the Mamalukes persyste wantonly to discouer them, they saye thus vnto them, Is it not enough for you that you haue abused our bodies as pleaseth you, but that you wyl also discouer our faces: Then the Mamalukes suffer them to departe. But sometye it chaunceth, that when they thynke to prostitute the daughter of some gentelmen or noble men, they committe the fact with theyr own wyues: whiche thyng chaunced whylest I was there. The women beautifie and garnishe them selues as muche as any. They vse sylken apparell, and couer them with cloth of gosampine, in maner as fyne as sylke. They weare white buskins, and shooes of red or purple coloure. They garnyshe theyr heades with many iewelles and earerynges, and weare rynges and braslettes. They mary as often as them lysteth: for when they are weary of theyr fyrst maryage, they go to the chiefe preste of their religion (whom they call Cady) and make request to hym to be diuorsed from theyr fyrst maryage. This diuorsment in theyr language is called Talacaré: which graunted by the hygh Priest or Byshop, they begyn newe maryages. The lyke lybertie is also graunted to the husbendes. Some thynke that the Mahumetans haue fyue or syxe wyues together, whiche I haue not obserued: but as farre as I coulde perceyue they haue but two or three. They eate openly, specially in the martes or fayres, and there dresse they all theyr meates. They eate Horses, Cammelles, Bufles, Gotes, and suche other beastes. They haue great abundaunce of freshe cheese. They that sell mylke, dryue about with them 40 or 50 Gotes, which they bryng into the houses of them that wyl bye mylke, euen vp into their chambers, although they be three rooves hygh, and there mylke them, so haue it freshe and newe. These Gotes haue theyr eares a spanne long, many vdders or pappes, and are very fruitfull: There is great abundaunce of mussheromes, for sometymes there are seene 20 or 30 Cammelles laden with mussheromes, and yet in the space of three dayes they are all solde. They are brought from the mountaynes of Armenia, and from Asia the lesse, whiche is now called Turchia or Natolia, or Anatolia.

The Mahumetans vyse long vestures and loose, both of sylke and cloth. The most part vyse hose of gossampine, cloth and whyte shooes. When any of the Mahumetans by chaunce meeteth with any of the Mamalukes, although the Mahumetan be the woorthyer person, yet geueth he place and reuerence to the Mamaluke, who otherwyse would geue hym the Bastonado, and beate hym with a staffe. The Christians also keepe there many ware houses of merchaundies, where they haue dyuers sortes of sylkes and veluet: but the Christians are there euyl entreated of the Mahumetans.

The iorney from Damasco to Mecha, and of the maners of the Arabians.
Cap. 8.

After that I haue largely spoken of Damasco, I wyl procede to the rest of my vyage. Therefore in the yeere of our Lorde. 1503. the eight daye of the moneth of Apryll, when I had

had hyred certayne Cammelles (which they call Carauanas) to go to Mecha, and beyng then ignorant of the customes and maners of them in whose companye I shoulde go, I entred familiaritie and friendshippe with a certayne captayne Mamaluke, of them that had forsaken our fayth, with whom beyng agreed of the price, he prepared me apparell lyke vnto that whiche the Mamalukes vyse to weare, and geuyng me also a good horse, accompanied me with the other Mamalukes. This (as I haue sayde) I obtayned with great cost, and many gyftes which I gaue hym. Thus enter yng to the iorney, after the space of three dayes, we came to a certayne place named Mezaris, where we remayned three dayes, that the Merchantes which were in our company myght prouide thynges necessarie, as specially Camels, and dyuers other thynges. There is a certayne Prince whom they cal Zambei, of great power in the country of Arabia: he had three brethren and foure chyldren. He nor ysheth fourtie thousand horses, ten thousand mares, and foure thousand Camels. The country where he keepeth the herdes of these beastes, is large, of two dayes iorney. This Prince Zambei is of so great power, that he keepeth warre with the Soltan of Babylon, the gouernour of Damasco, and the Prince of Ierusalem al at once. In the tyme of haruest and geathering of fruite, he is geuen wholly to praye and robberyng, and with great subtiltie deceyue the Arabians: for when they thynke hym to be a myle or two of, he is with them sodenly betymes in the mornyng: and inuadyng theyr landes, carryeth away theyr fruite, Wheate, and Barlye, euen as he fyndeth it in the sackes: and so lyueth continually day and nyght with suche incursions. When his Mares be weered with continuall runnyng, he resteth a whyle: and to refreshe them, geueth them Camelles mylke to drynke, to coole them after theyr great labour. Those Mares are of such marueylous swyftnesse, that when I presently sawe them, they seemed rather to flee then to runne. Note also that these Arabians ryde on horses only couered with certayne clothes or mattes, and weare none other vesture then only an inwarde coate, or petticoate: for weapon they vse a certayne long Dart of Reedes, of the length of ten or twelue cubites, poynted with Iron (after the maner of lauelyns) and frynged with sylke. When they attempt any incursyons, they marche in suche order, that they seem to go in troupes: they are of despicable and litle stature, and of coloure betweene ycalowe and blacke, which some call Oliuastro. They haue the voyces of Women, and the heare of theyr head long and blacke, and layde out at large. They are of greater multitude then a man woulde beleue, and are among them selues at continuall stryfe and warre. They inhabite the mountaynes, and haue certayne tymes appoynted to robberye: for this purpose they obserue especially the tyme, when they are certayne of the passage of the Pylgryms and other that iorney that way to Mecha, then lyke theues they lye in the way and robbe them. When they make these theeuish inuasions, they bryng with them theyr wyues, chyldren, families and all the goodes they haue. Their houses they put vpon the Camelles, for other houses haue they none, but lyue onlye in tentes and paulyons as do our Soldiers. Suche tabernacles are made of blacke wooll, and that rough and fylthy. But to returne to our viage.

The eleuenth day of Aprill departed from Mezaris a company of Camels (which companie they call the Carauana) to the number of 35 thousand, with fourtie thousand men. But we were no more then threescore persons, of whom the Mamalukes had taken the charge to guyde and garde us, and the Carauana of our companie, whiche the Mamalukes diuided into three partes, as some in the fronte, other in the myddest of the army, and other in a wyng after the maner of a halfe Moone, inclosyng the whole armie; for in this order march the peregrines which iorney in these regions, as hereafter we wyll further declare. But you shall fyrst understand that Damasco is from Mecha fourtie dayes and fourtie nyghtes iorney. Departyng therefore from Mezaris we continued our iorney that day, vntyll the 22 houre of the day. Then our Captayne and guide Agmirus, after he had geuen the watch worde and signe, commaunded that euery man shoulde rest and remayne in the place where the signe shoulde be geuen them. Therefore as soone as they hearde the signe by the sound of a Trumpet, they staid, and after they had vnburdened theyr Camels, spent there two houres to victual themselves and theyr beastes: then the Captayne geuyng a new signe, charging theyr

Carauana, a
companie of
Cameles.
Mamaluchi re-
negadi.

Mezaris.

The prince
Zambei in
Arabia.

The Prince of
Ierusalem.

A Prince a
theefe.

Mares.

The Arabians
lyue by robbery.

Houses borne on
Camels backs.
Tentes and
paulyons.

This for feare of
the Arabians.

From Damasco
to Mecha.

Perhaps with the
soudne of a horne
or Trumpet.

theyr Camelles agayne, they departed speedily from thence. Euery Camell hath at one feedyng fyue Barly loaves, rawe and not baked, as bygge as a Pomegranate. Takyng horse, they continued that iorney the daye and nyght folowyng, vntyll 22 houres of the day, and at that houre they obserue the order whiche we haue spoken of herebefore. Euery eight daye they draw water by dyggyng the grounde or sande: by the way neuerthelesse somewhere are founde Welles and Sesternes. Also euery eyght daye, they rest theyr Camelles two dayes to recouer their strength. The Camelles are laden with incredible Burdens, and double charge: that is to meane the burden of two great Mules. They drynke but once in three dayes.

Water.

The burden of the Camelles.

Of the strength and valiantnesse of the Mamalukes. Cap. 9.

When they tary and rest them at the waters aforesayde, they are euer enforced to conflict with a great multitude of the Arabians: but the battayle is for the most parte without bloodshed, for although we haue often tymes fought with them, yet was there only one man slayne on our parte: for these Arabians are so weake and feeble, that threescore Mamalukes haue often put to the worst fyftie thousande Arabians. For these feeble Arabians which are called Pagani, are not in strength or force of armes to be compared to the Mamalukes, of whose actiuitie I haue seene great experience: among the whiche this is one. A certayne Mamaluke layde an Apple vpon the head of his seruant, and at the distance of about 12 or 14 pases, stroke it off from his head. I sawe likewise an other, who ryding on a saddled horse with full course (for they vse saddles as we doe) tooke off the saddle from the horse styll running: and for a space bearing it on his head, put it agayne on the horse, styll continuing his full course.

The feebleness of the Arabians.

Pagani.

The actiuitie of the Mamalukes.

Of the cities of Sodoma and Gomorrha. Cap. 10.

PAssyng the iourney of twelue dayes we came to the playne or valley of Sodoma and Gomorrha, where we founde it to be true that is written in Holy Scripture: for there yet remaine the ruynes of the destroyed citie, as witnesse of Gods wrath. We may affyrme that there are three cities, and eche of them situate on the declining of three hylles: and the ruines doe appeare about the heyght of three or foure cubites. There is yet seene, I wotte near what, lyke blood, or rather lyke redde waxe myxte with earth. It is easie to beleuee that those men were infected with horrible vices, as testifieth the baren, drye, filthie, and vnholosome region, vtterly without water. Those people were once fedde with Manna: but when they abused the gyft of God, they were sore plagued. Departing twentie myles from these cities, about thirtie of our company perished for lacke of water, and dyuers other were ouerwhelmed with sande. Goyng somewhat further forewarde, we founde a little mountayne, at the foote whereof we founde water, and therefore made our abode there. The day folowyng early in the mornyng, came vnto vs 24 thousand Arabians, askyng money for the water which we had taken. We answered that we would paye nothing, because it was gyuen vs by the goodnesse of God. Immediately we came to hand strokes. We geathering ourselves together on the sayde mountayne, as in the safest place, vsed our Camelles in the steede of a bulwarke, and placed the merchautes in the myddest of the army (that is) in the myddest of the Camelles, whyle we fought manfully on euery syde. The battayle continued so long, that water sayled both vs and our enemies in the space of two dayes. The Arabians compassed about the mountayne, crying and threatenyn that they would breake in among the Camelles: at the length to make an ende of the conflicte, our Captayne assembling the merchautes, commanded a thousande and two hundred peeces of golde to be giuen to the Arabians: who when they had receyued the money, sayde that the summe of ten thousande peeces of golde should not satisfie them for the water which we had drawen. Whereby we perceiued that they began further to quarrell with vs, and to demaunde some other thing then money. Whereuppon our Captayne gaue commaundement, that whosoever in all our companie were able to beare armes, should not mount vpon the Camelles, but should with all expedition prepare themselves to fyght. The day folowyng in the morning, sendyng

Manna, turned in bitter plagues.

Lacke of water.

Water dearly bought. So did Abraham with the Philistians.

So doeth the Turke his army.

sendyng the Camelles before, and inclosyng our army, beyng about three hundred in number, we met with the enemies, and gaue the onset. In this conflicte, we lost only a man and a woman, and had none other damage: we slue of the Arabians a thousande and fyue hundred, whereof you neede not mai. ieyle, if you consyder that they are vnarmed, and weare only a thynne loose vesture, and are besyde almost naked: theyr horses also beyng as euyll furnished, and without saddles, or other furniture.

Of a mountayne inhabited with Iewes, and of the citie of Medinathalhabi, where Mahumet was buried. Cap. 11.

IN the space of eyght dayes we came to a mountayne which conteyneth in circuite ten or twelue myles. This is inhabited with Iewes, to the number of fyue thousande or thereabout. They are very litle stature, as of the heyght of fyue or sixe spannes, and some muche lesse. Iewes Pigmei. They haue small voyces lyke women and of blacke colour, yet some blacker then other. They feede of none other meate then Goates fleshe. They are circumcised, and deny not them selues to bee Iewes. If by chaunce any Mahumetan come into their handes, they slay him alyue. At the foot of the mountayne, we founde a certayne hole, out of the whiche flowed abundance of water. By syndyng this oportunitie, we laded sixtiene thousand Camels: which thyng greatly offended the Iewes. They wandred in that mountayne, scattered lyke wyld Goates or Prickettes, yet durst they not come downe, partly for feare, and partly for hatred agaynst the Mahumetans. Beneath the mountaine are seene seuen or eyght thorne trees, very fayre, and in them we founde a payre of Turtle Doves, which seemed to vs in maner a miracle, hauyng before made so long iourneyes, and sawe neyther beast nor foule. Then procedyng two dayes iourney, we came to a certayne citie named Medina-thalhabi: foure myles from the said citie, we founde a well. Heere the Carauana (that is, the whole hearde of Camelles) rested. And remayning here one day, we washed our selues, and chaunged our shertes, the more freshely to enter into the citie: it is well peopled, and conteyneth about three hundred houses, the walles are lyke bulwarkes of earth, and the houses both of stone and bricke. The soile about the citie, is vtterly barren, except that about two myles from the citie, are seene about fyftie palme trees that beare Dates. There, by a certayne garden, runneth a course of water fallyng into a lower playne, where also passangers are accustomed to water theyr Camelles. And here oportunitie now serueth to confute the opinion of them whiche thynke that the Arke or Toombe of wicked Mahu- The Toombe or Sepulchre of Mahumet. met in Mecha, to hang in the ayre, not borne vp with any thyng. As touching which thyng, I am vtterly of an other opinion, and affirme this neyther to be true, nor to haue any lykenesse of trueth, as I presently behelde these thynges, and sawe the place where Mahumet is buried, in the said citie of Medinathalhabi: for we taryed there three dayes, to come to the true knowledge of all these thynges. When wee were desirous to enter into theyr Temple (which they call Meschita, and all other churches by the same name) we coulde not be suffered to enter, without a companion litle or great. They taking vs by the hande, brought vs to the place where they saye Mahumet is buried.

Of the Temple or Chapell, and Sepulchre of Mahumet, and of his fellowes. Cap. 12.

HIS temple is vaulted, and is a hundred pases in length, and fourescore in breadth: the entry into it, is by two gates: from the sydes, it is couered with three vaultes, it is borne vp with 4 hundred columnes or pillars of white brick, there are seene hanging lampes about the number of 3 thousande. From the other part of the Temple in the first place of the Meschita, is seene a Tower of the circuite of fyue pases, vaulted on euery syde, and couered with a cloth of silke, and is borne vp with a grate of copper curiously wrought, and distant from it two pases: and of them that goe thither, is seene as it were through a lattesse. Towarde the lefte hande, is the way to the Tower, and when you come thither, you must enter by a narrower gate. On euery side of those gates or doores, are seene many bookes in maner of a Librarie, on the syde 20, and on the other syde 25. These contayne the filthie traditions and lyfe of Mahumet and his fellowes: within the sayde gate, is seene a Sepulchre Mahumets Librarie. (that

Nomothet
Turcorum.
This Hali our
men that haue
been in Persia,
call Mortus Ha-
li, that is Saint
Hali.
Discorde and
sectes of religion
among the Ma-
humetans,
Turkes, and
Persians.
Note.
Such corne,
such chaffe.

(that is) a digged place, where they say Mahumet is buried and his felowes, which are these, Nabi, Bubacar, Othomar, Aumar, and Fatoma: But Mahumet was theyr chiefe Captayne, and an Arabian borne. Hali was sonne in lawe to Mahumet, for he tooke to wyfe his daughter Fatoma. Bubacar is he who they say was exalted to the dignitie of a chiefe counsellor and great gouernour, although he came not to the hygh degree of an apostle, or prophet, as dyd Mahumet. Othomar, and Aumar, were chiefe Captaynes of the army of Mahumet. Euery of these haue their proper bookes of theyr factes and traditions. And hereof proceedeth the great dissention and discorde of religion and maners among this kynde of filthie men, whyle some confirme one doctrine, and some an other, by reason of theyr dyuers sectes of Patrons, Doctours, and saintes, as they call them. By this meanes, are they marueylously diuided among them selues, and lyke beastes kyll themselves, for such quarelles of dyuers opinions, and all false. This also is the chiefe cause of warre betwene the Sophie of Persia, and the great Turke, beyng neuerthelesse both Mahumetans, and lyue in mortall hatred one agaynst the other for the mayntenance of theyr Sectes, Saintes and Apostles, whyle euery of them thynketh theyr owne to bee best.

Of the Secte of Mahumet. Cap. 13.

NOW will we speake of the maners and sect of Mahumet. Vnderstande therefore, that in the highest part of the Tower aforesayde, is an open round place. Now shall you vnderstande what crafte they vsed to deceyue our Carauana. The first euenyng that we came thither to see the Sepulchre of Mahumet, our Captaine sent for the chiefe priest of the Temple to come to him, and when he came, declared vnto him that the only cause of his commyng thither, was to visite the Sepulchre and bodie of Nabi, by which woord is signified the prophet Mahumet: and that he vnderstoode that the price to be admitted to the syght of these mysteries, should be foure thousande Seraphes of golde. Also that he had no parentes, neyther brothers, sisters, kinsefolkes, chyldren, or wyues, neyther that he came thither to buy merchaundies, as spices, or Bacca, or Narlus, or any maner of precious Iewelles: but only for very zeale of religion and saluation of his soule, and was therefore greatly desirous to see the bodie of the prophet. To whom the Priest of the Temple (they call them Side) with countenance lyke one that were distraught, made aunswere in this maner, Darest thou with those eyes with the which thou hast committed so many horrible sinnes, desyre to see him by whose sight God hath created heauen and earth: To whom agayne our Captayne aunswere thus, My Lorde, you haue sayde truly: neuerthelesse I pray you that I may fynde so much fauour with you, that I may see the Prophet: whom when I haue seene, I will immediately thrust out myne eyes. The Side answered, O Prince, I will open all thynges vnto thee. So it is that no man can denye but that our Prophet dyed heere, who if he would myght haue dyed at Mecha: But to shewe in himselfe a token of humilitie, and thereby to gyue vs example to folowe him, was wylling rather heere then elsewhere to departe out of this worlde, and was incontinent of Angelles borne into heauen, and there receyued as equall with them. Then our Captayne sayde to him, Where is Iesus Christus, the sonne of Marie: To whom the Side answered, at the seete of Mahumet. Then sayde our Captayne agayne: It sufficeth, it sufficeth, I will knowe no more. After this, our Captayne commyng out of the Temple, and turnyng him to vs, sayd, see (I pray you) for what goodly stuffe I would haue payde three thousande Seraphes of golde: The same daye at euenyng, at almost three a clocke of the nyght, ten or twelue of the Elders of the secte of Mahumet entred into our Carauana, whiche remayned not paste a stone cast from the gate of the cite. These ranne hyther and thither, crying lyke madde men, with these wordes, Mahumet the messenger and Apostle of God, shall ryse agayne, O Prophet, O God, Mahumet shall ryse agayne, haue mercy on vs God. Our Captayne and we all raysted with this crye, tooke weapon with all expedition, suspectyng that the Arabians were come to robbe our Carauana; We asked what was the cause of that exclamation, and what they cryed? For they cryed as doe the Christians, when sodeynly any marueylous thyng chaunceth. The Elders answered, Sawe you not the lyghtning whiche shone out of the Sepulchre of the Prophet Mahumet.

Our

False miracles to
conferme false re-
ligion.

Mahumet shall
ryse etc. with
Iuda.

Christe at the
seete of Mahu-
met.

It seemeth that
they know not
where he was
buried.
The deuyll he
was.

My lorde Bi-
shop of Mecha.

Such people,
suche Priest.

Nabi is the name
of Mahumet.
A great price
for vile merchan-
dies.

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Our Captayne answered, that he sawe nothing, and we also beyng demaunded, answered in lyke maner. Then sayde one of the old men, are you slaues? that is to say bought men: meanyng thereby Mamalukes. Then sayde our Captayne, We are in decde Mamalukes. Then agayne the olde man sayde, You my Lorde, cannot see heauenly thinges, as being Neophiti (that is) newly come to the fayth, and not yet confirmed in our religion. To this our Captayne answered agayne, O you madde and insensate beastes, I had thought to haue giuen you three thousande peeces of golde, but now, O you dogges and progenie of dogges, I will gyue you nothing. It is therefore to bee vnderstoode, that none other shynnyng came out of the Sepulchre, then a certayne flame which the priests caused to come out of the open place of the Towre spoken of here before, whereby they would haue deceyued vs. And therefore our Captaine commaunded that thereafter none of vs should enter into the Temple. Of this also we haue most true experience, and most certaynely assure you that there is neyther Iron or steele, or the Magnes stone that should so make the toombe of Mahumet to hange in the ayre, as some haue falsely imagined: neyther is there any mountayne nearer then foure myles: we remayned here three dayes to refreshe our company. To this citie victualles and all kynde of corne is brought from Arabia Foelix, and Babylon or Alcayr, and also from Ethiope, by the redde sea, whiche is from this citie but foure dayes iourney.

Neophiti.
Sic ne respondet Pontifici?

The fable that Mahumets Toombe hangeth in the Ayre.

The iourney to Mecha. Cap. 14.

After that we were satisfied, or rather wearyed, with the filthinesse and lothesomenesse of the trumperyes, deceites, trifles, and hypocrites of the religion of Mahumet, we determined to goe forward on our iourney: And that by guying of a pylot, who myght directe our course with the mariners boxe or compasse, with also the carde of the sea, euen as is vsed in sayling on the sea. And thus bendyng our iourney to the West we founde a very fayre well or fountayne, from the which flowed great abundance of water. The inhabitantes affirmeth that Saint Marke the Euangelist was the aucthour of this fountayne, by a miracle of God, when that region was in maner burned with incredible drynesse. Here we and our beastes were satisfied with drynke. I may not here omit to speake of the sea of sande, and of the daungers thereof. This was founde of vs before we came to the mountayne of the lewes. In this sea of sand we traueiled the iourney of three dayes and nightes: this is a great brode plaine, all couered with white sande, in maner as small as floure: If by euil fortune it so chaunce that any trauaile that way southward, if in the meane time the wind come to the North, they are ouerwhelmed with sande. And although they shoulde haue prosperous wynde, yet are they so inuolued with sande, that they scatter out of the way, and can scarcely see the one the other 10 pases of. And therefore the inhabitants trauayling this way, are inclosed in cages of woodde, borne with Camels, and lyue in them, so passyng the iorney guided by pilots with maryners compasse and card, euen as on the sea, as we haue sayde. In this iorney also many peryshe for thirst, and many for drynkyng to muche, when they finde suche good waters. In these sandes is founde Momia, which is the fleshe of such men as are drowned in these sandes, and there dried by the heate of the Sunne: So that those bodyes are preserued from putrification by the drynesse of the Sand: and therefore that drye fleshe is esteemed medicinable. Albeit there is an other kynde of more pretious Momia, which is the dried and embalmed bodies of kynges and princes, whiche of long tyme haue been preserued drye without corruption. When the wynde bloweth from the northeast, then the sand riseth, and is driuen against a certaine mountayne which is an arme of the mount Sinai. There we found certayne pyllers artificially wrought, whiche they call Ianuan. On the lefte hande of the sayde mountayne, in the toppe or rydge thereof, is a denne, and the entrie into it, is by an Iron gate. Some fayne that in that place Mahumet lyued in contemplation. Here we heard a certayne horrible noyse and crye: for passyng the sayde mountayne, we were in so great daunger, that we thought neuer to haue escaped. Departyng therefore from the fountayne, we continued our iorney for the space of 10 dayes: And twyse in the way fought with fyftie thousande Arabians, and so at the length came to the citie of Mecha, where al thinges were troubled

Journey on the lande by carde and compasse as on the sea.

The fountaine of Saint Marke the Euangelist.

The sea of sande. Mare fibulosum.

Momia.

Momia of Kynges bodies embalmed.

Mount Sinai.

The den where Mahumet liued in contemplation.

Mecha the king-
dome of Mecha. troubled by reason of the warres betweene two breithren, contendyng whiche of them shoulde possesse the kyngedome of Mecha.

Of the fourme and situation of the citie of Mecha: and why the Mahumetana resort thyther. Cap. 15.

Mecha, whiche
Abraham Orte-
lius calleth Mec-
ca. NOWe the tyme requireth to speake somewhat of the famous citie of Mecha, or Mecca, what it is, howe it is situate, and by whom it is gouerned. The citie is very fayre and well inhabited, and contayneth in rounde fourme syxe thousande houses, as well buylded as ours, and some that cost three or foure thousande peecees of golde: it hath no walles. About two furlongs from the citie is a mount, where the way is cutte out, whiche leadeth to a playne beneath. It is on euery syde fortified with mountains, in the stead of walles or bulwarks, and hath foure entries. The gouernour is a Soltan, and one of the foure breithren of the progenie of Mahumet, and is subiect to the Soltan of Babylon of whom we haue spoken before: His other three breithren be at continuall warre with hym. The 18 daye of Maye, we entred into the citie by the north syde: then by a declynyng way, we came into a playne. On the south syde are two mountaynes, the one very neere the other, distant onely by a little valley, which is the way that leadeth to the gate of Mecha. On the east syde, is an open place betweene two mountaynes, lyke vnto a valley, and is the waye to the mountayne where they sacrifice to the Patriarkes Abraham and Isaac. This mountayne is from the citie about 10 or 12 myles, and of the heygth of three stones cast: it is of stone as harde as marble, yet no marble. In the toppe of the mountaine, is a Temple or Meschita, made after their fashion, and hath three wayes to enter into it. At the foote of the mountayne are two cesterns, which conserue waters without corruption: of these, the one is reserued to minister water to the Camels of the Carauana of Babylon or Alcayr, and the other, for them of Damasco. It is rayne water, and is deriued far of.

The Soltan of
Mecha. But to returne to speake of the citie: for as touchyng the maner of sacrifice which they vse at the foote of the mountayne, wee wyll speake hereafter. Entryng therefore into the citie, wee founde there the Carauana of Memphis, or Babylon, which prevented vs eyght dayes, and came not the waye that wee came. This Carauana conteyned threescore and foure thousande Camelles, and a hundred Mamalukes to guyde them. And here ought you to consyder, that by the opinion of all men, this citie is greatly cursed of God, as appereth by the great barrennesse thereof, for it is destitute of all maner of fruites and corne. It is scorched with drynesse for lacke of water, and therefore the water is there growen to suche pryce, that you can not for twelue pence buye as much water as wyll satysfie your thyrst for one day. Nowe therefore I wyll declare what prouision they haue for victuales. The most part is brought them from the citie of Babylon, otherwyse named Memphis, Cayrus, or Alcayr, a citie of the ryuer of Nilus in Egypt, as we haue sayde before, and is brought by the red sea (called Mare Erythreum) from a certayne port named Gida, distaunt from Mecha fourtie myles. The rest of theyr prouisions, is brought from Arabia Fœlix (that is) the happye or blessed Arabia: so named for the fruitfulnessse thereof, in respect of the other two Arabiases, called Petrea and Diserta, that is, stonye and desert. They haue also much corne from Etyhopia. Here we found a marueylous number of straungers and peregrynes, or Pylgryms: Of the whiche, some came from Syria, some from Persia, and other from both the East Indiaes, (that is to say) both India within the ryuer of Ganges, and also the other India without the same ryuer. I neuer sawe in anye place greater abundaunce and frequentation of people, forasmuche as I could perceyue by tarrying there the space of 20 dayes. These people resort thyther for diuers causes, as some for merchandies, some to obserue theyr vowe of Pylgrymage, and other to haue pardon for theyr sinnes: as touchyng the whiche we wyll speake more hereafter.

Sacrifice to
Abraham and
Isaac.

Mecha cursed
of God.

Water very
deare.

The ryuer Ni-
lus.
The red Sea.
Arabia Fœlix.

Many pilgrymes
and strangers at
Mecha.

Why so many
nations resort to
Mecha.

Of the merchandies of Mecha. Cap. 16.

FROM India the greater, which is both within and without the ryuer of Ganges, they haue pearles, precious stones, and plentie of spyces: and especially from that citie of the greater India,

India, which is named Bangella, they haue much gossampyne cloth and silke. They haue also spyces from Ethiopia: and therefore we must needs confesse that this citie is a famous mart of many ryche thynges, whereof there is great plentie.

Of the Pardons or Indulgences of Mecha. Cap. 17.

LET vs now returne to speake of the pardons of pilgrymys, for the which so many strange nations resort thither. In the myddest of the citie, is a Temple, in fashyon lyke vnto the Colossus of Rome, the Amphitheatrum, I meane, lyke vnto a stage, yet not of marbled or hewed stones, but of burnt bryckes: for this temple, lyke vnto an Amphitheater, hath fourescore and ten, or an hundred gates, and is vaulted. The entrance, is by a discent of twelue staires or degrees on euery part: in the church porche, are solde only iewels and precious stones. In the entry the gylted walles shyne on euery syde with incomparable splendour. In the lower part of the temple (that is vnder the vaulted places) is seene a marueylous multitude of men: for there are fyue or sixe thousande men that sell none other thyng then sweete oyntmentes, and especially a certayne odoriferous and most sweete powder, wherewith dead bodies are embalmed. And from hence, all maner of sweete sauours are carried in maner into the countreys of all the Mahumetans. It passeth all beleefe to thynke of the exceeding sweetnesse of these sauours, farre surmounting the shoppes of the Apothecaries. The 23 daye of Maye the pardones began to be graunted in the Temple, and in what maner we wyll nowe declare. The Temple in the myddest is open without any inclosyng, and in the myddest also thereof, is a Turret, of the largnesse of syxe passes in cercuite, and inuolued or hanged with cloth or tapestry of sylke, and passeth not the heyght of a man. They enter into the Turret by a gate of syluer, and is on euery syde besette with vesselles full of balme. On the day of Pentecost, licence is graunted to al men to se these thynges. The inhabitants affyrme, that balme or balsame, to be part of the treasure of the Soltan that is Lorde of Mecha. At euery vaulte of the Turret, is fastened a rounde circle of Iron, lyke to the ryng of a doore. The 22 day of Maye, a great multitude of people beganne earely in the mornynge before day, seuen tymes to walke about the Turret, kyssing euery corner thereof, oftentimes feelyng and handelyng them. From this Turret, about tenne or twelue pases, is an other Turret, like a Chappell buylded after our maner. This hath three or foure entres: in the myddest thereof is a well of threescore and tenne cubites deepe: the water of this well is infected with salt Peter or saltniter. Eyght men are therevnto appoynted to drawe water for all the people: and when a multitude of people haue seuen tymes gone rounde about the first Turret, they come to this well: and touchyng the mouth or brym thereof, they saye thus, Be it in the honour of God, God pardon me, and forgeue me my synnes. When these wordes are sayde, they that drawe the water, powre three buckettes of water on the headdes of euery one of them that stand neere about the well, and washe them all wette from the headde to the foote, although they be apparelled with sylke. Then the dotyng fooles dreame that they are cleane from all theyr synnes, and that theyr synnes are forgeuen them. They saye furthermore, that the fyrst Turret, whereof we haue spoken, was the fyrst house that euer Abraham buylded: and therefore, whyle they are yet all wette of the sayd washyng, they go to the mountayne, where (as we haue sayde before) they are accustomed to sacrifice to Abraham. And remaining there two daies, they make the said sacrifice to Abraham at the foote of the mountayne.

The Temple of Mecha.

A Turret in the Temple of Mecha. A gate of syluer.

Balsame or balme.

A Chappel with a well in it, in the Temple.

A straunge baptism for remission of synnes.

Good meaning sufficeth not.

The house of Abraham.

Sacrifice to Abraham.

The maner of sacrificing at Mecha. Cap. 18.

FORasmuche as for the most parte, noble spirites are deltyed with nouelties of great and straunge thynges, therefore to satisfie their expectation, I wyll describe theyr maner of sacrificing. Therefore, when they intend to sacrifice, some of them kyl three sheepe, some foure, and some tenne: So that the butcherie sometye so floweth with blood, that in one sacrifice are slayne aboue three thousande sheepe. They are slayne at the rysyng of the Sunne, and shortly after are distributed to the poore for Gods sake: for I sawe there a great and confounded multitude of poore people, as to the number of 20 thousande. These make

Sacrifice of sheepe.

many and long dyches in the feeldes, where they keepe fyre with Camels doong, and roost or seeth the fleshe that is geuen them, and eate it euen there. I beleue that these poore people come thither rather for hunger then for deuotion, which I thinke by this coniectur, that great abundance of cucumbers are brought thither from Arabia Fœlix, whiche they eate, casting away the parynges without their houses or tabernacles, where a multitude of the sayde poore people geather them euen out of the myre and sande, and eate them, and are so greedie of these parynges, that they fyght who may geather most. The daye folowing, their Cadi (which are in place with them as with vs the preachers of Gods worde) ascended into a hygh mountayne, to preache to the people that remayned beneath: and preached to them in theyr language the space of an houre. The summe of the sermon was, that with teares they shoulde bewaile theyr sinnes, and beate their brestes, with sighes and lamentation. And the preacher hym selfe with loude voyce, spake these woordes, O Abraham beloued of God, O Isaac chosen of God, and his frend, praye to God for the people of Nabi. When these woordes were sayde, sodenly were heard lamenting voyces. When the sermon was done, a rumor was spredde that a great armye of Arabians, to the number of twentie thousande, were commyng. With whiche newes, they that kept the Carauanas beyng greatly feared, with all speede, lyke madde men, fledde into the citie of Mecha, and we agayne bearyng newes of the Arabians approche, fledde also into the citie. But whyle wee were in the mydwaye betwene the mountayne and Mecha, we came by a despicable wal, of the breadth of foure cubites: The people passyng by this wall, had couered the waye with stones, the cause whereof, they saye to be this: When Abraham was commaunded to sacrifice his sonne, he wyllid his sonne Isaac to folowe hym to the place where he shoulde execute the commaundement of God. As Isaac went to folow his father, there appeared to hym in the way a Deuyl, in lykenesse of a fayre and freendly person, not farre from the sayde wall, and asked hym freendlye whyther he went. Isaac answered that he went to his father who tarried for hym. To this the enimie of mankynde answered, that it was best for hym to tarrie, and yf that he went anye further, his father would sacrifice him. But Isaac nothyng feareyng this aduertisement of the Deuyl, went forward, that his father on hym myght execute the commaundement of God: and with this answeere (as they saye) the Deuyl departed. Yet as Isaac went forwarde, the Diuell appeared to hym agayne in the lykenesse of an other frendlye person, and forbade hym as before. Then Isaac takyng vp a stone in that place, hurlede it at the Deuyl, and wounded hym in the forehead: In witnesse and remembrance whereof, the people passyng that waye, when they come neare the wall, are accustomed to cast stones agaynst it, and from thence go into the citie. As we went this way, the ayre was in maner darkened with a multitude of stocke Doues. They saye that these Doues, are of the progenie of the Doue that spake in the eare of Mahumet, in lykenesse of the Holye Ghost. These are seene euery where, as in the villages, houses, tauernes, and graniers of corne and ryse, and are so tame, that one can scharsely dryue them a way. Too take them or kyll them, is esteemed a thyng worthy death: and therefore a certayne pensyon is geuen to nouryshe them in the Temple.

Of the Vnicorns of the temple of Mecha, whiche are not seene in any other place.

Cap. 19.

ON the other part of the Temple are parkes or places inclosed, where are seene two Vnicorns, named of the Greekes Monocerotæ, and are there shewed to the people for a myracle, and not without good reason, for the seldomenesse and strange nature. The one of them, which is much hygher then the other, yet not much vnylike to a coole of thyrtye moneths of age, in the forehead groweth only one horne, in maner ryght fourth, of the length of three cubites. The other is much younger, of the age of one yeere, and lyke a young coole: the horne of this, is of the length of foure handfuls. This beast is of the coloure of a horse of weesell coloure, and hath the head lyke an hart, but no long necke, a thynne mane hangyng only on the one syde: theyr legges are thyn and slender, lyke a fawne or hynde: the hooves of the fore feete are diuided in two, much like the feet of a Goat, the outwarde part of

Religion for
Pouertie.

Cadi, a preacher.

A goodly ser-
mon.

Soldiers trouble
the word of God.

Where Abra-
ham sacrificed
his sonne Isaac.
The Diuell ap-
peareth to Isaac.

Isaac wounded
the Deuyl in
the forehead.

Stock Doues of
the progenie of
the Doue which
spake in Mahu-
mets eare.

Monocerotæ.
The Vnicorns.

The Vnicorns
horne.

of the hynder feete is very full of heare. This beast doubtlesse seemeth wylde and fierde, yet tempereth that fiercenesse with a certain comelinesse. These Vnicornes one gaue to the Soltan of Mecha, as a most precious and rare gyfte. They were sent hym out of Ethiope by a kyng of that countrey, who desired by that present to gratifie the Soltan of Mecha.

Of diuers thynges which chaunced to me in Mecha: And of Zida, a port of Mecha.

Cap. 20.

IT may seeme good here to make mention of certayne thynges, in the which is seene sharpenesse of witte in case of vrgent necessitie, which hath no lawe, as sayeth the prouerbe: for I was dryuen to the poynt howe I myght priuely escape from Mecha. Therefore whereas my Captayne gaue me charge to buy certayne thyngs, as I was in the market place, a certayne Mamaluke knewe me to be a Christian. And therefore in his owne language, spake vnto me these wordes, Inte mename: That is, whence art thou? To whom I answered that I was a Mahumetan. But he sayde, Thou sayest not truely. I sayde agayne, By the head of Mahumet, I am a Mahumetan. Then he sayde agayne, Come home to my house, I folowed him willingly. When we were there, he began to speake to me in the Italian tongue, and asked me agayne from whence I was, affyrmyng that he knewe me, and that I was no Mahumetan: also that he had been sometyme in Genua and Venice. And that his wordes myght be the better beleued, rehearsed many thynges whiche testified that he sayde trueth. When I vnderstoode this, I confessed freely that I was a Romane, but professed to the fayth of Mahumet in the citie of Babylon, and there made one of the Mamalukes. Whereof he seemed greatly to reioyce, and therefore vsed me honourably. But because my desyre was yet to goe further, I asked the Mahumetan whether that citie of Mecha was so famous as all the world spake of it: and inquired of him where was the great aboundaunce of pearles, precious stones, spices, and other rich merchandies that the brute went of to be in that citie. And all my talke was to the ende to grope the mynde of the Mahumetan, that I might know the cause why such thynges were not brought thither as in tyme paste. But to auoyde all suspition, I durst here make no mention of the dominion which the Kyng of Portugale had in the most parte of that Ocean, and of the gulfes of the redde sea and Persia. Then he began with more attentyue mynde, in order to declare vnto me the cause why that marte was not so greatly frequented as it had been before, and layde the only faulte thereof in the Kyng of Portugale. But when he had made mention of the Kyng, I began of purpose to detracte his fame, least the Mahumetan might thinke that I reioyced that the Christians came thither for merchandies. When he perceyued that I was of profession an enemy to the Christians, he had me yet in greater estimation, and proceeded to tell me many thynges more. When I was well instructed in all thynges, I spake vnto him friendly these wordes in the Mahumets language, Menaba Menalhabi: That is to say, I pray you assist mee. He asked me wherein. To helpe me (sayde I) howe I may secretly departe hence. Confirmyng by great othes, that I would goe to those Kinges that were most enemies to the Christians: Affirmyng furthermore, that I knewe certayne secretes greatly to be esteemed, which if they were known to the sayde Kynges, I doubted not but that in shorte tyme I shoulde bee sent for from Mecha. Astonysed at these wordes, he sayde vnto mee, I pray you what arte or secrete doe you know? I answered, that I would giue place to no man in makyng of all maner of Gunnes and artillerie. Then sayde hee, praysed be Mahumet who sent thee hyther, to do him and his Saintes good seruice: and willed me to remayne secretly in his house with his wyfe, and requyred me earnestly to obtayne leaue of our Captayne, that vnder his name he myght leade from Mecha fiftene Camelles laden with spices, without paying any custome: for they ordinarily paye to the Soltan thirtie Saraphes of golde, for transportyng of such merchandies for the charge of so many Camelles. I put him in good hope of his request, he greatly reioyced, although he would aske for a hundred, affirmyng that myght easily be obteyned by the priuileges of the Mamalukes, and therefore desired him that I myght safely remayne in his house. Then nothing doubtyng to obtayne his request, he greatly reioyced, and talkyng with me yet

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The dominion
of the Kyng of
Portugale in the
East partes.

Hipocrisie.

Paying of cus-
tome to the
Soltan.

The realme of
Decham in
India.

more freely, gaue me further instructions, and counsayled me to repayre to a certayne Kyng of the greater India, in the kyngdome and realme of Decham, whereof we will speake hereafter. Therefore the day before the Carauana departed from Mecha, he willed me to lye hydde in the most secreete parte of his house. The day folowyng, early in the mornynge, the trumpetter of the Carauana gaue warning to all the Mamalukes to make readie their horses, to directe their iourney toward Syria, with proclamation of death to all that shoulde refuse so to doe. When I hearde the sounde of the Trumpet, and was aduertised of the streight commaundement, I was marueylously troubled in mynde, and with heauy countenance desired the Mahumetans wife not to bewraye me, and with earnest prayer committed myselfe to the mercie of God. On the Tuesday folowyng, our Carauana departed from Mecha, and I remayned in the Mahumetans house with his wyfe, but he followed the Carauana. Yet before he departed, he gaue commaundement to his wyfe to bryng me to the Carauana, which should departe from Zida the porte of Mecha to goe into India. This porte is distant from Mecha 40 miles. Whilst I laye thus hyd in the Mahumetans house, I can not expresse how friendly his wife vsed me. This also furthered my good interteynement, that there was in the house a fayre young mayde, the Niese of the Mahumetan, who was greatly in loue with me. But at that tyme, in the myddest of those troubles and feare, the fyre of Venus was almost extincte in mee: and therefore with daliance of fayre wordes and promises, I styll kepte my selfe in her fauour. Therefore the Fryday folowyng, about noone tyde I departed, folowyng the Carauana of India. And about mydnyght we came to a certayne village of the Arabians, and there remayned the rest of that nyght, and the next day tyll noone.

Affliction cool-
eth lechery.

The citie of
Zida.

Poore Pilgrym
that came from
Mecha.

From hence we went forwarde on our iourney toward Zida, and came thither in the silence of the nyght. This citie hath no walles, yet fayre houses, somewhat after the buyldyng of Italie: Heere is great aboundaunce of all kynde of merchandies, by reason of resorte in maner of all nations thither, excepte Iewes and Christians, to whom it is not lawfull to come thither. Assoone as I entered into the citie, I went to their Temple or Meschita, where I sawe a great multitude of poore people, as about the number of 25 thousande, attending a certayne Pilot who should bryng them into their countrey. Heere I suffered muche trouble and affliction, beyng enforced to hyde my selfe among these poore folkes, faynyng my selfe very sicke, to the ende that none should be inquisitue what I was, whence I came, or whyther I would. The Lord of this citie is the Soltan of Babylon, brother to the Soltan of Mecha, who is his subiecte. The inhabitauntes are Mahumetans. The soyle is vnfruitfull, and lacketh freshe water. The sea beateth agaynst the towne. There is neuerthelesse aboundaunce of all thinges: but brought thither from other places, as from Babylon of Nilus, Arabia Foelix, and dyuers other places. The heate is here so great, that men are in maner dried vp therewith. And therefore there is euer a great number of sicke folkes. The citie conteyneth about fyue hundred houses.

From Arabia to
Persia.

The red sea.

After fyftiene dayes were past, I couenaunted with a pilot, who was ready to departe from thence into Persia, and agreed of the price, to goe with him. There lay at Anker in the hauen almost a hundred Brigantines and foistes, with diuers boates and barkes of sundry sortes, both with Ores and without Ores. Therefore after three dayes, gyyng wynde to our sayles, we entred into the redde sea, otherwise named Mare Erythræum.

Of the red sea, and why it can not be sayled in the nyght. Cap. 21.

IT is well knowen to wyse men that this sea is not red, as some haue imagined, but is of the colour of other seas. We continued therefore our vyage vntyll the goying downe of the Sunne: for this sea, is nauigable only in the day tyme: And therefore in the nightes, the maryners rest them, vntyll they come to the lande named Chameran, from whence they proceede forwarde more safely. Why this can not be sayled in the nyght, they say the cause to be, that there are many dangerous sandes, rockes, and shelles: and therefore that it is needefull of diligent and long prospecte, from the toppe Castell of the shyppe, to foresee the dangerous places.

The

The seconde booke entreating of Arabia Fœlix. That is, the happie or blessed Arabia.

Of the citie of Gezan, and the fruitfulness thereof. Cap. 1.

FORasmuche as hitherto wee haue spoken somewhat of the maners of the people and cities of Arabia Fœlix, it may nowe seeme conuenient to finishe the rest of our vyage with such thinges as we haue seene in the sayde countrey of Arabia. Therefore after sixe saylyng, we came to a citie named Gezan. It hath a commodious porte, and very fayre, where we found about fourtie and fyue Brigantines and foistes of dyuers regions. The citie is harde by the sea syde, and the Prince thereof, is a Mahumetan. The soile is fruitful, lyke vnto Italie: It beareth Pomegranates, Quinses, Peaches, Apples of Assyria, Pepons, Melons, Oranges, Gourdes, and dyuers other fruites: Also Roses, and sundry sortes of floures, the fayrest that euer I sawe: It seemeth an earthly Paradyse. The moste parte of the inhabitauntes go naked. In other thinges, they lyue after the maner of the Mahumetans. There is also great abundance of fleshe, wheate, barley, the grayne of whyte Millet or Hirse (whiche they call Dora) whereof they make very sweete bread.

The citie of Gezan.

Of certayne people named Banduin. Cap. 2.

DEpartyng from the citie of Gezan, the space of 5 dayes, saylyng towarde the left hande, hauyng euer the coast of the lande in sight, we came to the sight of certayne houses, where about 14 of vs went alande, hoppyng to haue had some victuals of the inhabitants. But we lost our labour, for in the steede of victuals, they cast stones at vs with slinges. They were about a hundred that fought with our men for the space of an houre. Of them were slayne 24. The rest were dryuen to flyght, they were naked, and had none other weapons then slynges. After theyr flyght, we brought away with vs certayne hens and Calues very good. Shortly after a great multitude of the inhabitauntes shewed them selues to the number of fyue or syxe hundred: but we departed with our praye, and returned to the shypes.

Of an Ilande of the red sea, named Cameran. Cap. 3.

THE same day saylyng forward, we came to an Iland named Cameran, which conteyneth ten myles in circuite. In it is a towne of two hundred houses, the inhabitantes are Mahumetans: it hath abundaunce of freshe water and fleshe, and the fayrest salte that euer I sawe. The porte is eight myles from the continent, it is subiecte to the Soltan of Amanian of Arabia Fœlix. After we had remayned here two dayes, we tooke our way towarde the mouth of the red sea in the space of two dayes saylyng: This sea may here be sayled both day and nyght, for (as we haue sayde before) from this Ilande vnto the porte of Zida, the red sea is not safely nauigable by nyght. When we came to the mouth of the sea, we seemed to be in maner inclosed, for that the mouth of the sea is there very streyght, and no more then three myles ouer. Towarde the right hande, the continent lande is seene of the heygth of ten pases: the soile seemeth rude and not cultured. At the lefte hande of the sayde mouth, ryseth a very hygh hyll of stone. In the myddest of the mouth, is a little Ilande vnhabited, named Behmendo, and is towarde the lefte hande to them that sayle to Zeila: But they that goe to Aden, must keepe the way to the lefte hande. All this way, we had euer the lande in our sight, from Behmendo to Aden, in the space of two dayes and a halfe.

Of the citie of Aden, and of their maners and customes towarde straungers. Cap. 4.

I Doe not remember that I haue seene any citie better fortified then this: It standeth on a soyle not much vnequall, it is walled on two sydes: The reste is inclosed with mountaynes, hauyng on them fyue fortresses. The citie conteyneth sixe thousande houses. Theyr exercise of bying and selling, begynneth the seconde houre of the nyght, by reason of extreeme heate in the day tyme. A stone cast from the citie, is a mountayne hauyng on it a fortresse.

Of the citie of Aden looked. Cap. 13. Bying and sellyng by night.

The

The shippes lye neare the foote of the mountayne: it is certaynelye a very goodly citie, and the fayrest of all the cities of Arabia Fœlix. To this as to the chiefe marte, the merchauntes of India, Ethiopia, and Persia, haue recourse by sea, and they also that resorte to Mecha. Assoone as our Brigantines came into the hauen, immediately the customers and searchers came aborde, demaundayng what we were, from whence we came, what merchaundies we brought, and howe many men were in euery Brigantine.

The Aucthour taken and put in prison. Picade the Moonke writeth that Christians are founde in all regions sauing in Arabia and Egypt, where they are most hated.

Beyng aduertised of these thinges, immediately they tooke away our maste, sayles, and other tackelynges of our shippes, that we should not departe without paying of custome. The day after our arryuyng there, the Mahumetans tooke mee and put shackles on my legges, which came by occasion of a certayne Idolatour who cryed after mee, saying O Christian Dogge, borne of Dogges. When the Mahumetans hearde the name of a Christian, incontinent they layde handes on mee, and brought mee to the Lieuetenant of the Soltan, of that place, who assembling his counsaile, asked their opinion if I should bee put to death as a spy of the Christians.

The Soltan himselfe was out of the citie, and therefore his Lieutenaunt who had yet neuer adiudged any man to death, thought it not good to gyue sentence agaynst mee, before the Soltan should be aduertised hereof. And therefore I escaped this present daunger, and remayned in custodie fiftie and fyue dayes, with an Iron of eightiene pounce weyght hangyng at my feete. The seconde day after I was taken, many Mahumetans in great rage resorted to him, whose office was to make inquisition of treason. These a few dayes before, by swymmyng hardly escaped the handes of the Portugales, with the losse of theyr foistes and Barkes, and therefore desired greatly to bee reuenged of the Christians: affyrmyng with outrageous crye, that I was a spy of the Portugales. But God fayled not to assyst me: for the master of the prison perceyuing the outrage of the Mahumetans, and fearyng that they would offer me violence, made fast the gates of the prison. After that fyue and fiftie dayes were paste, the Soltan commaunded that I should be brought before him: and so, set vppon a Camel with my shackles, I came in eight dayes iourney to the place where the Soltan laye and was brought to his presence in a citie named Rhada: for there the Soltan had assembled an army of thirtie thousande men, to make warre agaynst the Soltan of the citie of Sana, whiche is three dayes iourney from Rhada, and situate partly on the declining of a hyll, and partly in a playne, very faire to be seene, well peopled, and hauyng plentie of all thinges. When I came before the Soltan, he began to aske me what I was, I answered that I was a Roman, professed a Mamaluke in Babylon of Alcayr, and that of religious mynd to discharge my conscience of a vowe whiche I had made to see the bodie of Nabi the holy Prophet, I came to the citie of Medinathalhabi, where they say he is buried: and that in all cities and countreys by the way, I hearde honourable reporte of his greatnesse, wisdom, and singular vertue, and therefore ceased not untill I entred his dominions, moste desirous to see his face, yeldyng thanks to God, and Nabi, that it was now my chaunce to be presented before him: trustyng that the equitie of his wisdom, would thereby consyder that I was no spy of the Christians, but a true Mahumetan, and his seruant and slaue. Then sayde the

The wordes of them that professe the religion of Mahumet.

Soldiers horsemen of Christian Ethiopians of the dominie of Presbyter Iohannes. Abyssini, vnder Presbyter Iohn.

Soltan, saye Leila illala Mahumet resullala: which wordes I coulde neuer well pronounce, eyther that it pleased not God, or that for feare and scruple of conscience I durst not. Therefore when he sawe mee holde my peace, he commytted me agayne to pryson, commaundyng that I shoulde be straightly looked vnto, where 16 men of the citie were appoynted, euery day foure, to watche me by course. So that for the space of thre monethes, I had not y fruicion of heauen, during which miserable time, my diet was euery day a lofe of myllet, so litle that seuen of them woulde not haue satisfied my hunger for one daye: But if I myght haue had my fyll of water, I woulde haue thought my selfe happie. Within three dayes after the Soltan marched with his army of thyrtye thousande footemen (as we haue sayde) and three thousande horsemen, to beseege the citie of Sana. These horsemen borne of Christian parentes, and blacke like the Ethiopians, and whyle they were yet very young, were brought in the kyngdome of Prester Iohn, named in Latine Presbyter Iohannes, or rather Preciosus Iohannes. These Christian Ethiopians, are also named Abyssini. They are brought vp in discipline

discipline of warre, as are the Mamalukes and Ienetzars of the Turkes. This Soltan hath them in great estimation, for they are the garde of his owne person, and therefore haue greater wages, and in number fourescore thousande. They couer their bodie with a sindon, like vnto a cloke or cape, putting out onely one arme, and are besyde naked without any other apparell. In the warres they vse rounde targettes, made of buflies hydes, with certayne litle barres of Iron to strengthen them. These targets are paynted very fayre with sundrye colours, and very commodious to resyste dartes, and are in largenesse as muche as the mouth of a barell: the handle is made of woodde, as bygge as they may well holde in theyr handes, and shorte brode swordes. At other tymes, they vse also vestures of linnen cloth of sundry colours. Also of gossampine or Xylon, otherwyse also named Bombasine. In the warres, euery man beareth with hym a slyng, which he casteth fyrst shakynge it often about his head. When they come to 40 or 50 yeeres of age, they make them hornes, by wreathynge y^e heare of theyr heds, so bearyng two hornes lyke young Gotes. When they procede to the warres, fye thousande Camels folowe the army, all laden with ropes of bombasine.

A gard of foure
score thousand
blacke men.
Targettes.

Slynges.

How the women of Arabia, are greatly in loue with whyte men. Cap. 5.

After the army was departed, I was incontinent commytted to pryson, as I haue sayde. Harde by the pryson was a long entrie in maner of a cloyster, where somtyme we were permitted to walke. Ye shall further vnderstande, that in the Soltans place remayned one of his three wyues, with twelue young maydes to wayte vppon her, very faire and comely, after theyr maner, and of coloure inclynnyng to blacke. The fauoure that they bore me, helped me very much, for I with two other, beyng in the same pryson, agreed that one of vs should counterfytte him selfe to be mad, that by this deuice, one of vs myght helpe an other. In fine it was my lotte to take vppon me the mad mans part, and therefore stode me in hande to do suche follies as pertayne to madnesse. Also the opinion whiche they haue of mad folkes, made greatly for my purpose: for they take mad men to be holy, and therefore suffered me to run more at large, vntyll the Eremites had geuen iudgement whether I weare holy, or ragynge mad, as appeareth heereafter. But the fyrst three dayes in which I began to shew my madnesse, weryed me so muche, that I was neuer so tyred with laboure or greued with payne, for the boyes and rascall people somtyme to the number of 40 or 50 hurled stones at me almost without ceassing, while in the meane tyme againe I paid some of them home with lyke wages. The boyes cryed euer after me, callyng me mad man. And to shewe it the more, I caryed alwayes stones with me in my shyrt, for other apparel had I none. The queene hearyng of my follies looked oftentymes out of the wyndowes to see me, more for a secreete loue she bore me, then for the pleasure she tooke in my follyes, as afterwarde appeared.

Counterfet mad-
nesse.

Therefore on a tyme, when some of them, muche madder then I, played the knaues with me in the syght of the queene (whose secreete fauour towardes me I somewhat perceyued) that my maddenesse myght seeme more manifest, I cast of my shyrt, and went to the place before the wyndowes, where the queene myght see me all naked: wherein I perceyued she tooke great pleasure, for she euer founde some occasion that I myght not goe out of her syght: and would sometymes, with all her damoselles wayting on her, spende almost the whole daye in beholding me: and in the meane season diuers tymes sent me secretly muche good meate by her maydens, and when she saw the boyes or other doe me any hurt, she badde me kyl them, and spare not, reuyling them also, and callyng them dogges and beastes. In the pallace was nouryshed a great fatt sheepe: for there are some of such exceeding bygnesse, that only the tayle wayeth 11 or 12 pounde weyght. Vnder the coloure of madnesse, I layd hand on this sheepe, saying, Leila illala Mahumet resullala: which wordes the Soltan before, when I was brought to his presence, wyllyd me to say, to prooue whether I were a Mahumetan or a professed Mamaluke. But the beast answeyng nothyng, I asked hym yf he were a Mahumetan, Iewe, or Christian. And wyllyng to make hym a Mahumetan, I rehearsed agayne the sayde wordes, Leila illala Mahumet resullala, (that is to

Sheepe with ex-
ceedyng great
tayles,

A sheepe made
a Mahumetana.

saye)

saye) there is one God and Mahumet his cheefe Prophet: which are the wordes which they speake in professyng theyr fayth. But when the beast yet answered nothing, I broke his legges with a staffe. The queene tooke great pleasure in these my madde follyes, and commaunded the fleshe of the sheepe to be geuen me to eate: I neuer ate meate with more, or better appetite. Also three dayes after, I likewise kylled an Asse that was wont to bryng water into the pallace, because he refused to be a Mahumetan, and to say those woordes. The same tyme also I handeled a Iewe so euyll, that I had almost kylled hym, one in the meane tyme calling me Christian dogge, dogge borne. With which words beyng very angry, I cast many stones at him: but he agayne hurlyng at me gaue me a stroke on the brest, and an other on the syde, which greued me very sore. And because I coule not folowe hym by reason of my shackles, I returned to the pryson, and stopped the doore with a heape of stones, and there lyued in great payne for the space of two daies without meate or drynke: And therefore the queene and other thought me to be dead, but the doore was opened by the queene's commaundement. Then these dogges deryding me, gaue me stones in the steede of bread, and peeces of whyte marble, saying that it was suger: other gaue me clusters of Grapes full of sand. But partly that they should not suspect that I counterfeyted madnesse, I ate the grapes as they gaue me them. When the bruite was spred that I lyued two dayes and nyghtes without meate and drynke: some began to suspect that I was a holy man, and some that I was starke madde. And thus being diuided into diuers opinions, they consulted to send for certayne men, of whom they haue such opinion of holynesse, as we haue of Heremytes: these dwell in the mountaynes, and leade a contemplatyue lyfe. When they came vnto me to geue theyr iudgement what maner of man I was, certayne merchantes asked them yf I were a holy man or a madde man. These were also of diuers opinions, some affyrmyng one thyng, and some another. Whyte they were yet debatyg this matter for the space of an houre, I pyssed in my handes, and hurde it in theyr faces: whereby they agreed that I was no Sainct, but a mad man. The queene seying all this at the wyndowe, laughed well therat among her maydens, and sayd thus to them, By the goodnesse of God, and by the head of Mahumet, this is a good man. The day folowyng, when in the mornyng I founde hym a sleepe that had so sore hurt me with stones, I tooke hym by the heare of the head with both handes, and with my knee so pounched hym on the stomacke, and battered his face, that I left hym all bloody and half dead. Which thyng the queene seeing cryed vnto me saying, kylle the beast, kylle the dogge, whereupon, he ran his way, and came no more in syght. When the President of the citie heard that the queen fauoured me, and toke pleasure in my mad sport, thynkyng also that I was not mad, commaunded that I shoulde goe at lybertie within the pallace, only wearyng my shackles: Yet euery nyght was I put in another pryson in the lower part of the pallace and so remayned styl in the courte for the space of 20 dayes. In the meane tyme the queene wylled me to go a huntynge with her, whiche I refused not, and at my returne, I fained me to be sicke for weerinesse. So continuyng for the space of eyght dayes, vnder the colour of sickenes, the queene often sent to me to know how I did. After this, fyndyng opportunitie, I declared to the queene that I had made a vow to God and Mahumet to visite a certayne holy man in the citie of Aden, and desyred her to geue me leaue to go thither. Whereunto she consented: and commaunded immediatly a Cammell and 25 Sarraphes of golde to be delyuered me. Therefore 5 day folowyng, I tooke my iorney, and in the space of eight dayes, came to the citie of Aden: and shortly after my comyng, visited the man of whom was so great reporte of holynesse, and whom the people honoured for a saint. And this onely because he had euer lyued in great pouertie, and without the company of women. And heare are seene many other such: But doubtlesse all such lose theyr laboure, beyng out of the fayth of Christ. When I had perfourmed my vowe, I fayned that I had recouered health by myracle of that holy man and certified the queene thereof, desyryng that I myght tarye there a while, to visyte lykewyse certayne other men in that country, of whom was the lyke fame of holynesse: whiche excuse I deuised, because the flete of India woulde not yet depart from thence for the space of a moneth. In the meane tyme I secretly agreed with a certayne captayne

Hunger maketh
appetite.

Madnesse taken
for holynesse.

Heremytes Ma-
humetans.

A holy vowe.

A holy saint.

The flete of
India.

tayne of that nauie to goe with hym into India, and made hym many fayre promisses to rewarde hym largely. He answered that he woulde not go into India before he had fyrst ben in Persia: whereunto I agreed.

Of the cities of Lagi and Aiaz in Arabia Fœlix: And of the martes of Aiaz and the towne of Dante. Cap. 7.

THE daye followyng, mounting vppon a Camell, and making a iorney of 25 myles, I came to a certayne citie named Lagi, situate in a great playne, well peopled, hauing abundance of Oliues, and fleshe, with also great plentie of corne, after our maner: but no vines, and great scarsenesse of woodde. The inhabitauntes are vnciuile and rusticall people, of the nation of vagabunde and feelde Arabians, and therfore but poore. Departing frō hence one dais iorney, I came to another citie named Aiaz, situate vppon two hylles, with a great plaine betweene them, and hath in it a notable fountaine, and therefore diuers nations resort thither as to a famous mart. The inhabitauntes are Mahumetans, and yet greatly disferying in opinion of theyr religion: insomuche that therefore they be at great enimitie one agaynst the other, and keepe sore ware. The cause whereof they saye to be this: That the people of the north mountayne, maynteyne the fayth and secte of Mahumet and his felowes, of whom we haue spoken before: but the other of the South mountayne affyrme, that faith shoulde be geuen onely to Mahumet and Haly, saying the other to be false prophetes. But let vs nowe returne to the marte. Almost all maner of spices are brought hyther. The region bryngeth forth sylke and bombassine: also diuers goodly fruites, and vynes. On the toppe of both the hylles, are very strong fortresses, two dayes iorney from thence is the citie of Dante, well fortified both by arte and nature, situate in the toppe of a very great mountaine.

Strife and hatred for religiō and all worth nought.

Mortus Halli as the Persians call hym.

Of Almacharan, a citie of Arabia Fœlix, and of the fruitfulness thereof. Cap. 8.

DEparting from Dantè, we came to the citie of Almacharan, in two dayes iorney. This is situate on a very high mountayne, and declynyng, and difficulte to ascende, as of the heyght of seuen myles, and the way so narrow, that onely two men can passe togeather. In the toppe, is a playne of incredible largenesse, very fruitful, with plentie of all thynges to the vse of man. And therefore I thinke it to be inexpugnable and inaccessible: hauyng also so great abundance of water, that one fountaine may suffice for a hundred thousand men. And therfore they saye that the Soltan here hydeth his treasure, because he was borne in this citie.

Here also euer remayneth one of his wiues. The ayre is marueylous temperate and holsome, and the citie seconde to none in all respectes: the colour of the inhabitantes is rather enclynynge to whyte, then any other colour. And to speake that I haue seene, the Soltan reserueth here as much golde, as wyll lade a hundred Camels.

As muche gold as wyll lade a hundred Camels.

Of Reame a citie of Arabia Fœlix, and the temperatenesse thereof. Cap. 9.

THIS citie is distaunt two dayes iorney from Almacharan. The colour of the inhabitantes is enclynynge to blacke: they are great merchantes. The soyle is fruitfull of all thynges sayyng wood: it conteyneth in circuite two thousande houses: on the one syde is a mountayne hauyng on it a very strong fortesse. Here I saw a certayne kinde of sheepe hauyng theyr tayles of fortie and foure pounce weyght, and are without hornes, and also so marueylous fat, that they can scarcely goe for fatnesse. There be lykewyse certayne grapes without graynes, the sweetest that euer I eate, and al maner of suche fruites, as I haue spoken of before. It is of marueylous temperatenesse, as witnesseth the long lyfe of men, for I haue spoken with many of them that haue passed the age of a hundred and fise and twentie yeeres, and yet verie lustie and wel complexioned. They goe for the most part naked, wearyng only shyrts, or other loose and thynne apparell, lyke Mantelles, puttyng out one arme all bare. Almoste all the Arabians make them hornes with wreathyng of theyr owne heare, and that they thinke very comely.

A sheepes tayle of 44 pounce weyght. Grapes without graynes.

Man of long lyfe in temperate ayre.

Of Sana a citie of Arabia Fœlix. Cap. 10.

An armye of
fourescore
thousand men.
Strong Walles.

Anthropo-
phagus.

DEpartying from thence three dayes iorney, I came to a citie named Sana, situate vppon a verye hyghe mountayne, verye strong by Arte and Nature. The Soltan besyged this, with a great armye of fourescore for the space of three monethes, but coulde neuer wyne it. Yet it was at the last rendered by composition. The walles are of eyghtene cubites heygth, and twentie in breadth, insomuch that eyght Camels in order may wel marche vpon them. The region is very fruitefull and muche like vnto ours, and hath plentie of water. A Soltan is Lorde of the citie: hee hath twelue sonnes, of the whiche one is named Mahumet, who by a certayne naturall tyrannye and madnesse, delyteth to eate mans fleeshe, and therefore secretly kylleth many to eate them. He is of large and strong body, of foure cubites hygh, and of the coloure inclinyng to ashes. The soyle beareth certayne spices not farre from the citie. It conteyneth about foure thousand houses. The houses are of fayre buyldyng, and geue no place to ours. The citie is so large, that it conteyneth within the walles, feldes, gardens, and medowes.

Of Taessa, Zibith, and Damar, great cities of Arabia Fœlix. Cap. 11.

Roses.

Suger.

AFTER three daies iorney, I came to a citie named Taessa, sytuate vppon a mountayne, and verye fayre to syght: it hath plentie of all delices, and especially of marceylous fayre Roses, whereof they make Rose water. It is an auncient citie, and hath in it a Temple buylded after the fashion of the churche of Sancta Maria Rotunda in Rome. The houses are very fayre, and shewe yet the monumentes of antiquitie: innumerable merchantes resort hyther for the trafficke of sundry merchandies. In apparell they are lyke vnto other, and of darkyshe ashe coloure of skynne, enclynyng to blacke. Three dayes iorney from thence, I came to an other citie named Zibith, very fayre and good, distaunt from the redde sea onely halfe a dayes iorney; there is great abundance of merchandies by reason of the nearnesse of the sea. It aboundeth with many goodly thynges, and especially with most white Suger, and sundrye kyndes of pleasant frutes. It is sytuate in a very large playne within two mountaynes: it lacketh walles, and is one of the cheefest martes for all sortes of spyces. The inhabitants are of the coloure of them aforesayde. From hence in one dayes iorney, I came to the citie of Damar: it is in a fruitefull soyle, and hath great exercise of merchandise. The inhabitants are Mahumetans, in apparell and colour lyke vnto the other.

Of the Soltan of the aforesayde cities, and why he is named Sechamir. Cap. 12.

The Soltan of
Arabia felix.

A pitiful pagan.

A great familye.

THESE cities whereof we haue spoken here a little before, are subiect to a Soltan of Arabia Fœlix, named Sechamir. Secha (by interpretation) signifieth holy, and Amir, a Prince, because he abhorreth sheddyng of mans blood. At the tyme of my beyng there in pryson, he nouryshed syxteene thousand poore men, and captiues in pryson condemned to death, allowyng to euery of them dayly for theyr diet, syxe of theyr pence of the smallest valure, and at home in his pallace entertayneth as many blacke slaues.

Of Monkeys and Marmassettes, and other beastes, noysome to men. Cap. 13.

Of Aden seade
the fourth cap.

Monkeys and
Lions.

Danger of wilde
beasts.

DEpartying from hence, I returned to the citie of Aden in three dayes iorney: in the midde waye, I founde an exceedyng hygh and large mountayne, where is great plentie of wylde beastes, and especially of Monkeys, whiche runne about the mountayne euery where. There are also many Lions, very noysome to men: and therefore it is not safe to iorney that way, but when a multitude of men goe together, at the least to the number of a hundred. I passed this way with a great companie, and yet were we in daunger of the Lions, and other wylde beastes which folowed vs: for we were sometimes constrained to fyght with them with dartes, slyngs, and bowes, vsyng also the helpe of dogges, and yet escaped hardly. When I came to the citie, I fayned myselfe sicke: and in the day time lurked in the temple, and went forth only in the night to speake with the pilot of the shyp (of whom I haue made mention before) and obteyned of hym a foist or barke to depart thence secretly.

Of

Of certayne places of Ethiopia. Cap. 14.

IN the syxt chapter here before, I haue made mention howe departing from the queene I went to the citie of Aden, where I couenaunted with a certayne pilot to goe with hym into India, and that he woulde not go thither before he had fyrst made a viage into Persia, and that at my fyrst beyng in the citie of Aden, he coulde not yet for the space of a moneth depart from thence: Duryng whiche tyme, I traueyled the regions and cityes, whereof I haue spoken, vnto this my returne to Aden. Nowe therfore accordyng to our agreement to trauaile diuers countreys and regions, committing our selues to the sea, we were by instant fortune and sundry tempestes, deterred from that viage: for whereas we were nowe syxe dayes sailing on our waye to Persia, a sodayne contrary tempeste droue vs out of our waye, and cast vs on the coast of Ethiopie. Our barkes were laden with rubricke (that is, a certayne redde earth) which is vsed to dye cloth: for yeerely from the citie of Aden, departe fyfteene or twentie shyps laden with rubricke, which is brought out of Arabia Fœlix. Beyng therefore thus tossed with stormes, we were dryuen into a port, named Zeila: where we remayned fyue dayes to see the citie, and tarrye vntyll the sea were more quiet.

Tempest.
The viage to
Persia.
Ethiophe.

Rubricke.

Of the citie Zeila in Ethiopia, and the great fruitfulnessse therof: and of certayne straunge beastes scene there. Cap. 15.

IN this citie, is great freequentation of merchandies, as in a most famous mart. There is marueylous abundaunce of gold and luerie, and an innumerable number of blacke slaues, solde for a small price: these are taken in warre by the Mahumetan Mores, out of Ethiopie, of the kyngdome of Presbiter Iohannes, or Preciosus Iohannes, whiche some also call the Kyng of Iacobins or Abyssins, beyng a Christian: and are caried away from thence into Persia, Arabia Fœlix, Babylonia of Nilus or Alcair, and Mecha. In this citie iustice and good lawes are obserued: the soyle beareth Wheate, and hath abundaunce of flesh, and diuers other commodious thynges. It hath also Oyle, not of Olyues, but of some other thyng, I knowe not what. There is also plentie of hony and waxe: there are lykewyse certayne sheepe, hauyng their tayles of the weyght of syxeteene pounce, and exceedyng fatte, the head and necke are blacke, and all the rest whyte. There are also sheepe altogether whyte, hauyng tayles of a cubite long, hangyng downe lyke a great cluster of grapes: and haue also great lappes of skynne hangyng from theyr throtes, as haue Bulles and Oxen, hangyng downe almost to the grounde. There are also certayne Kyne with hornes lyke vnto Hartes hornes, these are wylde: and when they bee taken, are geuen to the Soltan of that citie as a kyngly present. I sawe there also certayne Kyne, hauyng only one horne in the midst of the forehead, as hath the Vnicorne, and about a spanne of length, but the horne bendeth backward: they are of bryght shynnyng red colour. But they that haue Hartes hornes, are enclynnyng to blacke colour. Conye is there good cheepe. The citie hath an innumerable multitude of merchants: the walles are greatly decayed, and the hauen rude and despicable. The kyng or Soltan of the citie is a Mahumetan, and entertayneth in wages a great multitude of foote men and horsemen. They are greatly geuen to warres, and weare onely one loose synngle vesture, as we haue sayde before of other. They are of darke ashye colour, enclynnyng to blacke. In the warres, they are vnarmed, and are of the sect of Mahumet.

Golde. luerie.
Blacke slaues.

Presbiter Iohan-
nes, kyng of
Iacobins and
Abyssins.
Iustice and good
lawes.

Sheepe with
great tayles.

Palcaria.
Kyne with
Hartes hornes.
Kyne with only
one horne.

Of Barbara, an Ilande of Ethiopie. Cap. 16.

AFTER that the tempestes were appeased, wee gaue wynde to our sayles, and in shorte tyme arryued at an Ilande named Barbara, the Prince whereof is a Mahumetan. The Ilande is not great, but fruitfull and well peopled: it hath abundaunce of flesh. The inhabitants are of colour enclynnyng to blacke. Al theyr ryches, is in heardees of cattayle. We remayned here but one day, and departing from hence, sayled into Persia.

The thyrd booke entreateth of Persia: and of certayne townes and partes of Persia. Cap. 1.

Diubander-
rumi.

The Soltan of
Cambaia.

Goa.

Giulfar.
Meschet.

When we had sayled the space of twelue dayes, we aryued at a citie called Diubanderrumi, (that is to say) the holy porte of Turkes. It is but a little way from the continent: when the sea ryseth with hye tydes, it is an Iland enuironed with water, but at a lowe fludde, or decrease of the sea, one may go thither by land: it is subiect to the Soltan of Cambaia. The Gouvernour is named Menacheas. It is a marte of great merchandies. There dwell about it foure hundred merchants of Turkey: it is well walled round about, and defended with al sorts of engins. They haue barkes and brygantines somewhat lesse then ours: we remained here two daies. Departyng from hence, we came to an other citie named Goa, in the space of three dayes iorney: this also aboundeth with merchandies, and is a mart greatly frequented. The soyle is fruitfull, with plentie of all thynges necessary; the inhabitantes are Mahumetans. Neare vnto this, are two other fayre cities and portes, named Giulfar and Meschet.

Of the Iland and citie of Ormus, or Armusium: and of an Iland of Persia where pearles are found. Cap. 2.

Ormus.
Pearles.

Fyshyng for
pearles.

Dyuers vnder
the water.

Proceedyng on our viage, we came to a citie named Ormus, very fayre. This is seconde to none in goodlye situation, and plentie of pearles: it is in an Ilande dystaunt from the continent twelue myles: It hathe great scarcenesse of freshe water and corne, from other regions is brought thither all victualles that nouryshe the inhabitautes. Three dayes saylyng from thence, are geathered those muscles which bryng forth the fayrest and byggest pearles: they are taken as I will now declare. There are certayne men that get theyr lyuing by fyshyng. These hauing small Boates cast into the sea a great stone, fastened to a corde, and this on both sydes of the Boate, to make it as stedfast and immoueable as a shyppe lying at an anker. The Boate thus stayed as it were with weyght and balance, an other appoynted to that purpose, casteth in the sea a corde with a stone hangyng at it. In the myddest of the Boate an other hauyng a sacke hangyng on his shoulder before and behynde, and a stone hangyng at his feete, hurleth him selfe into the sea, and swimmeth vnder the water euen vnto the bottome of the sea, for the deapth of fyftiene pases or more, and there remayneth vntyll he haue geathered the pearle Muscles, which he putteth in his sacke, then he casteth away the stone that weyghed him downe, and commeth vp by the corde. There are seene sometyme almost three hundred shyppes, and other kynde of vessels, which come thither from many places and countreys. The Soltan of the citie, is a Mahumetan. There are aboue foure hundred merchautes and factours remayning here continually, for the trafike of merchandies whiche come from diuers other regions, as silke, pearles, precious stones, spices, and suche lyke. They lyue with Ryse for the moste parte, for they haue none other corne.

Of the citie named Eri in Chorazani, a region of Persia, and of the riches therof: Also of Reubarbarum. Cap. 3.

Chorazani or
Chorashan.

Great abun-
dauce of silke.
Plentie of
Corne.
Rubarbe of
smal price.

DEpartyng from Ormus, I went into Persia: And after ten dayes iourney, I came to a certayne citie named Eri. The name of the region is Chorazani, by which signification we may also name it Flaminia. The Kyng of the region, dwelleth in the citie: It is fruitfull and plentifull almost of all thynges. There is seene so great abundaunce of sylke, that you may in one daye bye as muche as may suffice to lade three thousande Cameles. Corne is there neuer deare, by reason of the great abundaunce. There is great plentie of Rubarbe, as I geather by this coniecture, that syxe pounce of Rubarbe, after our pounce of 12 ounces to the pounce, are solde for one croune of golde. The citie conteyneth in circuite about seven thousande houses. They are of the secte of Mahumet. Departyng from hence twentie dayes iorney, I obserued that the continent region or firme lande, farre from the sea syde, is very well inhabited with many good townes and vyllages.

Of

Of the ryuer thought to be Euphrates. And of Castoreum. Cap. 4.

IN this iorney I came to a certayne great ryuer, whiche in the inhabitantes language euen at this daye is named Eufra, which I verily thynke to be Euphrates, considering also the large capacite thereof. Proceedyng therefore on my iorney by the ryuer towarde the lefte hande, I came in the space of three dayes to an other citie, named Schyra. This hath onely one prynce, and he a Persian Mahumetan, and subiecte to none other. Here are founde all sortes of precious stones, and especially the stone Eranon, whiche delyuereth men from witchcraftes, madnesse, and fearefulnesse, proceeding of melancolie. It is the stone commonly called the Turquesse. They are brought in great abundaunce from a citie named Balascam, where is also great plentie of Castoreum, and sundrye kyndes of coloures. And heere I notifie vnto you, why there is found litle true Castoreum among vs, because it is adulcerate by the Persians before it come to our handes, for these people are greatly geuen to the counterfetting of suche thynges, as I saw by experience before myne eyes: for willyng on a time to proue the odoriferous strength of pure Castoreum, I sawe certayne, that had experience hereof, do in this manner. They tooke the bladder of Castoreum, and foure of them one after an other, put it to their noses to smell.

The ryuer Euphrates.

Precious stones. The stone Eranon and Turques.

Balascam. Castoreum.

The sauour of it was so strong, that it made theyr noses bleede: and by this profe, they knew it to be pure Castoreum, and not counterfect. I asked the Persian whether Castoreum (as other the lyke vngments or drugges) would sone loose his strength. He answered, that the strength of that sauour myght be preserued the space of ten yeres, yf it were not counterfect. The Persians are very courteous and gentle people, lyberall and gracious one to an other, and fauorable to strangers: and this I speake as I haue founde and scene by experience. Duryng the tyme that I was there, I founde a certayne Persian merchant, who the yeere before knewe me in the citie of Mecha: he was borne in the citie of Eri in Corozain. As soone as he sawe me, he spake to me in this maner, Lodouicke what God or fortune hath sent thee into these countreys: Art not thou he whom not long sence I knewe in Mecha? To whom I answered, I am certaynely the same, and am now come hyther for the great desire that I haue to see the worlde. Praysed be God, sayd he, that I haue nowe found a companion of my iorney, that is taken with the same desire that I haue: and therfore for the space of fyfteene dayes we remayned together in a citie named Squilaz. He exhorted me not to depart from hym, but that we should together, by his gudyng, trauayle the cheefe partes of the world. Enteryng therefore on our iorney, we came fyrst to a place named Saint Bragant.

Comendation of the Persians.

Squilaz.

Saint Bragant.

Of the citie of Saint Bragant, bygger then Babylon. And of the kyng of Persia, named the Sophie. Cap. 5.

THEY saye that the citie of Saint Bragant, is bygger then Babylon: the kyng of the citie, is a Mahumetan. The merchantes saye that when it pleaseth hym, he assembleth an armie of threescore thousande Horsemen. The people are of colour enclinyng to whytenesse, and verye warrelyke men. This we say only by enformation of other: for we coulde not safely passe any further, by reason of the great warres which the Sophie then made agaynst those Mahumetans, which are of the sect and religion of Bubachar, Othomar, and Omar. These were the felowes of Mahumet, as we haue written before of Mahumet and his felowes. The Persians abhorre these as heretikes and false doctoures, although they themselues also be Mahumetans of an other secte, whiche is of Mahumet and Hali, whose doctrine they embrace and esteeme for most perfect and true religion. Here therefore the sayde Persian, my goode friende, and ioyfull companion of my iourney, sayde thus vnto mee, That thou mayest vnderstande (Lodouicke) the vnfayned good will that I beare thee, and the desyre I haue that our friendship may be knyt with indissoluble bandes, and thereby to assure thee that I will not fayle thee in thy necessitie, I haue a Nyese named Samis, whom I wil gyue thee to wyfe. Samis in theyr tongue, signifieth the Sunne (for shee deserued so to be called for her singular beautie) and sayde furthermore, that he dyd not trauayle the worlde for lacke of

An armie of threescore thousand horsemen.

War betwene the Sophie of Persia and the Turke, for the religion. The Persians hold of Mahomet and Hali or Mortus Hali.

A sure friend in necessitie.

of any thyng, but only for his pleasure and desyre of knowledge. And therefore passyng no further, by reason of the warres (as we haue sayde) we returned to the citie of Eri, where he enterteyned mee in his house honourably: and shewyng mee his Nyese, instantly desyred mee to take her to wyfe. But I, hauyng my mynde otherwyse destinate, woulde not seeme to contemne his so friendly a profer, but deferred it to a more conuenient tyme. Therefore departyng from thence, within eight dayes after, we returned to Ormus, and sayled from thence into India, arryuing there at a certayne porte named Cheo.

Cheo.

Here foloweth the fourth booke, which entreateth of India, and of the cities and other notable thynges scene there.

Of the citie of Cambaia in India, most fruitfull in maner of all thynges. Cap. 1.

Forasmuche as in the begynnyng of this woorke we promised that we would declare all thynges briefly, we intende nowe heere to speake onely of thynges which may seeme most woorthye to be knowne. Entryng therefore into India, we came to a certayne porte, which the great and famous ryuer Indus passeth by, and is not far from the citie of Cambaia. It is situate three myles within the lande, towarde the South. The Brigantines or foystes can haue no accesse to it, excepte the fludde ryse hygher then commonly it is wont to do, which sometymes ouerfloweth the lande the space of foure myles. But heere the fluddes haue contrarie courses of increasyng, for heere they increase in the wane of the Moone, but with vs in the full Moone. The citie is walled after our maner, and aboundeth with al necessarie thynges, especially with wheate, and al sorts of wholesome and pleasaunt fruites. There are also certayne kindes of spyces, the names whereof I knowe not. It hath also abundaunce of gossampine or bombassine cotton. Merchaunts bryng from thence yeerely so much bombassine and silke, that sometime they lade fourtie or fyftie shyps to cary into other countreys. In this region is also a mountayne where the Onyx stone, commonly called Corneola, is founde: and not farre from thence also an other mountaine, where the Calcedony and Diamant are found.

The ryuer
Indus.
The citie of
Cambaia.

Note the increse
of ryuers
contrarye to
ours.

40 shippes lade
with sylke and
bombassine.

The maners of the people of the citie of Cambaia: and of the Soltan thereof.
Cap. 2.

The Soltan of Cambaia, at my beyng there, was named Macamut, and had raygned fourtie yeeres, after he had expulsed the kyng of Gugerat. They thynke it not lawefull to kyll any lyuyng beaste to eate, or to eate fleshe. They are no Mahumetans, neyther Idolaters, and therefore I beleue that if they were baptised, they were not far from the way of saluation, for they obserue the exquisite rule of iustice, doying no worse to other, then they woulde to be done to them. As touchyng theyr apparell, some of them go naked, and other couer onely theyr priuities. On theyr heades, they weare syllettes of purple colour. They them selues are of darke yelow colour, commonly called Leonell colour. This Soltan maynteyneth an army of 20 thousande horsemen. Euery mornyng resort to his pallace, fyftie men, syttyng on Elephantes. Their office is, with all reuerence to salute the kyng or Soltan, the Elephantes also kneelyng downe. In the mornyng assoone as the kyng waketh, is hearde a great noyse of Drummes, Tambartes, Tymbrelles, Waytes, and also Trumpettes, with dyuers other musicall instruments, in reioycyng that the kyng lyueth. The lyke do they wyle he is at dinner: and then also the men syttyng on the Elephantes, make hym the like reuerence as before. We wyll in due place speake of the wytte, customes, and docilitie of these beastes. The Soltan of this citie, hath his vpper lyppe so grosse, that it is a monstrous thyng to beholde: Insomuche that sometyme he beareth it vp with a fillet, as women do the heare of theyr heades: his bearde is whyte and long, euen vnto the nauell. He is so accustomed to poyson from his infancie, that he dayly eateth some to keepe it in vse. And although he hym selfe feeles no hurt thereof by reason of custome, yet doth he thereby so impoyson hym selfe, that he is poyson to other: for when he is disposed to put any of his noblemen to death, he causeth hym to be brought to his presence, and to stande naked

Pithagorici.
Good people.

They may seeme
the succours
of Darius and
Porus.
The great
pompe of the
kyng of
Cambaia.
Elephantes.

Monstrous
great lyppes.

A straunge
hystorie of a
Kyng accus-
tomed to eate
poyson.

DE
that li
they a

naked before hym. Incontinente he eateth certayne fruites (whiche they call Chofolos) lyke vnto Nuttemegges: and eateth also the leaues of certayne hearbes, whiche they call Tambolos, addyng also thereto the powder of beaten oyster shelles. And a while chawyng al these together in his mouth, he spitteth it vpon hym whom he desyreth to kyll, who being sparkled therewith, dyeth, by force of the poyson within the space of halfe an houre. He entertaineth about foure thousand concubines: for when soeuer he hath lync with any of them, she with whom he hath lyen, dyeth the daye folowing, beyng by hym impoysoned. And therefore when he changeth his shyrt, or other apparell, no man dare weare it: and for this cause he hath great change of apparell. My companion enquired diligently of the merchants by what meanes he was of so venomous nature: They answered, that the Soltan his father brought him so vp of a chylde with poison by litle and litle, with preseruatiues so accustomed hym thereto. But let vs now returne to speake of the maners of the people: for the most part they weare but only one syngle vesture, and are very warrelyke men: also greatly geuen to merchandies. The fruitfulness and plentifulnesse of the region can not be spoken. It is frequented almost of al nations. Therefore from this citie, and from an other (wherof we wyll speake hereafter) diuers and innumerable sortes of merchandies, are transported to almost all the regions of the worlde, and especially to the Turkes, Syrians, Arabians, Indians: also to diuers regions of Affrike and Ethiopia: principally exceedyng abundance of sylke and Bombasyn, and therefore is this Soltan marueylous rych. He keepeth in maner contynuall warre with the kyng of Ioga, whose realme is fyfteeue dayes iorney from Cambaia, and reacheth very farre euery waye. This kyng mayntayneth an armie of 30 thousand fyghtyng men: he and all his people are Idolatours. He lyueth in contynual progresse, with a mightie trayne at the charges of the people: and contynually carrieth about with hym foure thousand tentes and pauilions: also his wyfe, children, concubines and slaues, furthermore, foure or fyue of most couragious horses: likewyse muskattes, moonkeys, Parrottes, Leopardes, and haukes. And in this order he walketh almost ouer all India. The kynges apparell, is a double gotes skinne, one coueryng his brest, and the other his backe, with the hearysyde outward: he is of wesel colour enclining to blackenesse: as are the most part of these Indians, beyng in maner scorched with heate of the Sunne. They weare al earerings, precious stones, and iewels of sundry sorts: some couer theyr body with a single, light, and thinne vesture, puttyng out one arme naked. The kyng and certaine of his noble men, paynt their faces with certayne sweete gommess and spices: and some also other partes of their bodies. They are ledde with many vayne superstitions: for some professe neuer to lye on the grounde, some to lyue in continual silence, as though they were speechlesse, hauing two or three appointed by signes to serue them meate and drynke.

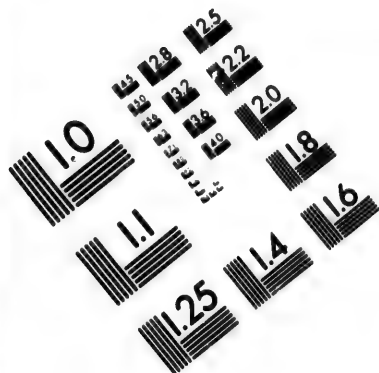
They haue all hornes hangyng about theyr neckes: and therefore when they come to any citie, they blowe theyr hornes all at once, to make the inhabitantes afraide, as do they that with vs keepe Crowes or Rookes out of the corne. Then commyng to talke with the citizens, they demaund victualles and what soeuer other thynges they stande in neede of. Whyle the kyng any tyme resteth a while in one place, almost all the whole armye gardyng his person about his pauilion, fyue or syxe hundred in the meane tyme raunge abroade together to geat what they can. They tarry not past three dayes in one place, but are euer wanderyng after the maner of the vagabunde Egyptians, Arabians and Tartars. The region is not fruitfull, but rough, with craggie mountaines. The houses of the citie are despicable: the citie is also without walles. This kyng is enemye to the Soltan of Machamir, and vexeth hym greatly with diuers incursions.

Of the citie of Ceull, and the maner of the people. Cap. 3.

DEpartyng from Cambia, in twelue dayes iorney I came to a citie named Ceull: the land that lieth betweene them both is called Guzerat. The kyng of this citie, is an Idolatour: they are of darke yealowe colour, or Lion tawnye: some were suche slender apparell as they

whom







whom wee haue spoken of before: other are naked, couering onely theyr pryuities. They are prompt to the warres, and vse swordes, bowes, dartes, slynges, and rounde targettes. They haue engines to beat downe walles, and to make great slaughter in an armie: the citie hath walles, and is distant from the sea but three myles. A fayre ryuer runneth by the citie, by the whiche much merchandies is brought thither. The soyle beareth almost all maner of fruites, except Vynes, Walnuttres, and Chessnuttres. It hath also Wheate, Barlie, and other kyndes of corne. Here is made great plentie of Bombasine cloth. They are such Idolatours as are they of Calcut, of whom we wyl speake hereafter: yet are there in the citie many merchants Mahumetans. They exercise iustice. The kyng entertayneth but a small armie. There are many horses and kyne. Two dayes iorney from hence, is a citie named Dabuly, hauing a great ryuer runnyng by it. It hath walles after the maner of ours. The soyle is fruitfull, and the citie beautifull. There are innumerable merchauntes Mahumetans. The kyng is an Idolater, and hath an armie of 30 thousande men. They are in maners lyke vnto the other, and of the same colour.

Of Goga, an Ilande of India. Cap. 4.

DEpartying from hence, I came to the Iland of Goga, not past a myle destant from the continent. This payeth yeerely trybute to the kyng of Dechan a thousand peeces of golde, of the value of the Saraphes of Babylon, hauyng on the one syde the Image of the dyuell, and on the other syde, certayne unknowen caracters. Vppon the sea coaste of one syde of this Ilande, is a towne buylded after the maners of ours. The gouernour is a certayne Captayne of soldiers named Saunait: he hath in his regiment foure hundred Mamalukes, and is also a Mamaluke hym selfe: and therefore when he syndeth any whyte men, he entertayneth them frendly, and geueth them stypende of twentie Saraphes of golde euery moneth. But he fyrst maketh profe of their strength and valiantnesse by wrestlyng: and if they be not founde meete for the warres, he putteth them to handy craftes. This Captayne with onely his foure hundred Mamalukes, greatly vexeth the king of Narsinga. Departyng from hence, in eyght dayes iorney by lande, I came to the citie of Dechan.

Of Dechan, a very fayre citie of India. Cap. 5.

THE kyng or Soltan of Dechan, is a Mahumetan, of whom the foresayde captayne Mamaluke is entred in wages. This citie is beautifull in syght, and the soyle very fruitfull and plentifull in maner of all thynges necessarie. The kyng is accompted a Mamaluke, and with hym 35 thousande men of his dominion of horsemen and footemen. The citie is beautified with a marueylous fayre pallace, and the pallace adourned with many fayre roomes, for before you come to the kynges chamber, you must passe by 44 other chambers, for the soldiers of the chambers are so orderly disposed, that one chamber styll geueth entrie into an other, vntyll you come to the last. The citie is compassed with a wal, after the maner of the Christians. The houses are not vncomely. The kyng vseth incredible pompe, and regal magnificence. They that wayte vppon his person weare vppon theyr shooes or starpins Rubies and Diamondes, and such other precious stones. What ouches and iewelless they weare in theyr earynges and Condaliis. Carkenettes colours, let wittie men iudge, comparying the fecte to the more noble partes of the bodie. Sixe miles from the citie is a mountayne where Diamondes are digged. It is compassed with a wall, and kept with a Garrison. The region hath plentie of all thynges. The people are Mahumetans. Theyr apparell for the most part is of sylke: or at the least the sherte or inmost vesture. They weare also thyn buskynnes: and hose lyke gregascos or maryners slops. Theyr women, after the maner of the women of Damasco, haue theyr faces couered. The kyng keepeth in maner continual war with the kyng of Narsinga. The most part of his souldiers are strangers, entertheyned for wages. They are whyte men: but the inhabitantes, of the coloure of the other Indians. The kyng is marueylous ryche, and lyberall. He hath also a great naue of shyps. He hateth the Christians as much as any other. Thus hauyng traueled this part of the region, I toke my iorney towarde a citie named Bathacala, fyue dayes iorny from Dechan. The inhabitantes are Idolaters, except

cept certayne Mahumetan merchants, which resort thither for merchandise. It hath abundance of Ryse, Sugar, Fygges, Walnattes, Wheate, Corne, and many other fruites and rootes vnknown to vs. They haue Beeues, Kyne, Bulles, Sheepe, Goates, and dyuers other beastes, but no Horses, Mules or Asses.

Of certayne other goodly cities of India. Cap. 6.

DEpartying from hence, I tooke my iorney towards a citie Centacola, one dayes iorney from Bathacala. The prince of this citie is no lord of great riches. There is neuerthelesse abundance of fleshe, Ryse, and other suche fruites as growe in India: many Mahumetans resort hyther for merchandies. The kyng is an Idolater, and of Lion tawny colour. They go starke naked, and weare nothyng on theyr heades. This prince is subiecte to the kyng of Barthagal. Departing from hence two dayes iorney, I came to an llande named Onor, whose kyng is an Idolater, and serueth the deuyll, and is subiect to the kyng of Narsinga: He is very gentle and famillier, he mayntayneth eyght foystes, which make excursions and lyue by ronyng and pyracie. He is in great frendshyppe with the kyng of Portugale. The inhabitantes couer their priuities with a sindone, and are besyde all naked. The soyle beareth plentie of Ryse, as in other partes of India. There are in maner al kyndes of beastes, as wylde bores, Harts, Wolues, Lions, and sundry kinds of birdes, and foules vnlike vnto ours, Pecoockes also and Parrottes. It hath innumerable Kyne of shynnyng yelow colour: also sheepe exceeding fatte. There is so great abundance of flowers and Roses, that they fayle not in wynter. There can not be a more temperate ayre: and therefore they lyue much longer then we do. Not far from this citie, is an other citie named Mangolor: from whence about the number of 60 shippes departe yeerely laded with Ryse. The inhabitantes are partly Idolaters, and partly Mahumetans. Their maner of lyuing and apparell, is as we haue sayd before.

Of Canonor and Narsinga, great cities of India. Cap. 7.

DEpartying from hence, we directed our iorney toward the citie of Canonor, beyng a very goodly citie. Heere the kyng of Portugale hath a very strong towne. The kyng of the citie is an Idolater, and no great frend to the kyng of Portugale. The citie hath a porte, whither are brought the horses of Persia: but the custome for horses is exceeding great. Departing from hence, and entryng further into the lande, we came to the citie of Narsinga, where many Mahumetan merchants do dwel. The soyle beareth neyther wheate nor vynes, or fewe other fruites, except Oranges and Gourdes. They eate no breade: but lyue with ryse, fyshe, and suche walnattes as the country beareth. In maners and Idolatrye, they are lyke vnto them of Calecut, of whiche we wyll speake hereafter. There is founde plentie of spyces, as Ginger, Pepper, Myrobalans, Cardanum, Cassia, and dyuers suche other. Also many and dyuers kindes of fruites vnlyke vnto ours, and muche sweeter. The region is in maner inaccessible for many dennes and diches made by force. The kyng hath an army of fyftie thousande gentlemen, whiche they call Heros. In the warres they vse swoordes, rounde Targettes, or Buklers, Lances, Dartes, Bowes, Slynge: and begyn nowe also to vse Gunnes. They go naked, coueryng onely their priuities, except when they go to the warres. They vse no Horses, Mules, Asses, or those Camels whiche we commonly call Dromedaries. They vse onely Elephantes, yet not to fyght in the battayle. Great merchandise is vsed in the citie: for thither resorte from dyuers countres two hundred shippes yeerely. Departing from the kyngdome of Narsinga, in 15 dayes iorney towards the East, we came at the length to a citie named Bisinagar.

Of the fruitful citie of Bisinagar in the kyngdome of Narsinga. Cap. 8.

THE citie of Bisinagar is vnder the dominion of the kyng of Narsinga, and subiect to him. The citie is very large and well walled, situate on the syde of a hyll, and eyght myles in circuite. It is compassed with a triple wall, and is a famous mart of all sortes of ryche merchandise. The soyle is marueylous fruitfull, and hath whatsoever pertayneth to delicates

A a

and

Haukyng and
huntyng.

An army of
four thousand
horsemen.
Horses of great
price.

Four hundred
Elephantes.
Dromedary
Camelles.

and pleasures. There is no lande more commodious for haukyng and huntyng, for it hath large playnes and goodly woods: a man would saye it were an earthly Paradyse. The kyng and people are Idolaters. He is a prince of great power, he hath an army of foure thousand horsemen. And yet is it to be noted, the price of a good horse there, to be no lesse then foure or syue hundred of those peeces of golde whiche they call Pardais: And sometye it so chaunceth that a horse is solde for eight hundred of those peeces of golde. The cause of which great price is, that they are brought out of other countreys: and that they haue no Mares, being forbydden by the commaundement of the kynges, streightly charging the portes to be kepte, least any mares should be brought into the countrey. Hee hath also foure hundred Elephantes to serue in the warres: and lykewyse as many Camelles, of the kynde of those swyfte runnyng Camelles which be commonly called Dromadarii. And here me seemeth good opportunitie to say somewhat of the docilitie, agilitie, and wyt of Elephantes, as we haue promised.

Of the docilitie, agilitie, and wit of Elephantes. Cap. 9.

Howe the Ele-
phantes are pre-
pared to the
warres.

Seuen men fyght
vpon one Ele-
phant.

Howe the Ele-
phant is armed.

The Elephant
vnderstandeth
the voyce of his
keepers.

The Elephant
can not abyde
fyre.

The strength of
the Elephant.

The Elephants
haue ioyntes in
their legges.

The hande of
the Elephant.

The teeth of the
Elephant is lury.

The Elephant, of all foure footed beastes, and nexte vnto man, is most wittie and docible, and not farre from humane sence, and surmounteth all other beasts in strength. When the Indians bring them to the warres, they put great packesaddelles on their backs, suche as in Italie they vse for the great Mules. These packesaddelles they gyrd vnder theyr bellyes with two chaynes of yron. Vppon the saddelles, they place on euery syde a litle house, or if you will, rather call them Turrettes, or Cagies, made of wood: euery Turret conteyneth three Men. Betweene the two Turrettes sitteth an Indian on the backe of the beast, and speaketh to him in his owne language, which the beast vnderstandeth and obeyeth: for it is certaine that no other beast approacheth so neare to the vnderstanding of man. Seuen men therefore are thus placed vppon one Elephant when they goe to the wars, and all armed with coates of fence, Targets, Bowes, Lances, Darts, and Slynages. Also the trunk or snoute of the Elephant (which of the Latine is called Promuscis, or Proboscis, and of some, the hande of the Elephant) is armed, and hath a sword fastened to it of the length of two cubites, very strong, and of a handfull in breadth. And thus furnished, they procede to the battayle. When it is requisite to goe forwarde, or backwarde, the gouernour sittynge aboue, gyueth them an instruction with such voyces as they are accustomed vnto: for sometye he sayth thus to the beast, Stryke here, stryke there, forbear here, goe forwarde there, turne this way, and that way. All which wordes he vnderstandeth and obeyeth without spurre or brydell. But where it so chaunceth that by casting of fyre, they are with feare dryuen to flight, they can by no meanes be stayed. And therefore these people haue many subtile deuises howe they may feare them with fyre, which this beast, by the sense of nature, feareth aboue all thinges, and therefore flyeth in maner at the syght of fyre. And to speake somewhat of theyr strength, as I haue by experience, I remember that when I was in the cite of Canonor, certayne Mahumetans drue a shyp aland, turnyng the shyp, after the maner of the Christians, with the fore end towarde the lande, and laying vnder it three rowling beames. Then three Elephantes commodiously applied, drawyng with great force, and bendyng downe theyr heades to the ground, brought the shyp to lande. But many haue thought that the Elephantes haue no ioyntes in theyr legges, and that therefore they could not bende theyr legges: which thyng doubtlesse is false, for they haue ioyntes as haue other beastes, but in the lowest parte of theyr legges. The females are more fierce then the Males, and much stronger to beare burdens. Sometime they are taken with furie or madnesse, and testifie the same by disordinate runnyng here and there. One Elephant exceedeth the bygnesse of three Buffles and not vnylike of heare. They haue eyes lyke swyne, and the snout or trunk very long, wherwith they put meate and drinke into their mouth: and therefore may it well be called the hande of the Elephant. The mouth is vnder the throate, much lyke the mouth of a Sowe, and the trunk is holowe, and can therewith holde fast stickes or staues, and them rule as it were with a hande. I sawe also the trunk of a tree ouerthrowen by an Elephant, which 24 men attempting, could not doe. The two great teeth or tuskes, are placed in the highest iawe. Ech of their eares, are two hand-
fuls

fuls byg, whether the beast be of the bygger or lesse kinde. The feete are like vnto such round thicke trenchers of wood as be commonly vsed. The foote containeth fyue hooves, in roundnesse like vnto great Oysters. The taylor is lyke to the taylor of a Busse, foure handfull long, and of thyn heare. The females are also bigger then the males, they are of sundry bignes, for some are of 13 handfulls high, and other of 14 handfulls, and some also haue been seene of sixtiene handfulls. They goe slowly, and walowing, and therfore some that haue not ben vsed to them, are moued to vomite euen as it were on the sea. Yet is it a pleasure to ryde on the young Elephantes, bicause they goe softly like ambeling Mules. When you mount of them, they stoope and bend their knees, that you may easily ascende. They are neuer brydeled, neyther vse theyr keepers any halters to gouerne them.

The bynesse of the Elephant.

Of the ingendering of Elephantes, and of the magnificence & riches of the king of Narsinga. Cap. 10.

When they ingender, they resorte to the meadowes or woods, for by a certaine naturall shamesfastnesse they doe it not but in secrete places: Althoug some Authours haue written that Elephants engender backward. Some take it for a great present to giue the king the member or pissell of an Elephant, whiche perhappes they doe for the exceedyng great price of Elephantes: for some are solde there for fyue hundred peeces of golde, and some (as they say) for two thousande: which peraduenture, is not for their greatnesse of bodie, but rather for certayne properties, wyt, and docilitie, wherein some farre exceede other, euen as among men. And I dare well say that I haue seene some men much inferior to Elephants in wyt and sense. Therefore the kyng of Narsinga, in riches and dominion, farre exceedeth all kynges that euer I haue seene or hearde of. The citie in situation and fayrenesse, representeth the citie of Milane, except only that is in a declining place, and lesse equal. Other kingdoms which are subiect to this, lye round about it, as the kingdome of Ausonia and Venice lye about Milane. Their Bramini (so are the priestes named) tolde me the king receiueyth dayly of that citie for tribute or reuenue, the summe of twelue thousandes of those peeces of golde whiche they call Pardios. He maynteyneth an army of many thousandes of men, for he liueth in continuall warre with his borderers. He is an Idolatour, and honoureth the deuyll, euen as doth the kyng of Calecut. They that are of the rycheest sorte, vse a slender inwarde apparell or peticote, not very long, and bynde theyr heades with a phillet or broade bande, of sundry colours, after the maner of the Mahumetans. The common sorte, couer onely their priuities, and are besyde all naked. The kyng weareth a Cappe of cloth of golde, of two handfulls long: when he goeth to warre, he weareth a vesture of bombasine, and thereon a cloke adourned with plates of gold, hauyng the borderer garde besette with all sortes of precious stones and Iewelles. His horse with the furniture, is esteemed to bee woorth as muche as one of our cities, by reason of innumerable Iewelles of great price. When he goeth a huntynge, three other kynges beare him company, whose office is to be euer neare him, and guyde him. When he maketh any journey, or rydeth abrode, he is accompanied with six thousand horsemen: And therefore it is manifeste that not only for these thynges whereof we haue spoken, but also for dyuers other of lyke magnificence, hee is one of the greatest Kynges in the worlde. He coyneth money and peeces of golde named Pardios. Also other siluer money of lesse value, whiche they call Fano, conteynyng the value of sixtiene of the smallest money of copper. Traueylers may here goe safely through all his dominions, if they can avoyde the daunger of the Lions. Of theyr dyet and order of luyng, I will speake more largely where occasion shall serue to wryte of Calecut. This kyng of Narsinga, is a great friende to the Christians, and is in great amitie with the kyng of Portogale: and therefore the Portugales are here friendly and honourably vsed. When I had remayned in this citie many dayes, I returned to the citie of Canonor. And after I had remayned three dayes, I entered further into the lande, and came to a citie named Trompata, about twelue myles from Canonor. The inhabitauntes are Idolatours. It is neare vnto the sea, and therefore there are seene many merchantes Mahumetans. They lyeue moderately and haue in maner none other ryches then nuttes of India, but there are

The naturall shamesfastnesse of Elephantes.

The pissell of an Elephant.

Men of lesse vnderstandyng then Elephantes. The riches of the kyng of Narsinga.

A great tribute by the day. Idolaters.

A rich cloke. The magnificence of the kyng of Narsinga.

Coyn of golde and siluer.

Daunger of Lyons.

The kyng of Narsinga, friend to the kyng of Portogale.

The citie of Trompata.

A a 2

very

Mahumetans. very fayre trees to make shypes. There are in the citie aboue fiftiene thousande Mahumetans, although the Kyng be an Idolatour. Departyng from hence, I came to the citie of Pandara: and from thence passyng by the citie of Capagot, I came at the length to the famous citie of Calecut. And to be breefe, I haue here ouerpasse to speake largely of many other people and kyngdomes, as are these, Chianul, Dabul, Bathecalo, Onoué, Bangolor, Canonor, Cuchin, Cacilon, and Calonue, which I haue done, to the ende that I may entreat of Calecut, as the chiefest, and as it were the head and metropolitane of all the cities of India, for it is certayne that the Kyng of Calecut in royall maiestie exceedeth all the kynges of the East, and is therefore in theyr language called Samory, that is to say, God on the earth.

The kyng of
Calecut, a God
on the earth.

The fyfth booke of East India, and fyrst of the famous citie of Calecut. Cap. 1.

The citie of
Calecut.

The citie of Calecut, is situate vppon the continent or firme lande, and the sea beateth vppon the houses of the citie. There is no porte: but on the South syde about a myle from the citie, is a ryuer which runneth into the ocean sea by a narrow mouth. This runneth by many branches into the playne feeldes, and is of the inhabitantes by diuers trenches dispersed to water the grounde. It is not past the depth of three or foure foote of water. The course of it bendeth towarde the citie, and runneth into it. The citie is not compassed with walles, but conteyneth in circuite sixe thousande houses, not adherent or ioyning together after the maner of ours, but by a certayne space distant one from the other, eyther for feare of fyre, or by ignorance of the builders. It is a myle of length. The houses are despicable, as no hygher from the grounde then a man on horsebacke, and are for the most parte couered with boughes of trees, in the steede of tiles or other coueryng. The cause whereof they say to bee, that in digging the grounde fyue or syxe handfull depth, water immediately issueth forth. And therefore they can laye no deeper foundations to beare the weyght of any greater buyldynges. The houses of merchandyse, or warehouses, are solde for fyftiene or twentie peeces of golde. But the common houses, are of no greater price then two peeces of golde at the most, and some for lesse.

Houses diuided.

Very lowe
houses.

Houses of small
price.

Of the kyng of Calecut, and of their Idolatrie. Cap. 2.

Idolatrie and
seruyng of the
deuyll.
One God.
Pseudoplatonici.

The kyng of Calecut and his people, are gyuen to Idolatrie and seruyng of the deuyll: yet deny they not but that there is one great God, maker of heauen and earth, and fyrst and chiefe cause of all thinges: But they adde thereunto a fable, saying that God coulde take no pleasure of his principate or dominion, if hee himselfe shoulde take vppon hym the gouernement of the worlde, and therefore that he gaue the vicarage of that gouernance to the deuyll, who (they say) was sent from heauen for that purpose, and to iudge the worlde, renderyng vnto men well or euyll, according to their deseruyng. This deuyll they name Deumo. But the great God him selfe they call Tamerani. The kyng hath a Chapel in his Pallace, where he honoureth this Deumo: The Chapell is open on euery syde the breadth of a vaulte of two pases, and is no hygher from the grounde then three pases. The entraunce is by a doore of wood, garnished with carued woorke, conteyning the dyuers monstrous fourmes and shapes of deuylles. In the myddest of the Chapell, is a seate of maiestie made of copper, with also a deuyll of copper sitting in it. This deuyll hath on his head a crowne, after the maner of the byshop of Rome, but this hath overplus fourne hornes, his mouth gapyng, with foure notable teeth, a deformed nose, louryng and grymme eyes, a threatenyng looke, crooked handes lyke a fleshe hooke, and ferte not much vnlyke the feete of a Cocke: A monster doubtlesse horrible and fearefull to beholde. In euery corner of the Chapell sit such deuylles of shining copper, as though they were of flamyng fyre, deuouryng soules miserably. These soules are about the bygnesse of halfe a finger, and some little bigger. He putteth one soule into his mouthe with the ryght hande, and with the lefte hande taketh an other from beneath. Euery mornyng the priestes (whom they call Bramini) washe the Idoll with rose water, and perfume him with sweete sauours, and lying prostrate on the grounde, pray vnto him. They sacrifice vnto him once a weeke. Their maner of sacrifice

The deuyl
Prince of this
worlde.

Deumo, quasi
Daemon.
The Chapell of
the deuyl.

The deuyls
chayre of ma-
iestie.
Difference be-
twene the
Popes crowne
and the deuylles.
A well fauoured
Prince.

The deuylles
ordinary dyet,
and deintie
meate.
Bramini.
Bramini.

is this, They haue a little cubbarde lyke vnto an Altar, three handfulls hygh, foure handfulls brode, and fyue handfulls long: this cubbard they strawe with all maner of floures and sweete pouders. Then hauyng a great Chafingdyshe, or the lyke vessell of siluer, full of burning coles, they put the blood of the Cocke thereon, and also cast thereon innumerable sweete sauours: In the meane tyme also with sensours in theyr handes, they goe rounde about the Altar, makyng perfume with frankensense, ringyng a little siluer bell all the whyle of the sacrifice. They kyll the Cocke with a siluer knyfe, and the knyfe also being rayed with blood, they put often in the fyre, that no parte of the blood be lost. Sometime hauyng the knyfe in theyr hande, they make certayne straunge gestures, much lyke to those which the masters of fense vse in giuyng or auoydyng of strokes. They neuer cease puttyng to more coles and spices or perfumes, vntyl all the blood of the Cocke be burnt. The priest that offereth the blood of the Cocke, hath his armes and feete garnyshed with siluer plates and pendants, in such sorte, that whyle hee moueth, they make a certayne noyse, much lyke vnto sonettes or haukes belles. He hath on his breast a certayne bosse, conteynyng I know not what secrete figure, which may seeme to be the secrete caract or signe of some mysterie. The sacrifice being finished, he taketh both his handes full of wheate, and goeth from the Alter backward lyke a Creuice, neuer mouyng his eyes from the Alter, vntill he come to a certayne tree: where openyng his handes, hee casteth the wheate on the tree. Then holdyng his handes aboue his head, he returneth to the Alter, and taketh away all that is thereon.

The maner of sacrifice to the deuyll.

Gallus Eaculapio.

A goodly priest the deuylls Chaplen.

Offering of wheate.

Of the maner which the kyng vseth at his meate. Cap. 3.

THE Kyng doeth not sit downe at his meate, before foure of the priestes offer it to the deuyll, in this maner. Lifting theyr handes aboue theyr heades, with also many other fantastical gesticulations, and murmuring voyces, they offer the meate to the deuyll, and spende long tyme in those ceremonies, to the end that the Kyng should eate no meat that is not first offered to the deuyll. They offer the meate in a tray of wood, and therein laye it vpon the brode leaues of a certayne tree. His meat is Ryse, and dyuers other thinges, as fruite, fleshe, and fyshe. He sitteth on the grounde without cloth or Carpet. The priestes in the meane tyme stande rounde about him, but approacheth no nearer then foure or fyue pases, obseruyng diligently the Kinges wordes. When the kyng hath lefte eatyng, the priestes carry away all that is lefte, and in a certayne place thereto appointed, offer it to certayne Crowes, which they keepe for the same purpose: And therefore being vsed to be thus fedde, geather together at a signe gyuen them, and eate vp the meate. These crowes are therefore of them esteemed holy: and therefore it is not lawfull for any man to take them or hurte them.

The deuyll is serued before the kyng.

Chaplens of honour.

I thinke the Priestes take parte with the Crowes. Crowes esteemed holy.

Of the Priestes of Calecut, called Bramini. Cap. 4.

THEse Bramini, are in place with them, as are the chiefe priestes or byshoppes with vs. Therefore when the king shall marrie, he lyeth not with his wyfe before shee be defoured by the Archbyshop, yet taketh he not this vpon him without rewarde: for the kyng gyueth him for his labour fiftie pcees of golde. Only the kyng of Calecut keepeth this custome.

The priestes euer prouide for them selues. A goodly office for a byshop.

Of the dyuers sortes of Idolaters in the citie of Calecut. Cap. 5.

THE chiefeest Idolaters, and of the greatest dignitie, are the Bramini. They of the seconde order, are named Naeri: And in the same place with them, as are with gentelmen, whose office is when they go abrode to beare swoordes, targettes, bowes, launces, and other weapons. The thyrde order consysteth of mecanike or handie craftes men. In the fourth place, are vitaylers, and suche as make prouision of fyshe and fleshe. Next vnto these, are they that geather Pepper, Wyne, Walnattes, and suche other fruites and spices. The last and basest sort, (named Neraui) are they that sowe and geather Ryse. These as the inferiour tribe of men, are in such subiection to the Bramini and Naeri, that in payne of death they may approche no nearer vnto them then 50 pases. And therefore they lye lurking in certayne

Priestes and gentelmen.

Poore men haue no soules.

tayne shadowes and darke places and maryshes, lest they shoulde suddenly chaunce to meete with them. Wherefore when they come abrode, that they may be hearde a farre of, they crye with a loude voice I wotte near what, that they may be hearde of the sayde Bramini and Naeri, lest beyng soddenly betrayyed, they shoulde be put to death.

Of the apparell of the kyng, queene, and Inhabitantes of the citie of Calecut.

And of their maner of feedyng. Cap. 6.

They are not troubled with garderober, or making them redye mornyng and euenyng.

THE apparell of the kyng and queene, is litle or nothing differyng from the other Idolaters: among the whiche the Mahumetans (as strangers) are not to be accompted. They couer onely theyr priuie partes with bombasine cloth or sylke, and are besyde all naked, barefooted also, and bareheaded. But the Mahumetans weare single apparell, reachyng only vnto the nauel. The women are appparelled euen as the men, sayyng only that they lette theyr heare growe very longe. The kyng and nobilitie of the citie, eate no fleshe except they fyrst aske counsaile of the Priestes. But the common people may eate what fleshe they wyll, excepte the fleshe of kyne. But they of the basest sorte, named Nirani and Poliar, may eate onely fyshes dried at the Sunne.

Of theyr custome after the death of the kyng. Cap. 7.

The kynges children succede not to inherite the kyngdome.

What paynes the priestes take for theyr luyng and what seruice they do the kyng. Bastordes.

Mornyng for the death of the kyng.

Chastitie and abstinence.

Meates that moue to lecherie.

AFTER the death of the kyng, if he haue any male chyldren luyng, or brethren, or brothers chyldren, they succede not in the kingdome: for of aunient lawe and custome, the septer pertayneth to the kynges systers sonnes, of whiche if there be none, it commeth to the next of the blood: And this for none other cause (as they saye) but that the priestes haue defloured the queene. When the kyng goeth abrode or on huntynge, the priestes, be they neuer so young, keepe the queene at home, and remayne neere about her: for there is nothing more acceptable to the kyng, then that the priestes shoulde so keepe companye with the queene. And therefore the kyng may well thynke that the chyldren borne of her, are not to be numbred amongst his chyldren, and therfore taketh the chyldren of his systers, to be neerest of his blood, and ryght inheritours to the crowne. When the kyng is dead, all his subiectes, by cutting theyr beardes and shauyng theyr headdes, testifie how greuously they take his death. Yet heerein they vse not all one fashion, for some cutte onely part of the heare of theyr chynne, and some parte of the heare of theyr head, and other all: and so euery man as he doth phantasie. Duryng the tyme that they celebrate the funerals of the kyng, they that lyue by fyshyng, forbear fyshyng for the space of eight dayes. And when any of the kynges wyues dye, they obserue the lyke ceremonyes as for the death of the kyng. The kyng sometyme, by a certayne supersticion, absteyneth from venery, or the company of women, for the space of a yee: and lykewise forbeareth to eate certayne leaues, whiche they call Betolas, beyng the leaues of Assyrian apples: which they vse not onely for delicates, but also because theyr propertie is to moue men more greatly to wanton lustes. For the same purpose also they eate a certayne fruite named Coffolo, somewhat lyke vnto Dates.

Of theyr chaungyng of wyues. Cap. 8.

Great frendshyppe.

THE gentelmen and merchautes, to shew great curtesie and frendshyp one to the other, vse sometyme to chaunge wiues, and therein vse this maner of speache: My freende, we haue nowe of long tyme lyued togeather as faythful frendes, and therefore for the laste accomplisshement of our frendeshyppe, if it so please thee, lette vs chaunge wyues. Content sayth the other, for I beare thee euen as good wyll. The wyues refuse not to agree on the condition herein also, to please theyr husbandes. Then the one bryngeth his wyfe to the other, saying: Woman, this man shall hereafter be thy husbnde. The other sayth the lyke to his wyfe also. Thus all partes beyng agreed, they depart with frendly embrasyng: But the chyldren remayne with the fyrst husbnde. These Idolaters haue also diuers other customes: for among some of them, one woman is maryed to seuen husbandes, of the whiche euery of them hath his nyght by course appoynted to lye with her: And when she bath

hath brought forth a chyld, she may geue it or father it to whiche of them she lyatheth : Who may in no case refuse it.

The maner of feedyng of the common people, of the Idolatars, and of theyr Iustice. Cap. 8^e.

LYing along on the grounde they ate theyr meate out of a traye of copper: for spoones, Diogenistæ. they vse certayne leaues of trees. Theyr meate commonly, is Ryse, fyshe, spices and fruites, of the commoner sort. The labouryng men or ruder sorte, ate so fylthyly, that The punyshment of mur-
puttyng theyr foule handes in the pottle, they take out ryse by handfulls, and so thrust it in their mouthes. They vse this kynde of Iustice for homicide. Where any hath slayne a man, there's.
he is thus punyshed. They haue a kynde of galows made in maner of a double crosse, where whyle the murthurer is tyed fast, one thrusteth a stake through his bodye, where the Beatyng.
poore wretche so hangeth vntill he be dead: But they that wounde or hurt any man, re- deeme the faulte for money payde to the kyng. They that are in debte, are thus enforced to paye the same. The creditour fyrst demaundeth his monye: and if it be founde that the A strange man-
debitour breake promysse, then he to whom the mony is owyng, goeth to one of the kynges ner to demaund
scriueners (whiche are sayde to be a hundred) and before hym makyng dewe prooffe of the debte, receiueth of hym a greene wande of a tree, with auctoritie to prosecute his debitour debte.
vntill he haue found him, where when he hath arrested him, with these woordes (go no fur- ther before thou paye me) thryse rehearsed, he sayth furthermore thus. I charge thee by the head of Bramini, and by the head of the kyng, not to sturre from this place before thou paye me. There is no shyfte but eyther to paye incontinent, or there to loose his lyfe. But Deati for debte.
if he be found alone, and escape after the sayd woordes, he is euer after adiudged a rebell, and therefore shall it be lawfull for any man to kyll hym whersoouer he is founde, within the kynges dominions.

Of the honoring of Idolles. Cap. 9.

When they praye to theyr Idolles, in the mornyng before the Sunne ryse, they resorte to the pooles or ryuers to washe them: And so at their comyng home to theyr houses (where Outward clenly-
they keepe theyr Idolles) they touch nothyng before they praye to the Idolles prostrate on nesse.
the grounde secretly: while they praye, they make certayne deuylyshe gesticulations lyke mad men, so maruelously defourmyng theyr faces, eyes, and mouthes, that no man can be- holde it without horroure: and thus contynue their prayer a quarter of an houre. When the tyme of eatyng approacheth, they may not fal to theyr vittayles, before some one of the gen- tlemen haue dressed it, and set it in order. But this custome is obserued onely among the gentelmen or noble men. The women haue none other charge or care, then to dresse and Womens
beautifie them selues, for their husbandes vse not to haue to do with them before they be woorkes.
curiously washed, and perfumed with sundrye sweete scents. When the women go abrode, Clenly Women.
it is marueilous to beholde howe they are behanged with Iewels and pretious stones, on theyr cares, armes and legges.

Of theyr maner of warre. Cap. 10.

They haue in the citie certayne maisters of fence, that teach them how to vse the sword, Maisters of
the target, the launce, and suche other weapons. When the kyng proceedeth to the warres, fence.
he is furnyshed with an armie of a hundred thousande footemen, for of horsemen there is The kynges
no vse, but onely Elephantes: for the kyng hym selfe rydeth on an Elephant. They that army.
are next to the kyng, weare about theyr headdes, fyllettes or bandes of sylke, of crymisyne or scarlet colour. Their weapons are certayne crooked swoordes, targets, launces, and bowes. Their Weapons.
The kynges ensigne, is a certayne thyng made of bowes of trees, implicate round like the The kynges
couering of a tub, borne vp on a reede. This is borne so that y shadow thereof may couer ensigne.
the king from the heate of the Sunne: and is in their tongue, called Somler. When both the armies approche within three arrowe shoote, the kyng sendeth his Braminos into the tentes The priestes
of his enimies, in maner of haroldes to chalenge a hundred of them to come forth (if they are haroldes.
dare) combatte. A chalenge to
combattle.

dare) to combat agaynst a hundred of his Naeres, which before we said to be his gentlemen and chiefe strength of his army: which message done, both sydes prepare them selues to the batayle, and in the midway, fyrst a hundred fyght with a hundred. The whiche if they shoulde feyght continually for the space of three dayes, would neuer stryke with the poynt, but with the edge of the swoorde, and for the most parte at the head, and seldome at the legges. But when fyue or syxe are slayne, incontinent the Bramini on both partes make an ende of the fyght: and by theyr commaundement the retreat is sounded on both partes. Then agayne the Bramini (which are the chiefe priestes as we haue sayde) on both sydes, speake vnto the kynges, and aske them if they wyll any more. And thus for the most parte make they an ende of the quarell and battayle, without great slaughter of men. The kyng sometymes rydeth on an Elephant, and sometymes also is borne by his noble men, named Naeri. When he proceedeth, there folowe hym a great multitude of mynstrels, making a great noyse, with Tymberels, Tamberets, and suche other instrumentes. The stypende of the Naeri is foure Carlines euery moneth in peace, and syxe in tyme of warre: these haue theyr teeth very blacke, by eatyng of a certayne hearbe, whiche they much vse. When any of these are slayne, their bodies are burned, with great pompe, and many superstitions, and also theyr ashes reserued: but the common sort are buried, in diuers maners, for some are buried in their houses, some in their gardens, and other in feeldes, meadowes, or wooddes. They coyne money here, as in y^e cite of Narsinga. When I was there, there was in y^e cite merchants of almost all partes of the East, and especially a great number of Mahumetans, and many also of the region of Melacha, and Bangella: other also of Tarnassari, Pego, and Ciriomandel: some lykewyse of the Ilandes of Zeylan, and Sumatra, whiche is Taprobana: other of Cholon, Caicolon, and Bathecala; and almost innumerable other, of nations whose names are better knowne to vs, as Persians, Arabians, Syrians, Turkes, and Ethiopians, and also many of the kyngdome of Narsinga, strangers of so many nations, were in the cite of Calecut whyle I remayned there. Vnderstand furthermore, that the Idolators vse not to sayl on the sea, but that is appoynted to the Mahumetans, as meeter men for that purpose. And there is in the cite of Calecut more then fyfteene thousande Mahumetans, whiche were borne in the same cite.

Of their shippes and maner of saylyng on the sea. Cap. 11.

Theyr shippes. Theyr Shippes are made no lesse then may suff^r for the burden of foure or fyue hundred Tonne, and all open without any couerture. In the ioynates of their Shippes they put no Towe, but ioyne the planks so artificially, that they holde out water very well: yet do they pytche the ioynates, and make them fast with nayles of Iron. They do not forbear Towe for lacke therof, for they haue great plentie of hempe and flaxe. They haue planks or boordes and postes of diuers sortes, for they haue as good wood and better then we. Theyr sayles are of Bombasine cloth, and doubled in the neather part, whereby they geather more wynde, and swell therewith, lyke a bagge: and in this they passe vs, vsyng but only syngle sayles. They vse ankers of marble, of the length of eyght spannes and on euery syde two: these they hang in the sea by double ropes, and besyde these, haue none other ankers. They haue certayne appoynted tymes and seasons, of saylyng: for some tymes serue best for one coast, and some other, for other coastes and viages. The changes and also contrarietie of tymes, is there greatly to be consydered: for when with vs al thynges for heate are almost scorched, then haue they large shewres, as in the monethes of May, Iune and Iuly. Their shippes are of diuers quantities, as with vs, and therefore also of diuers names. They haue one sort of vessels made of one whole peece of wood, like a trough, veri long, sharpe and narrow: in these they vse both sayles and ores, and are therefore swyfter then our Galleys or foystes. The Pirates vse these very much. The best of their shippes are made in an Ilande named Porcai, not farre from Calecut.

Of the Court or Palace of the Kyng of Calecut. Cap. 12.

A goodly palace. The Palace of the kyng of Calecut conteyneth no lesse then a myle in circuite, the wall is

A great battayle
and litle blood-
shed.

Minstrels.

Blacke teeth.

The dead gen-
telmen are
burnt, but the
poore men are
buried.
Coyned money.
Merchautes re-
sorte to Calecut.

Mahumetans of
Calecut.

Theyr shippes.

Ankers of mar-
ble, on euery
syde two.

Seasons of the
yere, contrarie
to ours.

Dyers fashions
of shippes and
other vessels.

is not hygh, the buylding is fayre, with beames or postes wel ioynnyng the frame, and curiously wrought and carued with the figures and shapes of deuyls on euery syde. Why the walles be no hygher, we haue declared before, where we haue spoken of the lowe buyldyng of the houses of the citie: the cause wherof (as we haue saide) is the vnstable grounde, so ful of water, that they can dygge no deapth to lay fundation to beare hygher buyldynges. But what pearles and precious stones the kyng weareth vpon hym, can not be expressed for the greatnesse of the thynge: for doubtlesse it exceedeth all estimation. Although at the tyme of my beyng there, he was not geuen to ioyfulness, but lyued in greefe of mynde, aswel for the warres which the kyng of Portugale made agaynst hym, as also that he was diseased with the Frenche poxe, which had now entred into his throte: neuerthelesse, his cares, armes, handes, legges, and feete, were so beautyfully and richly garnyshed with all sortes of iewels and precious stones, that it can not be spoken. His treasure is esteemed so vnmeasurable, that it can not be conteyned in two wonderful great cellars or warehouses. This treasure conysteth of precious stones, plates of golde, and also so much coyned golde as may suffice to lade a hundred Mules, as theyr Bramini reporte, to whom it is best knownen. They saye also that this treasure was gathered and reserued by twelue kynges whiche were before hym, and that in his treasurye is a cofer of three spannes in length, and two in breadth, ful of only pretious stones, of price inestimable.

Images of the deuyl to garnish the kinges Palace.

The ryche iewels which the king weareth.

The kyng of Portugales warres agaynst the kyng of Calecut. The Frenche poxe among precious iewels. Inestimable treasure.

Of the spices of Calecut. Cap. 13.

Pepper is geathered in the feedles about the subarbes, and also in certayne places within the citie. The stalke of pepper is very weake and lyke vnto vines, which can not beare it selfe, without the helpe of a stake or proppe, and is muche lyke vnto an lue, and in lyke maner creepeth and embraceth suche trees as are neere vnto it. This tree (or rather bushe) is dispersed into sundry branches, of the length of two or three spannes, and hath the leaues lyke vnto the leaues of an Assyrian apple, but that these are somewhat thyecker and fatter. On euery twigge hange syxe clusters, no bygger then Dates, and lyke vnto clusters of litle grapes, and of the coloure of vnripe grapes, but growe thyecker. They are geathered in the moneth of October and Nouember, inclynnyng yet to greene colour, and are so layde on mattes, and set in the Sunne to drye, where in the space of three dayes, they become blacke, as they are brought hyther. The fruitfulnessse of these, proceedeth onely of the symple goodnessse of the soyle, without helpe of lopping or pruning. This region beareth also Gynger, whiche is doubtlesse a roote, and is sometyme dygged of the weight of 12 unces, it entreth no deeper into the grounde then three or foure handefuls. When they dygge it out, they leaue the knotte or ioynt of the roote in the pitte, and couer it agayne with earth, as a seede for more agaynst the nexte yeere. It is founde in an equall soyle, as are the Myrabolanes: yet is the earth where it groweth, of very redde coloure. The stalke, is muche lyke the stalke of a young pear tree.

Pepper. The Pepper tree.

Clusters of pepper.

Ginger.

Of the fruites of Calecut. Cap. 14.

IF I should describe all the sortes of straunge fruites that are seene there, it would rather require a volume, then a breefe rehersall of them particularly: for they haue not only many greatly differing from ours in fourme, sauour and tast, but also those of the kynde of such as we haue, differ in maner no lesse. Whereby may the naturall Philosopher consider howe those thinges which are all of one kynde, differ according vnto the nature of the soile and diuers situation vnder the heauens. By which natural cause, and alteration, some fruites and seedes, by transplanting into a better soile, become more perfect in their kind, as bigger, fayrer, sweeter, and more fruitfull: As also contrariwise, the contrary, by transplanting into a worse soile, or colder region: which diuersitie is seene, not only in plantes and hearbes, but also in beastes, and euen in man kynde. It is very strange to consider howe diuersly trees beare theyr fruites and seedes, as some in one parte of the tree, and some in an other. There is in Calecut a fruitte which they name Iaceros: the body of the tree, is of the bignesse of a Pearre tree: the fruitte is of the length of two handfuls and a halfe, and as byg as the thygh of a man. The fruit groweth out of the body of the tree vnder the branches, and

Fruitte vnylike ours.

A philosophical consideration of the difference of thinges of one kynde.

A great fruitte growing out of the body of the some tree.

Rype fruites in
December.
A fruites of sun-
dry tastes.

One fruites
within an other.

A tree with
very brode
leaves.

Two hundred
fruites on euery
slyppe.

A tree that
neuer beareth
fruit but once.

Fruitess and
sowres geathered
at all tymes of
the yeere.

some euen in the very myddest of the tree, and other yet lower also. The colour is greene, and in fourme, in maner lyke vnto a Pyne apple, but with lesse graines or knobbes: when it is rype, it becommeth blacke. It is geathered in the moneth of December. It hath the taste of a Pepon, and the sauour somewhat like Castoreum. It seemeth in eatyng to gyue dyuers and sundry pleasant tastes: as sometye the taste of a Peache, sometye of a Pomegranate, and leaueth at the ende a taste so sweete, that you would thynke it to be newe hony combes. Vnder the skynne, it is lyke vnto a Peache. And within the body conteineth an other fruit, not much vnlyke softe Chestnuttes, and beyng rosted, hath the same taste, and is therefore certaynely one of the goodlyest fruites that I knowe. I wil here, to be breefe, omit to speake muche of their Nuttes, and Walnuttes, Almons, Prunes, Peaches, Quinces, Gourdes, Melons, and suche other fruites knowen to vs, and yet much more pleasaunt and fayrer then are ours. There is one fruites worthie to be knowen, which they call Apolanda. The tree groweth to the height of a man, it beareth not past foure or fife leaues hangyng by certayne slyppes, euery leafe is able well to couer a man from rayne, and the heate of the sunne: In the myddest of the leafe, riseth a twyg or stalke, lyke the stalke of a beane, which bringeth out floures and also fruites of a handfull long, and of the bignesse of a mans arme: these fruites are geathered vnrype, bycause they become rype in keeping. Euery slyp beareth about two hundred fruites, a thyng certaynely wherein is greatly scene the fruitfulnessse of nature. They touche one an other, and cluster together. They are of yelow colour, and haue a verry thyn codde, and are in eatyng delicate and holesome. There are three sortes of this kynde of fruites, of the which one is of euyll taste, and therefore not so muche esteemed. It is yet more straunge, that this tree beareth fruit but once, yet when it dyeth, there ryse about the roote thereof fyftie or threescore young slyppes, whiche renew the lyfe of theyr parent, that he dye not without succession. The gardeners or graffers transplante these in other places, for within the space of one yeere they bring forth fruites. They are geathered in great abondance almost all the whole yeere, and are therefore very good cheape, and of small pryce, as twentie for a penny. The same soyle beareth lykewyse innumerable and most fayre and sweete floures all the yeere long, and especially Roses, both white, redde, and yelow.

Of a most fruitfull tree of all the world. Cap. 15.

This tree in the
west India, is
called Coccus.
Ten Commodi-
ties of one tree.

Nux Indica.
They are as big
as a mans fytt
and some byg-
ger.

Very sweete
and cleare water
within a Nutte.

There is also an other tree, most worthie to be knowen, the which in fruitfulnessse, and sweetness of the fruit, passeth all the trees of the worlde. It beareth certayne fruites lyke vnto great Dates or Nuttes, and generally bringeth forth tenne commodities: for it beareth wood most apte to nourish fyre, and Nuttes very pleasant to be eaten, also cordes or ropes which may well serue for saylers: Lykewyse very fyne cloth, which when it is coloured, sheweth lyke silke: The wood is the best that may be founde to make coles, it yeldeth also wine and odoriferous water: furthermore also, oyle and suger. The boughes of the tree, are commodious to couer houses in place of tyles or thetche: for by reason of the closenesse and fatnesse of the leaues, they keepe out the rayne very well. The fruites of this tree (as we haue sayde) is in forme lyke vnto great Dates or Nuttes. One tree beareth about two hundred of those fruites. Takyng away the first ryme, they put it in the fyre, where it burneth quickly and with great flame. The seconde fruites vnder the sayde first ryme, is muche lyke vnto bombasine or silke, and is lyke vnto flaxe when it is wrought. Of the floures, they make a certayne kynde of cloth, not vnlyke silke. The towre or refuse of the first flaxe, they spinne and make thereof a grosser cloth, and small ropes or cordes: and of the smallest, wreathed together, they make greater ropes, which may serue for shippes. That parte of the Nut which is vnder the third ryme, conteyneth also a substance apte to make coles. The last ryme, includeth the substance or cornell of the Nutte, very delicate to be eaten. This ryme or barke, is of the thicknesse of a mans litle finger. As the Nutte groweth in bignesse, so doeth also the water conteyned therein. So that the Nutte comyng to his full rypenesse and bygnesse, the water occupieth the inner parte: and sometye is founde so much water in the Nutte, that you may take out of euery Nutte two or three cuppes of water very sweete to be droonke, and as cleere as Rose water, of the which also being thickened

thickened by seethyng, is made very fatte oyle. The Nutte likewise it selfe, is of very pleasant taste. They suffer but one parte of the tree to bring forth fruite: for on the other parte or syde, they cutte and wounde the tree in diuers places every morning and euening, and powre into the wounded places a certayne liquor, which draweth out of the tree a iuise, which falleth into vessells placed to receyue it, and so receyue they euery day and nyght in euery vessell, a cuppe of most precious liquor, which sometymes also they seeth at the fyre, putting euer more vnto it, vntill it come to the strength of Aqua vitæ, and troubleth the brayne both in sauour and drynkyng, as doeth most strong wyne. On an other braunche of the same tree, they geather lykewyse suger, but not very sweete. The tree beareth fruite continually: for there are scene on it both the olde and drye fruites of the season paste, and also greene fruites of the newe spring. It beareth not before the fifth yeere. These trees are founde in the space or distaunce of about two hundred myles. They are so greatly esteemed, that in the myddest of most cruellest warres, it is not lawfull for any man to hurt them, euen in the landes of their enemies. They lyue but to the age of 25 yeeres. They prosper best in sandy ground, and are set or planted as are Walnuttres. This region hath also other fruites wherof they make good oyle.

Oyle made of water.

Wyne of cutte branches of a tree.

A tree that beareth fruite continually all the whole yeere

Oyle.

Howe they sowe Ryse. Cap. 16.

They tyll the ground and plough it with Oxen as we doe: when the tyme approacheth to sowe Ryse, they testifie the ioyfulness of that day with all sortes of instrumentes, singing and dauncing. And in the way of their good speed, that all thinges may prosper the better, (as they beleue) they disguise ten men in apparell, to the similitude of the three deuylles, and daunce about them with all the noyse of theyr instruments. And thus celebratyng the festiual day, they pray the deuylles good grace to sende them plentie of Ryse.

Ploughing of the ground.

A daunce of deuylles. Solem suum orri facit super bonos et malos etc.

Howe theyr Phisitians visite sicke folkes. Cap. 17.

WHEN any merchaunt of the Idolaters is sore greened with any disease, and in maner neare vnto death, then certaine of them, which they take for phisitians, called to visite the patient in this extremitie, come thither in the silence of the nyght, apparelled lyke the deuyl (as is aforesayde) caryng fyre stickes in theyr mouthes and handes. And there, with a madde crye and howlyng, and with the iangelyng of certayne instrumentes, maketh so horrible a noyse in the eares of the sicke man, that it were enough to make a whole man sicke. And this is all the remedy and comfort which their Phisitians bring to their sicke men, whiche is none other, then in the article of death to present vnto them the similitude of him whom they (worse then deuylles) honour for Gods vicare. Eyther meanyng perhappes by this meanes, to call agayne the sicke man almost dead. When the inhabitantes haue so ingorged them selues with so much meate, that they be sicke in theyr stomake, they take the poudre of the rootes of ginger, and makyng it in fourme of a strupe, with puttyng some liquor vnto it, drinke it all vp, and within three dayes recouer theyr health.

The deuyl a Phisitian.

Such a Phisitian such phisicke.

A remedie for surfetynge.

Of theyr Exchaungers, Bankers and Brokers. Cap. 18.

Their exchaungers and bankers, haue weyghtes and balances so little, that the boxe, with the weyghtes and all that parteineth therto, passeth not the weight of an ounce, and are made so iuste, that the weight of a heare will cast them. When they will trye true golde from false, or base from fyne, they vse the touche stone, as we doe, but haue this more then we: They haue a ball composed (I know not wherof) and lyke vnto waxe, and when they haue first rubbed the golde on the touche, they rubbelikewyse the touche on the sayd ball, where then the spottes of the golde remayne, and thereby they knowe a more exacte prooffe of the finenesse or basenesse of the gold. When the sayde ball is full of gold, they melt it in the fyre, and geather the gold which it had imbibed. These exchaungers are but grosse witted men, and ignorant of the arte which they professe. In buying and selling of merchandies, they vse this maner. They haue a broker, whose helpe they vse in these affayres. Therefore when the merchauntes come thither, then the broker hauyng with him a vayle or scarf, taketh the seller by the ryght hande and couereth it with the vayle. Then doth the merchant number on his fingers, from one vnto a

Fyne weyghtes and balances.

A straunge experiment to know the fyne golde from base.

Proxeneta.

A superstitious maner of buying and selling.

hundred thousand, priuily and secretly, and then the seller also with lyke numbryng of his fingers and ioyntes, vntyll he come to the number of the price of his merchandies. Then the broker goeth agayne to the buyer, and coueryng his handes with the vayne in lyke maner, and numbering of his fingers, certifieth him howe muche the seller demaundeth for his ware, then the buyer agayne, by feelyng and numbryng the brokers fingers, signifieth what he will gyue the seller for his merchandies. And thus the broker goeth to and fro, shewyng both theyr meanyng with silence vntyll they be agreed. They sell theyr cloth by measure, but theyr spices and iewells by weyght.

Of the inhabitantes of Poliar and Hiraua, and how they nourysh theyr children.
Cap. 19.

Litle payne or
cost for nourishing
of children.

The women weane theyr children when they come to the age of three monethes, and afterward nourysh them with Goates milke: and when in the morning they haue giuen them milke, they tumble them in the sandes all foule and filthie, where they let them lye all the day, and are so scorched of the Sunne, that farre of them seeme like Buffles Calues, I neuer sawe more deformed or filthie creatures: at euenyng, theyr mothers gyue them milke agayne. By this kinde of wyld bringing vp, they become men of marueylous dexteritie in swiftnesse of runnyng, and other thinges of great agilitie, as to walke vppon ropes, swymmyng, leapyng, vaultyng, and such lyke.

Funambuli.

Of foure footed beastes, foules, and birdes of Calecut. Cap. 20.

Poppingayes or
Parottes.

A great noyse
of birdes.

An earthly
Paradyse.
Continuall
spring and
temperate ayre.
Monkeys doe
much hurte.

There are many beastes and kyndes of birdes, as Lions, wilde Bores, Hartes, hyndes, Buffles, Kyne, Goates, and Elephantes: yet not all engendred there, but brought thither partly from other places. There are also parottes of sundry colours, as greene, purple and other mixte colours. There is such multitude of them, that there are men appointed to keepe them from the Ryse in the fieldes, as we vse to keepe Crowes from the corne. They are marueylous crying and chattering, and of small price, as one solde for two pence or halfe a soue. There are many other birdes much vnlyke to ours, which euery mornyng and euenyng make so great a noyse and sweete singing, that nothing can be more pleasant or delectable to heare, and therfore the inhabitantes lyue in great pleasure, and in maner as it were in an earthly Paradyse, in continuall spryng and florishyng of floures, hearbes and trees, all the yeere long: besyde also the goodly and holsome temperatenesse of the ayre, being neither extreme hotte nor colde, but in maner in temperature of continuall spring tyme. That region hath also Monkeys, which are there of small price. These are very hurtfull to husbandmen, and such as liue by tillage of the grounde: for they clyme the trees of those goodly Indian Nuts and precious fruite, wherof we haue spoken here before, of the which they make wyne, which these beastes do spill, and cast downe the vesselles that are made faste there to receyue the sayde liquor of wyne.

Of certayne Serpentes which are seene in Calecut. Cap. 21.

Crocodiles with-
out poison.
Three kyndes
of serpentes.

Serpentes super-
stitiously kepte
and nourished.

Death for
kyllyng a Ser-
pent or a Cowe.

There are certayne Serpentes, of such bignes, that they are equal to swine, theyr heads are much greater then the heads of Bores: they are foure footed, and of the length of foure cubites, and are engendred in marishes. The inhabitantes say that they are without poison, and doe not otherwyse hurt then by byting. There are furthermore three kyndes of Serpentes: of the which, some are of so strong poison, that if they drawe neuer so litle blood, present death foloweth, whiche thing chaunced oftentimes whilst I was there. Of these kyndes of serpentes, some are of the bignes of an Aspe, and many much bigger. Of these there are a very great number. The cause wherof (they say) is this: That the kyng of Calecut, of a certayne foolish superstition, maketh so great accompt of these Serpentes, that he causeth litle houses or cottages to be made for them, beleeuynge that they haue vertue against ouer much raine, and overflowing of riuers, and therefore if a man kill any of them, he is punished with death, as though he had killed a man: and the like punishment is also for him that killeth a cowe. They greatly esteeme these Serpents, because (as they say) they came from heauen, and therfore they take them for heauenly spirites, which they
affirme,

affirme, for that only with touching, they bring present death. And this is y^e cause that there are many serpentes, being thus permitted by the commaundement of the king. These serpents know the Idolaters inhabitants from Mahumetans, or other strangers, and wil sooner venture vpon them. When I was there, I came into a house where eight men laye dead and greatly swolne, whiche the day before were killed by these serpents, yet doe they esteeme it for good lucke, when going abrode, they meet with any of them.

Because they
goe naked.

Superstition.

Of the lightes and Lampes which are scene in the Pallace of the Kyng of Calcut. Cap. 22.

IN the kynges Courte or Pallace, are diuers mansions, and very many chambers, and therefore in the euenyng when it waxeth darke, there are scene innumerable burning Lampes.

In the hall of the pallace, are scene ten or twelue candelstickes laton, very fayre, and of cunning workemanshupp, muche lyke vnto goodly fountaynes, and of the heyght of a man. In eche of them are dyuers vesselles, and in euery vessel three candels lyght, of two spannes length, and great plentie of oyle. In the first vessell, are many Lampes made of cordes of bombasine cotton. In the myddle part, is scene a narrower vessel, also full of lampes and lightes. In the lowest vessell also the like number of lightes. But in another vessel in the toppe of all the candelsticke, are in maner innumerable lightes, mainteyned with oyle, and haue matches of bombasine cotton. At the angles or corners of these candelstickes, are the Images of deuils, whiche also holde the lightes that are in the kinges presence. When any of the kinges blood dyeth, hee sendeth for all the Bramini or priestes of his realme, and commaund them to mourne for the space of a yeere. At theyr commyng, hee banqueteth them three dayes together, and at theyr departyng, giueth eche of them fyue peeces of golde.

Goodly candel-
stickes of Laton.

Polyxines et
Polychni.

Innumerable
lyghtes and
Lampes.

The deuyll ser-
ueth in the
Kynges
chamber.

Mourning the
space of a yeere.

Of the great multitude of Idolaters which resort to Calcut, for pardon of their sinnes. Cap. 23.

NOT farre from the citie of Calcut, is a certayne church or Temple, compassed about with water, lyke an Iland, builded after an auncient fashion, hauyng a double order of pillars, much lyke the Temple of saint Iohn de Fonte in the citie of Rome. In the midst of the Temple, is an Altar of stone, where the people sacrifice to Idolles. Betweene the pillars on hygh, is a Boate of the length of two pases, and full of oyle. Also rounde about the Temple, are many Trees with an innumerable multitude of Lampes and lightes hangyng on them: The temple also it selfe, is as ful of lyghtes. The 25 day of December, resorteth thither an infinite multitude of people, from all partes, euen for the distance of 15 dayes iorney, and especially of the priestes, to whom parteyneth the order of sacrificeyng: But they do not sacrifice vnto theyr Idolles before they washe them selues in the water whiche is about the Temple. When the priestes assende to the place whereas in the boate fylled with oyle (as we haue said) they sprinkle the people with the sayd oyle, but annoynte onely their heads: Who beyng so annoynted, may then proceede to the sacrifice. On the one syde of the altar, where they sacrifice, is scene a most horrible fourme of a deuyll, to whom the people, prostrate on the grounde, pray vnto, and then depart to theyr houses and countreys. By this meanes they beleue that all theyr sinnes are quite forgeuen them, and therefore for the space of three dayes, they lyue there in safegarde, as if it were in Sanctuarie: and for that tyme, is it not lawfull for any man to arrest or trouble an other for what so euer quarrell. Certainly I neuer saw in any place a greater multitude of people assembled, except in the citie of Mecha.

The temple of
sacrifice to
Idolles.

Trees behanged
with Lampes.

Washing before
sacrifice.

Holy oyle in the
steade of holy
water.

Sacrifice to the
deuyll for for-
geuenesse of
synnes.

Sanctuary.
Large is the
way that leadeth
to perdition, etc.

The syxt booke containyng the voyage of India.

Of the cities of Caicolon, and Colon. Cap. 1.

MY faythfull companyon Cociazenor the Persian (of whom I haue made mention here before) consyderyng that by the meanes of warres and imminent daungers, there was nowe no place for merchaundies, especially for that the Portugales had made sore warres and great slaughter in the citie of Calcut, by occasion that the inhabitantes of the citie had conspired

The kyng of
Portugals
warres in the
citie of Calcut.

with the Mahumetans for the murther of eight and fourtie Portugales (whiche was done at my beyng there) I thought it best in tyme to depart from thence. This facte so greatly moued the kyng of Portugale to reuenge, that he hath since that tyme kepte hostile warres agaynst them, and greatly consumed them, and defaced their citie. We therefore departyng from thence by a very fayre ryuer, came to a citie named Caicolon, distaunte from the citie of Calecut fiftie leagues: the inhabitantes are idolaters. There is great aboundance of Merchaundies, and great frequentation of merchautes: the soyle beareth of the best kynde of Pepper. The kyng of the citie is not very rych. In apparel and maners, they differ litle from them of Calecut. Heere we founde certayne merchautes, Christians, named of the profession of saint Thomas the Apostle. They obserue the fastyng of fourtie dayes, as we do, and beleue in the death and resurrection of Christ, as we do, and therefore celebrate Easter after our maner, and obserue other solemnities of our religion, after the maner of the Greekes. They are commonly named by the names of Iohn, Iames, Matthias, and Thomas. Departyng from thence, in the space of three dayes iorney we came to an other citie, named Colon, about twentie myles distant from the aforesayde. The kyng is an idolater, and a prince of great power, hauyng euer an armie of twentie thousande horsemen: there is a very fayre port. Neare to the sea syde the soyle beareth no corne, yet great aboundance of fruite and pepper, as in the citie of Calecut: but by reason of the warres we remayned no longer heere. Not farre from hence, we saw men fyshe for pearles, in maner as we haue sayde before of the citie and Ilande of Ormus.

Of Cyromandel, a citie of India. Cap. 2.

THE citie of Cyromandel is by the sea syde, and distant from the citie of Colon seuen dayes saylyng. The citie is very large, but without walles: it is subiecte to the kyng of Narsinga, and is within the syght of the Iland of Zaylon. After that you are past the poynt of Comerin, the soyle beareth plentie of Ryse. This citie is in the way to diuers great regions and cities: It is inhabited with innumerable Mahumetans merchautes, resortyng thither from many countreys. There are no spyces, but aboundaunce of fruite, as in Calecut.

I founde there certayne Christians, who affyrme that the bodye of saint Thomas the Apostle is there in a certayne place, about twelue myles from this citie, and also that there are certayne Christians whiche relygiously obserue the holy body: and that the Christians are euyl vsed, because of the warres whiche the kyng of Portugall hath made agaynst the people of these countreys. Also that the Christians are sometyme murdered secretly, lest it shoulde be knowne to the kyng of Narsinga, who is in amitie and friendshippe with the kyng of Portugall, and greatly fauoueth the Christians. The cause whereof (as they saye) is also partly by reason of a certayne myracle, whiche was this. The Christians on a tyme had a great conflicte with the Mahumetans, where one of the Christians beyng sore wounded on his arme, resorted incontinent to the sepulchre of saint Thomas, where making his prayers, and touchyng the holy place, his arme was immediately healed. Whereupon (as they saye) the kyng of Narsinga euer after greatly fauoured the Christians. Here my companion solde muche of his wares. But by reason of the warres betweene the kynges of Narsinga and Ternaseri, we determined to depart from hence. And therefore saylyng ouer a gulfe of 20 leagues with great daunger, we arriued at an Iland named Zailon, very large, as containing in circuite a thousand myles.

Of the Ilande of Zailon, and the precious stones founde there. Cap. 3.

IN this Ilande are foure kynges of great dominion, by reason of the largenesse of the Ilande. But because of the warres among them at my beyng there, I could not tarye long to haue particular knowledge of the region and maners of the people. There are in the Ilande many Elephantes. There is also a very long mountayne, at the foote whereof, are founde many precious stones, named Piropi, commonly called Rubines or Rubies. The merchautes iewelers, come by them by this meanes.

Fyrst, goyng to the kyng, they bye of hym a certayne measure of that grounde where suche stones are founde, of the largenesse of a cubite euery way. The price of this, is fyue peeces

Caicolon.

Pepper.

Christians of
the profession of
saint Thomas.

Colon.

An armie of
20 thousande
horsemen.

Pearles.

Zailon.
Comerin.The bodye of
Thomas the
Apostle.The kyng of
Narsinga frende
to the Portu-
galls.
A miracle at
the sepulchre of
S. Thomas.Foure kynges in
one Iland.

Elephantes.

Rubie stones.

pieces of gold: yet with suche condition, that in dyggyng the grounde, there is euer one present for the kyng, to the ende that if in dyggyng be founde any of those precious stones exceeding the weyght of 10 Caractes, the same to be reserued for the kyng. And the rest that are founde vnder that wayght, to apparteyne to the merchaunt. Not farre from the sayd mountayne, are founde diuers other sortes of precious stones, as Iasynthes, Saphires, Topases, and suche lyke. Harde by the mountayne, runneth a great ryuer. The soyle bryngeth forth the sweetest fruites that euer I sawe, especially cloues, and apples of Assiria, of exceeding sweetnesse, and all other as in Calecut.

Of the tree of Cinamome in the Iland of Zaylon. Cap. 4.

The tree of Cinamome is not much vnlike a Baye tree, especially the leaues, it beareth berries as doth the Baye tree, but lesse, and whyte: It is doubtlesse therefore none other then the barke of a tree, and is geathered in this maner. Euery thynde yeere they cutte the branches of the tree. Of this, is great plentie in the sayde Ilande. When it is fyrste geathered it is not yet so sweete, but a moneth after when it waxeth drye. A certayne Mahumetan merchaunt of the Ilande, tolde my companyon, that there in the top of a hygh mountayne is a certayne denne, whyther the inhabitantes of the countrey resort to praye, in memorye of our fyrst father Adam, who (they saye) after he had synned by breakyng the commaundement of God, lyued in that place in continuall penitence. Whiche thing they affyrme by this coniecture, that there is yet seene the print of the steppes of his feete, of the length of almost two spannes. The inhabitantes are subiect to the kyng of Narsinga, and paye hym tribute. The region is of temperate ayre, although it be situate in maner vnder the Equinoctiall lyne. The people are of darke tawny colour. Theyr apparell, are certayne single clokes of bombasine cloth, whiche they weare, bearyng euer the ryght arme out all naked, as is the maner of all the Indians. They are no warrelyke men, neyther haue they the vse of Iron. Here my companyon solde to the kyng muche Saffran and Coralles.

Precious Stones.

How Cinamome is geathered.

A denne where Adam lyued in penance.

Temperate regions vnder the Equinoctiall lyne.

Saffran and Coralles.

Of Paleachet, a citie of India. Cap. 5.

DEpartyng from the Ilande of Zailon, in three dayes sayling we came to a citie named Paleachet, subiecte to the kyng of Narsinga. It is a famous marte of ryche merchaundies, and especially of iewels and precious stones, brought thither from Zailon and Pego. There is also great plentie of spices. There dwell in the citie many Mahumetan merchauntes, where we beyng receiued in one of theyr houses, tolde hym from whence we came, and what merchandies we brought, as Saffran, and Coralles, whereof he was very glad. The citie hath great scarsnesse of corne, but plentie of Ryse: and in other fruitfulnessse of the soyle and maner of the people, much lyke vnto Calecut. But because they were at dissention with the kyng of Tarnassari, and prepared warres agaynst hym, we departed from thence, and in 13 dayes sayling, arryued at the citie of Tarnassari, a hundred myles distant.

Of Tarnassari, a citie of India. Cap. 6.

THIS citie is not farre from the sea, and situate on a meetly equall grounde, well walled, hauyng also a famous porte, and a very fayre ryuer runnyng on the North syde of the citie. The kyng is an Idolatour, and a prince of great power. He keepeth continuall warre with the kyngs of Narsinga and Bangella. He bryngeth to the feelde a hundred Elephantes, of the fayrest and byggest that euer I sawe. He hath an armie of an hundred thousand pensionarie footmen and as many horsemen. Their weapons are swoordes, rounde targettes, peltes, bowes, dartes, and iauelins of great and long reedes. They are also armed with lackes made of bombasine cotton, wrought very harde, and closely couched. Their houses are walled, and cominent in order as ours are. The region bryngeth forth wheate, bombasine, sylke of sundrye kindes of colours, Brasile, and sundrye kyndes of fruites, muche lyke vnto ours. Also apples of Assiria, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Gourdes, Cucumbers etc.

Elephants.

An armie of a hundred thousande footmen.

Fruit.

Of the wyld and tame beastes of the citie of Tarnassary. Cap. 7.

This region bryngeth forth many beastes both wyld and tame. The tame beastes are, Oxen,

Wylde beastes. Oxen, Kyne, Sheepe, Gotes, Hogges, Hartes, and Hyndes. The wylde beastes, are Lions, Wolves, Cattes of the mountayne, and also Muskecattes. In the feedles are many Peacocks, and those kynde of Egles whiche we call falcons. Poppingays also or Parottes, marueylous fayre, of the which some are white, and other of seuen colours. There is likewise great plentie of Hares, and Partridges and diuers other sortes of great byrdes liuyng by praye, muche bygger then Eagles: for of the vpper parte of their becke, they make hafes for swoordes. The becke is of yelow colour, distincte with crimsine, very fayre and beautifull to be scene. But the byrde is blacke and purple, with certayne whythe feathers intermyxt. There are also the byggest Hennes and Cockes that euer I sawe: and therefore thinhabitants and Mahumetans which dwell there, take muche pleasure in Cockefyght, and laye great wagers in that kynde of sporte. I haue scene them fyghte for the space of syxe houres, and yet sometymes they kyll one an other at the fyrst stroke. There are certayne Gotes farre exceeding ours in byggenesse, and muche fayrer: these are so fruitefull, that at one byrth they bryng forth foure young kyddes. There is so great abundance of beastes, that twelue weathers are sold for one peece of golde to the value of a crowne or pistolet. There are also certayne weathers or rammes with hornes lyke vnto buckes hornes, and are muche bygger and fyrcer then ours.

Peacocks.
Falcons.
Poppingays.

A great and fayre foule.

Cocke fyghting.

Frutefull Gotes.

Rammes with huckes hornes.

Their Buyffles are not so fayre as ours. The region hath also abundaunce of fyshe, very bygge and good, and of small price. These people eate all maner of beastes, excepte kyne. They eate on the grounde without carpet or other cloth: yet haue they vessells of woode artificially made. Their drynke is water and suger: they beddes are rayed from the grounde, after the maner of ours. Their couche is of bombasine cotton, and the couerynges of sylke. Their apparell, is a cloke or mantell of bombasine or sylke, with one arme out, all bare. But some of the merchauntes, weare inner vestures or shirtes of sylke or bombasine cloth. They go all barefooted except the priestes, whiche weare on theyr heads certayne rayles or crestes of two spannes long, with a knotte on the crowne lyke vnto an Acorne, and sparkled with golde. They delyght also in earynges: but weare neyther rynges nor brasletttes. The colour of the inhabitantes inclyneth to whyte, for the temperature of the climate or ayre, is colder then at Calecut. Their maner of tyllage, and geatheryng of fruite, is lyke vnto ours.

Of the maner which the kyng of Tarnassarie vseth, when he permitteth his wyfe to be defloured of white men. Cap. 8.

This kyng vseth not to geue his wyfe to the priestes to be defloured, as doth the kyng of Calecut, but committeth this facte to whyte men, as to the Christians or Mahumetans, for he wyll not suffer the Idolaters to do this. The inhabitantes lykewyse haue not to do carnally with theyr wyues, before some whyte man, of what so euer nation, haue fyrst the breakyng of them.

The maner of burnyng dead bodyes in the citie of Tarnassary. Cap. 9.

When the kyng or any of the priestes or gentlemen dye, their bodies are burnt in a great fyre made of a pile of wood: then all the while they sacrifice vnto the deuyl. Their ashes are reserued in certayne pottes of the earth of Samos, and buryed in theyr houses. They sacrifice in y shadows of trees as do they of Calecut. Whilst the bodyes are burnyng, they cast in the fyre all maner of sweete sauoures, as Aloes, Myrre, frankensense, Storar, Sandals, Corall, and innumerable suche other sweete gummess, spices, and trees. These make the fyre muche greater, encreasyng the flame by reason of theyr gummositie: in the meane tyme also they neuer cease to make a great noyse with Trumpettes, Pipes, Drummes, Tambarells, and suche other instruments, not muche vnlke the ceremonies which in olde tyme were used among the gentiles in canonsyng theyr saintes. Furthermore, during these funeralls, there are 15 or 20 disguised lyke deuyls, whiche continually walke rounde about the fyre, with many strange gesticulations, after the maner of reioycyng. The wyfe also of the burned kyng or priest, standeth by the fyre alone, without the companye of any other woman, lamentyng and beatyng her breast. These ceremonies are done the seconde wathe of the nyght. Within fyfteene dayes after, the wyfe biddeth to a banquette all her husbandes

Canonising of
saintes.

husbandes kynsfolkes, and when they come at a daye appoynted, they go al to the place where her husbande was burnt, and at the same houre of the nyght: then commeth forth the wyfe, garnysed with all her iewells and best apparell, vsyng therein the helpe of all her kynsfolkes. In the same place is made a pytte, no deeper then may serue to receiue the woman: This pytte, is sette about with reedes, and the reedes are couered with a cloth of sylke, that the pytte may not be seene. In the meane tyme also a fyre is made in the pyt, with sundry sortes of sweete woods: and the wyfe, after that her gestes haue well banqueted, eateth very muche of a certayne meate whiche they call Betola, whiche troubleth her mynde as though she were halfe madde or drunken. In the meane whyle, a great companye of suche theyr musitions as we haue spoken of before, appparelled like deuyls, with burnyng stickes in theyr mouthes, daunce fyrst about the pytte, and then make sacrifice to the great deuyl Deumo. The wyfe also in the meane season runneth vp and downe lyke a madde body, with countenaunces of dauncyng and reioycyng. Then turnyng her to them that are disguised lyke deuyls, she commendeth her selfe to theyr deuoute prayers, desiring them for her to make intercession to the great Deumo, that after this transitorie lyfe, it may please him to receiue her into the company of his Angelles. After the ceremonies are fynished, shee taketh her leaue of all her kynsfolkes, whiche stande rounde about her, and neare vnto the pitte, then with sodaine outrage and a loude crye lifyng vp her handes, she hurleth her selfe into the burnyng pit, which done, her kynsfolkes, standing neare vnto the fyre, couer her with litle fagottes of sweete wood, hurlyng also thereon much pitche, that the bodie may the sooner be consumed: and except the wyfe shoulde doe this after the death of her husbande, she should euer after be esteemed an euyl woman, be hated of all men, and in fine, in danger to be slayne both of her owne kynsfolkes and her husbandes, and therefore shee goeth to it the more willingly. The kyng him selfe is present at these pompes: which are not commonly vsed for all men, but only for the kynges, priestes, and noble men.

The wyfe burneth her selfe after the death of her husband.

Dauncyng deuyls.

Sacrifice to the deuyl.

The hygh way to hell.

Great respect of fame and honesty.

Of the iustice which the inhabitantes of Tarnassari obserue. Cap. 10.

IF any kyll a man, he is adiudged to death, as in the citie of Calecut. Of giuyng and receyuyng, iustice is ministred, as prooffe may be made by writing or witenesse. They wryte in parchement lyke vnto ours, and not in barkes of trees as doe they of Calecut. When they contende for any thyng, they resorte to the gouernour of the citie, to whom the kyng hath giuen full authoritie of iurisdiction: and if any merchaunt straunger dye there without children, he may make no inheritour, but all his goods is due to the kyng: when the kyng is dead, his chyldren succede in the kyngdome. When the inhabitantes dye, theyr goods are equally diuided among theyr chyldren.

Wrytyng.

Howe the Mahumetans are buried in the citie of Tarnassari. Cap. 11.

WHEN any of the Mahumetan merchantes dye, they are embaulmed with many spices and sweete gummes, and theyr bodies put in Coffins of wood: with chiefe regarde that theyr heades lye towarde the citie of Mecha, which is from thence Northwarde.

Mecha.

Of the dyuers sortes of theyr shyppes or other vesselles. Cap. 12.

They haue Brigantines very shalowe, and with flatte bottoms, which drawe but small depth of water. Some also vse foistes, hauyng two or double forepartes, and two Masters, and are open without any couerture. There is an other kynde of shyppes of burden: Of the which, some beare the burden of a thousande tunnes. In these they carry Botes and other small vesselles, to the citie of Melacha, when they goe for spices.

Of Bangella, a great and riche citie of India, and of the great power of the kyng.

Cap. 13.

IT is now tyme to speake further of our viage, and of our proceeding therein. Therefore packyng vp our wares, and committynge vs to the sea, we came in twelue dayes saylyng to a citie named Bangella, distant from Tarnassari seuen hundred myles. This citie in fruitfulnessse and plentifulnesse of all thinges, may in maner contende with any citie in the worlde.

The citie of Bangella.

C c

The

An army of two hundred thousand men.

Spices and silke.

Rich merchants.

Precious stones.

The kyngdome and dominion of this cite is exceeding large. The kyng hath an army of two hundred thousande footemen and horsemen Mahumetans, and is of so great power, that he keepeth sore warres with the kyng of Narsinga. The region is so plentifull in all thynges, that there lacketh nothing that may serue to the necessarie vses or pleasures of men: for there are in maner all sortes of beastes, good and holesome fruites, and plentie of corne: Spices also of all sortes. Lykewyse of bombasine and sylke, so exceeding great abundance, that in these thinges, I thinke there is none other region comparable with this, and therefore here are very many rich merchantes, for euery yeere departe from hence, fyftie shyppes laden with clothe of bombasine and sylke, into the cities and countreys of Turchia, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Ethiopia and India. There are also many merchaunt straungers, whiche buye precious stones of the inhabitants.

Of certayne Christian merchantes, which exercise merchandies there. Cap. 14.

Christians.

Lignum Aloes.
Laserpitium.
Belzoi.
Castoreum.
Christian Princes
vnder the great
Cham of Cathay.

Christian Princes
neare the Turkes
dominions.

Corall of great
pyce.
Rubies.

Pego

HERE we founde many Christian merchantes which were borne in the cite of Sarnau, as they tolde vs. They resorte thither, as to a great marte, with clothe of silke and wood of Aloes, and Laser, which yeldeth the sweete gumme named Laserpitium, commonly called Belzoi, beyng a kynde of myrre. They bryng also Castoreum, and diuers other sweete saouours. The sayde Christians tolde vs also, that there be in that kyngdome, many Christian Princes, subiect to the great Cham, of the cite of Cathai. The apparell of these Christians, was Chamlet, loose and very full of pleytes, and lyned with bombasine cloth. On theyr heads they weare certayne coppen or sharpe poynted cappes, of two handfull hygh, of scarlet colour. They are white men. They acknowledge one God in Trinitie, and are baptised after our maner. They beleue the doctrine of the Apostles and Euangelistes. They wryte backwarde, after the maner of the Armenians. They celebrate the birth and buriall of Christ, and obserue fastyng the fourtie dayes of Lent as we doe. They celebrate also certayne saintes dayes. They vse no shooes, but weare loose hose of silke, garnished with dyuers Iewels. On theyr fingers they weare Ringes, with stones of incomparable splendour. At meate, they vse no table, but eate lying on the grounde, and feede of all sortes of fleshe. They affyrmed also, that there are certayne Christian kynges (whiche they call Rumi) of great power, confynyng or bordering on the dominions of the great Turke. When these Christians had seene the precious merchandies of my companion, and specially a great braunche of Corall, they earnestly desired him to goe with them to a certayne cite, where they promised him that by theyr procurement he shoulde sell his ware at great auantage, if he would buye Rubie stones, and that he might therby easily geat aboute ten thousande peeces of golde: Affirming that those kynde of stones were of muche greater value in Turkey. Whereunto my companion answered, that he would goe with them if they would departe in shorte space. We will (sayde they) departe euen to morrow: for here is a foist whiche departeth hence to morowe, and taketh her viage to the cite of Pego, whyther we desyre to bryng you. My companion consented the rather to his request, because he was aduertised that he should fynde there certayne Persians his countreyemen. Therefore with this good companie departyng from the cite of Bangella, and saylyng ouer a great gulfie lying on the South syde, wee came at the length to the cite of Pego, a thousande myles distaunt from Bangella.

Of Pego, a famous cite of India. Cap. 15.

Idolaters.
White men.

Christians.

THE cite of Pego, is not farre from the sea, and is situate vppon the continent or fyrmelande. A very fayre ryuer runneth by the cite, by the which merchandies are caried to and fro. The kyng of the cite, is an Idolater. The inhabitants, in apparell, liuyng, and maners, are lyke vnto them of Tarnassari: but of whiter colour, as in a colder region, somewhat lyke vnto ours. The cite is walled and the houses buylded, and very fayre, of stone and lyme. The kyng hath a myghtie armie both of footemen and horsemen, and hath in his armie Pensionarie Christians, borne euen in the same region. Theyr wages, is euery moneth sixe of those peeces of golde which they cal Pardaies, and is payde theyr out of the Kynges treasury. They haue abundance of corne and flesh, as in Calecut. Here are but fewe

fewe Elephantes, yet other beastes and foules, as in Calecut. Here are also trees for buyldyng, and to make shypes, the fayrest that euer I sawe: also exceeding great Reedes, Great Reedes. as byg as the bodie of a grosse man, or a tubbe. Here are likewise siuit Cattes, or Muske Muske Cattes. Cattes, and of small pryce, as three for one peece of golde. There are fewe merchandyes in this citie, except precious stones, and specially Rubies: which neuerthelesse are brought Precious stones and spices. thither from an other citie named Capela, beyng towarde the East thirtie dayes iourney, Capela. where are also founde precious stones named Smaragdes or Emeraldes. When we arryued at Smaragdes or Emeraldes. Pego, the kyng was absent fyue and twentie dayes iourney, in a place where he keppe warre agaynst the Kyng of Aua. But shortly after, he returned with great tryumphe for the victorie which he had agaynst his enemye.

Of the munificence, humilitie, and great riches of the Kyng of Pego. Cap. 16.

THIS kyng vseth not suche pompes and magnificence as doeth the kyng of Calecut: But is of suche humanitie and affabilitie, that a chylde may come to his presence and speake with him, being neuerthelesse very ryche. It is in maner incredible to speake of the ryche Great riches of Jewelles and precious stones. Jewelles, precious stones, pearles, and especially Rubies, which he weareth, surmounting in value any great citie. His fingers be full of Ringes, and his armes all full of brasettes of golde, all beset and moste gloriously shynyng with suche precious stones. His legges also and leete beyng garnished in lyke maner. His eares lykewyse are so laded with suche Jewelles, that they hang downe halfe a handfull. The splendour or shynyng of these Jewelles A kyng shynyng with earthly starres. is so great, that if one see the king in the darke night, he shineth in maner as it were the beames of the sunne. At good opportunitie the Christian merchantes spake to the kyng, and certified him that my companion had brought sundry merchaundies of great estimation. The kyng answered, that they shoulde come to him the day folowyng, bycause that, that The kyng sacrifice to the deity. present day, he shoulde sacrifice to the deuyll. Therefore the nexte day he sent for vs, willyng that my companion should bryng with him suche merchandies as he had. The which the kyng toke great pleasure to behold, and not without good cause: for among other things, there were two great branches of corall, of such bignesse and fayrenesse, as no Corall. man there had euer scene the lyke. The kyng astonished at these things, asked the Christians, what men we were. They answered that we were Persians. Then sayde the kyng to his interpretour, aske them if they will here make sale of theyr merchandies. To whom then my companion sayde thus, Most honorable Prince, all these are yours, take them, and vse them at your pleasure. Then sayde the kyng agayne, These two yeeeres past I haue keppe continuall warre with the kyng of Aua, and therfore my treasure of money is consumed: But if you will bargaine by the way of exchange, for precious stones, and especially Rubies, I will so deale with you, that it shall not repent you. Then sayde my companion to the Christians: I pray you gyue the kyng to vnderstande, that I desire none other thyng then the beneuolence of his highnesse, and therefore that I desire him to take of my merchaundies what lyketh him best, and that without money, or permutation of any other thing. When the kyng hearde this, he answered, that he had hearde by reporte that the The kyng and the merchant contende of liberalitie. Persians were very curtuous and liberall men, and that he neuer knewe so liberall a man as this was, and swore by the head of the deuyll, that by this occasion he would proue which of them two should be most liberall, and therefore callyng vnto him a Page of his chamber, commaunded him to fetch a casket of precious stones. This casket was of the breadth of A casket full of Rubies. a spanne and a halfe, euery way square, and full of Rubies: hauyng also within it sundry receptacles or boxes, where the stones were sorted in order. When he had opened the casket, he commaunded it to be set before the Persian, willing him to take of those precious as many as he would. But my companion the Persian, yet more moued to liberalitie by this the Kinges munificence spake to the kyng these woordes, O most honourable Prince, I perceyue your beneuolence to be suche towarde me, that I sweare by the holy head of Mahumet, and all the mysteries of his religion, whereunto I am professed, that I freely and gladly gyue vnto you all my merchaundies: for I doe not trauallye about the worlde for gaynes of riches, but rather of desyre to see the worlde. In the which thereto, I neuer founde any thyng wherein I so greatly reioyced, as in the beneuolence and fauour which

your maiestie hath shewed me. The kyng answered, Wylt thou yet contende with mee in liberalitie? And with those woordes, tooke out of the casket, (of euery boxe some) as many Rubies as he coulde holde in his hande, and with this rewarde (whiche was two hundred Rubies) shewed his kyngly munificence and beneuolence towards the Persian, saying vnto him, Take these, I pray thee, for thou shalt not refuse them. He gaue also to eche of the Christians two Rubies, which were woorth a thousand crownes to be solde: but those which he gaue the Persian, were esteemed woorth a hundred thousand crownes. This Kyng therefore doubtlesse in munificence passeth all the kynges of the worlde, and in maner no lesse in riches: for he receyueth yeerely of his subiectes two hundred thousand peeces of golde. This region bryngeth forth all sortes of colours, and great plentie of bombasine and silke: but these great riches, the kyng consumeth on his souldiers. Not long after, newes were brought that the kyng of Aua was commyng with a myghtie force, whom the kyng in maner with an innumerable army went to resist. Here also in certayne places we sawe women burned, after the maner of Tarnassari.

A Princely
syfte.

Colours.

Of the citie of Melacha, and the great ryuer of Gaza. Cap. 17.

A ryuer of 25
myles brode.
The Ilande of
Sumetra or
Taprobana.

Chini of China.

Popingayes.

Sandalum.
Tyn.

Spices and silke.

Vnruly People.

Anarchia.

Within two dayes after, taking ship, we sailed westwarde towards the citie of Melacha, and arryued there in eight dayes saylyng. Not farre from this citie, is a famous ryuer named Gaza, the largest that euer I sawe, conteyning 25 myles in breadth. On the other syde, is seene a very great Ilande, whiche they call Sumetra, and is of old writers named Taprobana. The inhabitauntes say that it conteyneth in circuite fyue hundred myles. When wee came to the citie of Melacha (which some call Melcha) we were incontinent commaunded to come to the Soltan, being a Mahumetan, and subiecte to the great Soltan of Chini, and payeth him tribute. Of whiche tribute, they say the cause is, that more then fourescore yeeres past, that citie was buylded by the kyng of Chini, for none other cause, then only for the commoditie of the hauen, being doubtlesse one of the fayrest in that Ocean, and therefore it is lykely that many shippes should resorte thither for merchandies. The region is not euery where fruitfull, yet hath it sufficient of wheate and fleshe, and but little wood. They haue plentie of foules, as in Calecut: but the Popingays are much fayrer. There is also founde Sandalum, and Tynne. Lykewyse Elephantes, horses, sheepe, kyne, Pardalles, Buffles, Peacockes, and many other beastes, and foules. They haue but few frutes, and therefore there is no merchandies to be solde but spices and silke. The people are of blackyshe ashe colour. Theyr apparell is like to the Mahumetans of the citie Memphis, otherwise named Cayr, Alchayr, or Babylon of Nilus. They haue very large foreheades, rounde eyes, and flatte noses. It is dangerous there to goe abrode in the night, the inhabitants are so giuen to murder and robbery, for they kill one another lyke dogges, and therefore the merchantes remayne in their shippes all the nyght. The people are fierce, of euyll condition, and vnruly, for they will obey to no gouernour, being altogether giuen to sedition and rebellion, and therefore say vnto theyr gouernours, that they will forsake the countrey, if they stryue to bynde them to order, whiche they say the more boldly, because they are neare vnto the sea, and may easily departe into other places for these causes, we spent no long tyme here: but hyring a Brigantine, we sayled to the Ilande of Sumatra, where in fewe dayes sayling, we arryued at a citie of the Ilande named Pyder, distaunt about fourescore myles from the continent or firme lande.

Of the Ilande of Sumatra, or Taprobana. Cap. 18.

The Ilande of
Sumatra or
Samotri.

Four kynges in
one Iland.
Women burne
them selues.

Iustice.

WE haue sayd here before that the Ilande of Sumatra, conteyneth in circuite fyue hundred myles. The citie where we fyrst arryued in the Iland, is named Pider, hauyng a very fayre port. I beleue verily this Ilande to be Taprobana, as also most autours do agree. It is gouerned by foure kynges, and all Idolaters, in fashions, apparell, and maner of lyuyng, not much differing from the kyng of Tarnassari. The women burne them selues after the death of theyr husbandes, as do they of whom we haue spoken before. They are of whitish colour, with large foreheades, rounde eyes, and of brasyll colour. They weare theyr heare long, and haue very brode and flatte noses and are of despicable stature. Iustice is there well

well obserued. Their mony is of golde, syluer, and tynne. The golde coyne, hath on the one syde, the grauen head of a deuyll: and on the other syde, a wagon or charrette drawen with Elephanes. The syluer mony hath the lyke coyne: tenne of these, are valued for one of golde. But of the tynne coyne 25 make the value of one of golde. Here are seene more Elephanes, bygger, and fayrer then in any other place that I haue been. This people hath no experience of warres, but are geuen altogether to gaynes and merchandies. They are hospitable, and enterteyne strangers frendly.

Of an other kynde of Pepper. Also of sylke, and the precious gumme called Laserpitium, or Belzoe. Cap. 19.

IN the sayde lland is a kynde of long Pepper in great abundance. Pepper in theyr language, is called Molaga, and is much longer and whiter then that which is brought hither: yet lighter and hotter: it is sold there not by weight, but bi measure as wheat with vs. It is there in so great abundaunce, that there is caryed from hence yeerely twentie shippes laden with Pepper. This is caryed to Cathay, and is there well solde, by reason of the coldnesse of the region. The tree that beareth this kynde of pepper, hath a greater body, and larger and flatter leaues, then the pepper tree of Calecut. This llande beareth also plenty of sylke, whiche for the most parte, is made after our maner. There is another sorte, whiche the trees bryng forth of them selues in the wooddes and feeldes, without menage or dressing: but this is woorse then the other. Here also groweth the Laser tree, whiche bryngeth forth the precious gumme named Laserpitium or Belzoe, as the inhabitantes and merchauntes tolde vs: but because I haue not seene it, I will speake no more of it.

Of three sortes of the tree of Aloes. Cap. 20.

FORasmuch as varietie delighteth, and the wel disposed mind can neuer be satiate with contemplation of the marueylous and sundry woorkes of God in nature, therfore that the reader may take the more pleasure, or at the least feele lesse tediousnesse in the reading of these thyngs, I haue thought good to wryte somewhat more of suche thynges as I haue seene. You shall therefore vnderstande, that there is no great plentie of true Aloes or Laserpitium brought to vs, because it is brought hyther from the furthest partes of the worlde. Vnderstande furthermore, that there are three kyndes or sortes of Aloes, greatly differing in goodnesse. The perfectest, they call Calampat, whiche the afore-saide llande bryngeth not forth: But it is brought from the citie of Sarnau, not farre from the place where the sayde Aloes Calampat is engendred, as the Christian merchauntes or companions tolde vs. There is an other kynde of Aloes, named luba (or Luba) brought hyther by this ryuer, I knowe not from whence. The thyrd kynd, is named Bochor. The saide Christian merchants tolde vs also, that none of the fyrst and best kynde of Aloes is brought vnto vs, because it commeth from the kyngdomes of Cathay, Chini, Macym, Sarnau, and Grauy, countreys muche rycher then ours, hauyng muche greater abundaunce of golde, and kynges of great power and rychesse then are ours: And also that the sayde kynges take great pleasure in such kynd of sweete sauoures, and vse them muche more then our princes do: So that by this meanes, the true kynde of Aloes is worth euen in the citie of Sarnau, tenne crownes the pounce weyght.

How the gummess of Aloes and Laserpitium, are proued. Cap. 21.

WE came by certayne experience to the knowledge of the two sweete gummess of Aloes and Laserpitium, as we were taught by the sayd Christian merchants our companyons: for one of them had a certayne portion of them both, and had of that best sorte of Aloes, named Calampat, about the quantitie of two ounces: of the which, my companion takyng a peece in his hande, and holdyng it fast and close for the space that one may thryse saye the Psalme of Miserere mei Deus, the Aloes thereby beyng heat, at the openyng of his hande gaue a sauoure of incredible sweetnesse, and suche as I neuer felte of any other thyng. He tooke also of the common Laserpitium or Belzoe, the quantitie of a Walnutte, and agayne halfe a pounce of that whiche commeth from the citie of Sarnau, to compare the one to the other: And so puttyng them both in sundry chafyng dyshes, with burnyng coles in a close chamber, that

Coynd mony of
golde, syluer,
and tynne.
Elephanes.

Cathay or Catai
a colde region.
Sylke of the
trees.

Laserpitium or
Belzoe.

Little true Aloes
or Laserpitium.

Cathay and
other ryche coun-
treys.

Aloes of very
sweete sauour.
The prooue of
Laserpitium.

Lacca, mer-
chautes ware.

that whiche was of the byggenesse of a Walnute, in sweete sauour far exceeded the other which was halfe a pounce in weight, and woulde doubtlesse so haue done though it had ben of two pounce weight. In this region is also founde Lacca, or Lacta, wherewith is made a shynnyng redde colour. It is the gumme of a tree, not much vnylike our Walnutte tree. There are also sundrye kindes of beastes, suche as we haue.

Of diuers merchantes in the Ilande of Sumatra, or Taprobana. Cap. 22.

Shyppes of a
straunge fashion.

Swymmers.

Great teeth of
Elephantes.
Great Serpents.

The name of
Iherusalem in
reuerence.

IN the sayde citie of Pyder, in the Ilande of Sumatra, I sawe many curious workes, very artificially wrought, as fyne Cophines or baskets, garnished with golde, solde for two crownes the peece: I sawe also there in one streete fyue hundred exchaungers: there are so many bankers. Hither, as to a famous mart, resort innumerable merchantes. The inhabitantes weare Mantels of sylke, and Syndone, made of Bombasine. The region hath plentie of wood, and trees, very commodious to make such shippes as they cal Gunchos, hauyng three mastes, two fore partes, and also two sternes or gouernals on both sydes. When they sayle in the Ocean, and haue nowe geuen wynde to the sayles, yf afterwarde it shal be needefull to haue more sayles, not changing the fyrst, they go backward without turning the ship, and vsyng only one mast. They are most expert swymmers, and haue skyll to make fyre in an instant. Theyr houses are of stone, and very lowe. In the place of couerynges or tyles, they vse the skynnes or hydes of a fyshe, called Tartaruca, founde in that sea of India. I saw so hugious a hyde of this monster, that it wayed a hundred and three poundes. I sawe there also great teeth of Elephantes, as one waying three hundred and thirtie pounce weight. Lykewise serpentes of incredible bygnesse, and muche bygger then in Calecut. Here our companions, the Christian merchants, for assayres they had to do other wayes, woulde haue taken their leaue of vs. Then my companion the Persian spake vnto them in this maner: Although (my frendes) I am not your countreyman (yet beyng all brethren, and the chyldren of Adam) I take God to witnesse that I loue you as yf you were mine owne brethren, begotten of the same parentes: and therefore, consyderyng how frendly we haue kept company together so long tyme, I assure you I can not, without great greefe of mynde, beare your departyng from vs. And although you would departe from me, wyll you now forsake this my companion, a man of your fayth and religion? Then sayde the Christians, howe hath this man, beyng no Persian, receyued our fayth? Then sayde my companion, Truly he is now a Persian, and was once bought at Ierusalem. When the Christians hearde the holy name of Ierusalem, they lysted vp theyr handes to heauen, and prostratyng them selues on the grounde, kyssed it thysse: then rysyng, they asked him of what age I was, when I was brought from Ierusalem. Of the age of fyfteeene yeeres sayde my companion. Then sayde they agayne, he may then remember his countrey. Then answered my companion, he dooth remember it in deede, and I haue taken great pleasure of suche thynges as he hath tolde me of his countrey. Then sayde the merchautes, Although of long tyme we haue desyred to returne to our countrey, beyng more then three hundred myles hence, neuerthelesse at your request we wil beare you company to the place whyther you desyre to go. Preparing therefore all thynges partynyng to the voyage, we tooke shyppyng, and in 15 dayes saylyng, came to an Ilande named Bandan.

Of the Ilande of Bandan, where Nuttemegs and Mace are founde. Cap. 23.

Anarchia.

Lawlesse people.

Idolaters.

IN this voyage to the Ilande of Bandan we founde about 20 Ilandes, some inhabited, and some desarte. This Ilande is very saluage, barren, and very lowe, and conteyneth a hundred myles in circuite. It hath neyther kyng nor gouernour, but is inhabited with a rascall and beastly kynde of men, lyuyng without lawe, order, or gouernment. They haue lowe houses, or rather cotages of wood, rysyng but litle from the ground. Their apparell is onely a sherte. They go bareheaded and barefooted, with theyr heare hangyng downe, and haue brode and rounde forheaddes. They are of coloure inclynyng to whyte, and of despicable stature. They are Idolaters, and woorse then are the inhabitantes of Calecut, called Poliar, and Hyrana. They are also of dull wytte and litle strength, and in kynde of lyuyng altogether beastly. The soyle beareth no frutes, excepte onely Nuttemegges: the bodye of
the

the Nutmegge tree, is lyke to the bodey of a Peache tree, and hath lyke branches and leaves, but the leaues are somewhat narrower. Before these Nuttes come to ryphenesse, the Mace florysheth lyke vnto a redde rose: but when the Nutte waxeth rype, the Mace closeth it selfe and embraseth the Nutte and shel, and are so geathered together without order or distribution, by scamblyng, catche that catche may, for that al things are there common. The tree yeeldeth fruite of his owne fruitefulnessse, without graffing or cuttyng, or any other art. These Nuttes are solde by weyght, and 26 pounce weyght, is solde for the value of three souses (that is) halfe a Carline, of such money as is vsed in Calecut. This people hath none other order of iustice, then by the lawe of nature, and therfore they lyue without such contentions as proceede of thine and myne. When we had been heere three dayes, my companion asked the Christian merchantes, where was the region whiche brought fourth Cloues: They answered, that Cloues were founde in an llande named Monoch, sixe dayes sayling from thence. Therfore proceeding on our voyage, we came thither in the space of seven dayes.

The Nutmegge tree.

Mace.

All thynges common.

Nutmegges of small price.

The law of Nature.

Of the llande of Monoch, where Cloues growe. Cap. 24.

This llande is very narowe, yet in length exceedeth the llande of Bandan. The inhabitants are much worse then they of Bandan: for, were it not only for mans shape, they should in maner differ nothing from beastes. Their colour is whyter, and the region colder. This llande bryngeth fourth Cloues, as do also many other litle and desolate llandes lying about it. The body of this tree, is not much vnlyke the Boxe tree, and hath leaues lyke vnto the Cinamome tree, but rounder, and almost lyke the Bay leafe. When they waxe rype, the inhabitants beate them downe with reedes, laying fyrst mattes vnder the trees. The ground is sandie, and the region so low vnder the Horizon, that the North starre can not be seene there. They sell Cloues for the double price that Nutmegs are solde, and sell them by measure: for they are vtterly without knowledge of weyghtes.

These llandes of spices, are called Moluccæ, and in them is seene the rare byrde named Manucodiat, or Paradise.

The Cloue tree.

Cloues dearer then Nutmegs.

Of the lland of Bornei. Cap. 25.

AS we were together talkyng of our voyages, the Christian merchantes spake vnto me in this maner. Our dearly beloued freende, forasmuch as by the grace of God, we are come thus farre in safetie, yf it please you, we wyl go see one of the fayrest llandes in the worlde, and very ryche, and suche as I beleue you neuer sawe: but we must fyrst go to an other lland named Bornei, for there shal we haue bygger vessels: for we must needes passe a deepe and rough sea. Then sayde my companion, do as shall please you, for we are contented to go with you. Therefore hyryng a greater foyst, we directed our iorney to that llande both by daye and nyght, sayling alway southwarde: By the way we passed fourth the tyme with pleasant talke. The merchaunt men asked me many thynges of the ceremonies and solemnities of the Christian religion vsed among vs: And when I made mention of the Veronica (commonly called the Vernacle of the face of Chryst) and of the heads of Peter and Paule the chiefest of the Apostles, and also of many other saintes, they aduertysed me secretly, that if I would go with them, I shoulde become a great man for the knowledge of suche great thynges. But beyng deterred by the greatnesse of the iorney and fearyng that then I should neuer haue come home, I refused to go with them. At the length we came to the lland of Bornei, distant from Monoch about two hundred myles, and is somewhat bigger, but muche lower beneath the Horizon or Equinoctiall. The inhabitantes are Idolaters, of sharpe wyt, and maner of lyuyng not greatly to be discommended. Their colour inclyneth more to whytenesse. They weare not all one maner of apparell, for some weare shirtes of bombasine cloth, other mantells of chamlet, and other also sharpe cappes of red colour. They obserue iustice and good order. This llande yeeldeth yeerely great abundaunce of Camphora, which they sayd to be the gumme of a tree: but I dare not affyrme it, because I haue not seene it. Here my companyon hyred a lyght shyppe or barke for a hundred peeces of golde.

The llande of Gysua. Bornei.

Veronica or Vernacle. The heades of Peter and Paule.

The llande of Bornei. Idolaters.

Camphora.

Of the obseruations vsed in the nauigation to the lland of Giaua. Cap. 26.

AFTER that we had made prouision of vittayles sufficient for the voyage, we directed our iorney

ourney to the Ilande of Gyaau, and came thither in the space of fyue dayes, saylyng euer toward the south. Our Pilot vsed the maryners boxe or compasse, with also the lode stone and sea carde, after the maner of ours. Therefore when my companion sawe that the Septentrions or north starres coule not be seene there, he asked the Christians howe they could sayle on that sea without the guide of the north star: and asked also, by what other star they were guided: The Pilote answered, that the inhabitantes of these regions obserue principally fyue starres, and also one other starre, opposite or directly contrary to the Septentrions or North starres, whereby they gouerned their viages in these regions: and sayd that he also vsed the lode stone, because it euer mooueth to the North: and sayde furthermore, that on the other syde of that Ilande, is a certayne people, whiche in saylyng obserue certayne starres, contrary to the Septentrions, for that the sayde people are Antipodes to them of Europa Sarmatiæ, and that they inhabite as colde a region and climat, and as neare vnto the pole Antartike, as is manifest by the shortnesse of the day, beyng but foure houres long in their wynter: of whiche talke we tooke great pleasure.

Of the Ilande of Gyaau, and the maners of the people. Cap. 27.

Therfore proceeding on our iourney fyue dayes saylyng we came to the sayde Ilande, beyng very great and large, and hauyng in it many kyngdomes, and kynges, beyng all Idolaters, and of diuers maners of lyuyng: for some of them honor Idolles, after the maner of Calecut: some also honor the Sonne, and some the Moone: other take kyne for their Idolles: and some, the fyrst thyng that they meete in the mornyng, take for the Idol of that day: other also honor the picture or similitude of the deuyll. This Ilande bryngeth forth sylke, whiche groweth of it selfe in the wooddes, and also the fayrest Smaragdes or Emeraldes that are in the world: there is likewyse plentie of Golde, and Copper. The soyle is fruitefull of Corne, and all sortes of frutes, as in the cite of Calecut. There is great abundance of fleshe of all sortes, as with vs. The inhabitantes are faythfull, and true dealing people: they are of the same colour and stature that we bee, but haue larger forheades, very great eyes, and of brasyll or redde colour, and flatte noses, wearyng theyr heare long. There is a great multitude of foules and birdes, but vnyke vnto ours, except Peacockes, Turtle dooue, and Crowes. They greatly obserue iustice, and good order. For theyr apparell they vse mantels, or clokes, of Bombasine cloth, or sylke, or Chamlet, euer wearyng out one arme. They vse no coates of fence, or armure because they haue no warres: but when they traueyle on the sea, they vse bowes, and imployed arrowes made of Reedes. They vse also certayne long and holowe staues (which we call Trunkes) through the which after our maner, they blowe little arrowes, so infected with poyson, that if they rayse neuer so little blood, death foloweth incontinent. They haue no Gunnes or other ingines. They eate all sortes of fleshe, fyshe, and frutes, yet some feede of one kynde of meate, and other of other, as them listeth.

Of theyr cruell maners in selling their parentes to the Anthropophagi to be eaten. Cap. 28.

The inhabitantes of the sayd Ilande (they I meane which feede of fleshe) when they see theyr parentes so feeble by age, that they serue for no vse, but are tedious both to them selues and other, they bryng them to the market or fayre, and sell them to the Anthropophagi, which vse to eate mans fleshe. They that buye them, kyll them out of hand and eate them. Likewyse when any young person among them, falleth into any suche sicknesse, that by the iudgement of theyr wyse men he can not escape, to the ende that he should not vnprofitably lynger in paynes, his brethren and kynsfolkes sell hym to the Anthropophagi. When my companion, beyng detested with these cruell maners, shewed in countenance that he detested this horrible inhumanitie, a certayne merchaunte of the inhabitantes sayde thus vnto hym: O Persians, no sacrifice can redeeme your sinnes, in that you giue so fayre fleshe to the woormes to be eaten. Therefore abhorryng these beastly maners, we returned to our shyppe, not intending any longer to tarry there.

Of the strange course of the sunne in the Iland of Gyaau. Cap. 29.

WHyle we remayned here, the Christian merchantes euer desirous to shew vs new and strange

The North star.

The starres about the pole Antartike. The lode stone serueth in the south regions beyonde the Equinoctiall line. Antipodes.

Idolaters.

The image of the deuyll. Sylke of trees. Smaragdes. Golde. Copper.

Whyte men, good people.

Byrdes and foules.

Imployed arrowes. Trunkes.

Anthropophagi eate mans fleshe. In the West India, they are called Caniballes.

A strange pittie.

Rather to butcher their owne woormes.

strange things, whiche we myght declare at our returne into our countreys, sayde thus vnto vs, My friendes, make reporte in your countrey of a straunge thyng whiche I will now shewe you. Beholde (sayde they) the place of the Sunne in the South at hygh noone, and thereby consider howe farre this region is from your countrey. We then behelde the Sunne to runne toward the ryght hand: and agayne, to shewe or marke a sphere, about two handfulls brode, toward the lefte hande, which doubtesse seemed to vs very straunge. And this (as they saye) is euer scene in the moneth of Iuly. But I nowe scarcely beare this in mynd, for I there forgot euen the names of our monethes. But this is certayne, that in this region, the tymes and seasons of the yeeres are lyke vnto ours, and of lyke temperature of heat and colde. Here my companion bought two fayre Emeraldes for a thousande peeces of golde, and also two gelded children for two hundred peeces of golde: for heere are certayne merchants that buy none other ware, then such gelded children.

Emeraldes of great price. Gelded children.

Of our returne from the Ilande of Gyaua. Cap. 30.

AFTER that we had remayned here fyftiene dayes, wery of the maners of the inhabitantes, and of the coldnesse of the countrey that time of the yeere, we determyned to proceede no further: for this cause also, that there remayned in maner none other region woorthie to be scene, and therefore hyring a lyght shyp, we departed from thence, sayling Eastwarde for the space of fyftiene dayes, and came at the length to the citie of Melacha, where remayning three dayes, we tooke our leaue of our companions the Christian merchants, with friendly embrasinges, and sorowfull myndes. Which departure (I take God to witnesse) greeued me so sore, that if I had been a single man without wyfe and children, I would neuer haue forsaken suche friendly men. We therefore departed, and they remayned there, saying that they would shortly returne to the citie of Sana: and we takyng a foist, returned to the citie of Cyromandel. By the way, the gouernour of the shyp tolde vs, that about the Ilandes of Gyaua and Taprobana, there are aboute seuen thousande little Ilandes. When we arryued at Melacha, my companion bought as muche spices, sweete sauours, and silke, as cost hym fyue thousande peeces of golde: But we came not to the citie of Cyromandel in lesse space then fyftiene dayes sayling. There we vnlaided our foist, and after we had remayned there twentie dayes, hyring an other foist, we came at the length to the citie of Colon, where we founde 22 Christians, of the realme of Portugale. And fearyng that they would take me for some espion, I began to imagine howe I myght depart from thence: But seeing that they were so fewe in number, I chaunged my purpose, especially for that there were many merchant Mahumetans whiche knewe that I had been at Mecha, to see the bodie of Mahumet. But within the space of twelue dayes, we came to Calecut by the ryuer.

Seuen thousande Ilandes. Melacha, or Melacha.

Colon. Portugales.

Agayne of the citie of Calecut after our returne thither. Cap. 31.

AFTER so many long and dangerous peregrinations and viages, in the whiche we haue been partly satisfied of our desyre, and partly weeryed by many suche occasions of inconueniences as chaunce in the way (as they can well consider that haue been vsed to suche long iourneyes) we determyned to proceede no further, but to thynke only of our safe returne into our natiue countrey, and therefore I will breiefely declare what chaunced to me in the way: the rather that other men, takyng example by my traueyles, may knowe the better howe to gouerne them selues in the lyke, if lyke ardent affection shal moue them to take suche viages in hande, as I am sure noble spirites of many valiant men will moue them thereto. Therefore enteriug into the citie of Calecut, we founde there two Christians, borne in the citie of Milan, the one named Iohn Maria, and the other Peter Antonie. These were Jewellers, and came from Portugale with the kinges licence to buye precious stones. When I had founde these men, I reioyced more then I am able to expresse: for we went naked after the maner of the inhabitantes. At our fyrst meetyng, seeing them to bee whyte men, I asked them if they were Christians, They sayde, yea. Then sayde I, that I was also a Christian, by the grace of God. Then takyng me by the hande, they brought me to theyr house, where for ioye of our meetyng, we could scarcely satisfie our selues with teares, embrasynges, and kyssyng: for it seemed nowe to mee a straunge thyng to heare men speake myne owne

Two Christians of Milan in Calecut.

D d

language,

The Nauie of
Portugale.

language, or to speake it my selfe. Shortly after, I asked them if they were in fauour with the kyng of Calecut. We are (sayde they) in great fauour with him, and very famillier. Then againe I asked them what they were mynded to doe. We desyre (sayde they) to returne to our cuntry, but we knowe not the meanes how. Then sayde I, returne the same way that you came. Naye (sayde they) that may not bee: for we are fledde from the Portugales, bycause we haue made many peeces of great ordinaunce, and other Gunnes for the Kyng of Calecut, and therefore we haue good cause to feare, and now especially, for that the nauie of Portugale will shortly be heere. I answered, that if I myght escape to the citie of Canonor, I doubted not but that I would geat theyr pardon of the gouernour of the Nauie. There is small hope thereof (sayde they) we are so famous and well knownen to many other kynges in the way whiche fauour the Portugales, and laye wayte to take vs, for wee haue made more then foure hundred Gunnes, litle and great, and therefore wee are out of all hope to escape that way. In whiche theyr talke, I perceyued howe fearfull a thyng is a gilty conscience, and called to remembraunce the saying of the Poet,

" Multa malè timeo, qui feci multa proteruè."

A great peece of
ordinaunce.

A Iewe that
made Gunnes
and shyppes,
was drowned.

Repentance.

Predestination.

That is, I feare much euyll, bycause I haue done muche euyll. For they had not only made many suche peeces of artillerie for the infidelles, to the great damage of Christians, and contempte of the holy name of Christ and his religion, but had also taught the Idolatours both the making and vse of them. And at my beyng there, I sawe them gyue a modell or moule to certayne Idolatours, whereby they myght make brasen peeces, of suche bygnesse that one may receyue the charge of a hundred and fyue Tankardes (Cantaros) of powder. At the same tyme also, there was a Iewe, which had made a verye fayre Brigantine, and foure great peeces of artillerie of Iron. But God shortly after gaue him his due reward: for when he went to washe him in the ryuer, he was drowned. But to returne to our sayde Christians. God is my witnesse howe earnestly I perswaded them, neuer thereafter to make any more artillerie or Gunnes, to the great contempt and indignation of God, and detriment of our holy fayth. When I had sayde these woordes, the teares fell from the eyes of Peter Antonie. But Iohn Maria (who perhappes had not so great desire to returne to his cuntry) said that it was all one to him, to dye there, or in the citie of Rome: and that God knewe what he had decreed of him. Within two dayes after, I returned to my companion, who marueyled where I had been, fearing I had ben eyther sicke, or departed. I tolde him that I was all nyght in the Temple, lest he should suspecte my great familiaritie with the Christians.

Of the commyng of the Portugale shippes, to the citie of Canonor. Cap. 32.

A fortresse of
the Portugales
in the citie of
Canonor.

WHyle I remayned here in the lodging of my companion, there came to him two Persian merchants from the citie of Canonor, saying that they had som euyll newes to tell him: wherewith seemyng to be somewhat troubled, he asked what was the matter: There are come (sayde they) twelue shyppes of Portugale, which we haue seene with our eyes. Then sayde he, What maner of men are those? They are (sayd the Persian) Christians, armed with harnesse of shining Iron, and haue builded an inexpugnable fortresse in the citie of Canonor. My companion hearyng those woordes, turned to me, and sayde, Lodouicke, what maner of men are the Portugales? To whom I answered, that they were a nation of mischeeuous people, gyuen to none other thyng then piracie and robberyng on the sea. He was not so sorie to heare this, as I was glad of theyr commyng.

Howe I playde the Phisitian, and counterfect holinesse, lest by my colour I should be taken for a spye for the Portugales, before I could come to their ships. Cap. 33.

Hipocrisie.

After the rumor was spred of the Portugales arryuyng, I began to thinke what was best to be done, and thought nothyng more safe and easie among this people, then to geat some opinion of holinesse by hipocrisie, and therefore all the day tyme, I lurked in the Temple, liuyng without meate, as all the people thought: but in the nyght, I ate fleshe in the house of Peter Antonie, and Iohn Maria. And by this meanes, none had other opinion of me, but that I was a Sainct, and therfore might after a fewe dayes goe abrode in the citie without suspicion:

A Sainct by
hipocrisie.

suspicion: and to helpe the matter withall, it chaunced in the meane tyme, that a certaine rich Mahumetan of the citie of Calecut was very sicke, hauing his belly so bounde, that he could not doe the necessities of nature. And bycause he was a friende to my companion, and his disease increased, he asked me if I had any skyll in phisicke: I sayde, that my father was a Phisitian, and that I had learned many things of him by experience. Then I pray you (sayd he) do what you can to helpe this my friend. We went therefore together to the sicke man, whom my companion asked where he felt him selfe most greued. In my head (sayd he) and my stomacke, hauyng also my belly so sore bounde, that I can not goe to the stoole. Then my companion agayne in his presence, desired me to consider his infirmitie, and take vpon me to minister vnto him some medicine. My companion had tolde me before, that he was a great eater and drinker. Therefore, takyng him by the hande and feelyng his pulse, I sayde that his stomacke and bowelles were full of choler, by reason of surfeityng, and therefore that it shoulde be good for him to take a glistre. Then sayde the sicke man, Do what you wil, I wil abyde your order. Then made I a glistre of egges, salt and suger, ^{A glistre.} adding also butter and certayne hearbes, such as came first to my memorie vpon the sodayne, and in the space of a day and nyght, I gaue him fyue glisters, but all in vayne: for besyde the paynes which he endured, he was rather woorse then better, insomuche that it repented me of my enterprise: But it was now best to set a good face on the matter and attempte an other way, but the last erreure was woorse then the first. Yet still putting him in good hope, I vsed him thus. I made him lye grouelyng on his belly, and then tying cordes on his feete, I rayed vp the hynder partes of his body, so that he rested only vpon his brest and handes, and as he laye, ministred a glyster vnto him, and let him so hang for the space of halfe an houre. My companion beholding this straunge kynde of practise, sayde vnto me, Lodouicke, is this the maner of mynistring to sicke folkes in your cuntry? It is, sayde I, yet neuer but in case of extremitie. Then smylyng, he sayde, I beleuee it will heale him one way or an other. In the meane tyme the miserable man cryed, saying in his language, It is enough, it is enough, for my soule now departeth. We comforted him, disirying him to haue patience yet a while. In maner immediately after, his belly was losed, and auoyded matter as if it had been out of a gutter. Then when wee had let downe his bodie, hee auoyded as much as myght almost fyll a pale, and shortly after, the payne of his head and stomake, and also the feuer ceased: whereof we were all very glad. And by this aduenturous cure, I began to bee in great credite among them, by the meanes also of my counterfect holinesse, and therefore whereas he would haue giuen me tenne peeces of golde, I would take but only two, and gaue them also incontinent to the poore. These sely soules ^{Sely soules.} beleueed so much in my hypocrisie (which I shewed no lesse in countenance and grauitie, forbearyng also openly to eate fleshe) that well was he that myght haue me in his house or kysse my handes and feete. The reporte also of my companion, affyrmyng that he mette with me fyrst at Mecha, where I was to see the bodie of the holy Prophet Mahumet, encreased greatly (and specially among the Mahumetans) the opinion they had conceiued of my holinesse. But in the meane tyme, secretly in the darke nyght, I resorted priuily to the aforesayde Christians, by whom beyng aduertised that twelue of the Portugale shippes were nowe arriued at Canonor, I considered that nowe woulde bee good oportunitie to escape: and therefore remaynyng there yet seuen dayes, I learned all that I coulde of the preparations which the kyng of Calecut and his people made agaynst the Portugales, both touching his army, ertillerie, and other thinges partyeyning to the warres. But before I come to speake of my maner of departing, it wil here not be from the purpose, to declare howe the Mahumetans call the people to theyr churches, and of theyr maner of praying.

Howe the Mahumetan priestes call the people to theyr Churches. Cap. 34.

Theyr priestes and other ministers of the Temple (of the which there is a great number) obserue this maner to call the people to the church. Certayne of these ascende to the highest Tower of the Temple, where first blowing three or foure brasen Trumpets, in the steede of belles, they crye to the people with a loude voyce, to resorte to the Temple to prayers. Then stopping one eare with their finger, they say in their owne language these

D d 2

woordes:

Trumpettes
the steede of
belles.

Not all that say
Lord, Lord, &c.
Some of them
say that he is
rysen.

woordes: Alla u eccubar. That is to say, God is great, and againe, God is great: Come to the Temple of the great God, Come to pray to the great God: God is great, God is great, God was, God is, Mahumet the messenger of God shal ryse. They invited me also to the Temple, and desired me to pray to God for the Mahumetans, whiche I dyd outwardly, but of much other meanyng then they dyd.

Of the maner of praying among the Mahumetans. Cap. 35.

God the father.
The virgin
Marie.

They haue certaine dayly and vsuall prayers, as we haue, in the which they call God their father, and vouchsafe to name the virgin Marie full of grace. They pray not before they haue ben washed. Then standing in order, after the priest hath prayed, they pray also in their own language. Here to my companion, I fayned my selfe sicke, and founde diuers other occasions to depart from thence, and to go to Canonor. Well sayd he, It shall not be long ere I come thither to you, and in the meane tyme, with my letters, I will commend you there to a friend and countrey man of myne, a riche merchant, who for my sake shall giue you good intertaynement.

What subtiltie I vsed to depart from Calecut, to go to the Portugales. Cap. 36.

Merchautes of
Calecut.

Naeros are gen-
tlemen of the
kynges garde.

The daye before I departed from thence, I made the sayd Christians priue of my intente. In the meane tyme my companyon ioyned me in company with two other Persian merchautes, whiche were mynded also to go to Canonor: for there was in the cite of Calecut many merchautes of Persia, Syria, and Turchia. Therefore the fyrst day of December, I, with the other two Persians, hyryng a lyght shyppe, gaue wynde to our sayles to proceede on our voyage. But see what chaunced suddenly, we had scarcely sayled as farre as a man may shoote an arrowe, but foure of the inhabitantes of the order of them whiche they call Naeros (of whom we haue spoken before) cryed to the gouernour of the shyp to drawe neare the lande in the kynges name. When they vnderstode who we were, they asked why they caryed me away without makyng the kyng priue thereto: Then sayde the Persians, This Mahumetan that is heere with vs, is a holy man, and goeth in our company to the cite of Canonor. They answered, that they knewe me to be a man that had wrought myracles. Neuerthelesse, that because I could speake the language of the Portugalles, it was to be suspected least I should bewraye theyr secretes to them, and tell them of the nauie and armye which the kyng prepared agaynst the Portugales, and therefore commaunded the gouernour of the shyppe to cary vs no further. He obeyed theyr commaundement, and left vs on the shore. Then sayde one of the Persians, Let vs returne to Calecut. To whom I aunswere, Take heede what you do, for so shall you be in danger to loose all your sylkes if it be knowen that you haue payde no custome to the kyng. Then sayde the other Persian, What then (by your aduise) is it best for vs to do: I aunswered, that it was best for vs to go somewhat further by the shore, vntyl we myght fynde some barke: whereunto they agreed. Therefore we, and our slaues laden with our fardells, went so twelue myles along by the shore. But what feare I was in, in the meane season, I commytte to wyse men to iudge. But as God would we founde there a poore fysher man with a boate, with whom we agreed to bryng vs to Canonor, where we arryued late in the euenyng. Incontinent we went to the merchaunt Persian, to whom I had letters of commendation from my companyon. The tenour of the letters was, that he shoulde receyue me into his house, and enterteyne me friendly, vntil his comyng: Also that whatsoever frendshyp he shewed vnto me, he woulde ascribe it to be done vnto hym selfe: furthermore, that I was a holy man, and ioyned with hym in neere amitie and frendshyp. When the merchaunt had redde the letters, he layde his hand on his head, and sayde vnto me, By this head you are welcome to me, and shall be here in safetie, and caused a good supper to be prepared for vs. After supper, the Persians sayde vnto me, Lette vs go walke to the sea syde. I agreed: and in short tyme we came to the place where the Portugales shyps laye at anker. I am not able to expresse the secrete ioye which I felte in my selfe at the syght of these shypes. In the way I marked well the place where the Portugales had buylded their fortresse, determinyng to come thither the nexte daye.

Howe

Howe I fledde to the Portugales from the citie of Canonor. Cap. 37.

THE daye folowyng, when I sawe best opportunitie, I went towarde the fortresse of the Portugales: and by the way meetyng with two Portugales, in the Spanyshe tongue I asked them where was the fortresse of the Portugales. Then sayde they to me, Art thou a Christian? I am (sayde I) by the grace of God. Then sayde they agayne, from whence comest thou? from the citie of Calecut sayde I. Then come with vs (sayde they) for we wyll bryng thee to the gouernour. This gouernour was one maister Laurentius, sonne to the Viceroye. So I went with them to the fortresse, whiche is not past foure furlongs from the citie. At the tyme of our comyng, the gouernour had not yet dined. When I came to his presence, I fel downe on my knees, and prayed hym with al humilitie for Christes sake, to whom I was consecrated by baptisme, to haue compassion vppon me, and to deliuer me from the hands of those infidell dogges. When it was nowe noysed in the citie that I was escaped to the Christians, there beganne a sturre and mutinie, in maner of a tumulte, Whiche when the gouernour vnderstode, commanded al his Captaines, souldiers, and other officers, to place their artillerie, and order all thynges in redynesse, least the people in sudden rage should attempte any thing agaynst the fortresse. But al thynges were pacified in short tyme. Then the gouernour, takyng me by the hande, brought me into a certayne hall, and there demanded of me, what the kyng and inhabitantes of Calecut imagined or deuised to do agaynst the Christians: I enfourmed hym of all thynges, as farre as I knewe, hauyng diligently searched to vnderstand all theyr doynge. When the gouernour was thus by me aduertysed of theyr secretes, he appoynted a galley to bryng me to the Viceroye, who was then in the citie of Cucin. The Captayne of the gallie, was named Iohannes Seranus. When the Viceroye saw me, he receiued me very fauourably. I certified hym also of al thynges: Saying furthermore vnto hym, that if I myght by his fauoure obteyne pardon and assurance for the sayde two Italians, Peter Antonie and Iohn Maria, which before had made artillarie for the infidel princes, I woulde procure that they shoulde returne to the Christians, and do them ryght good seruice, and that I was well assured, that they dyd that by constraint: Also that they desyred none other thing then safe conduct, and mony for theyr charges. He was glad of this, and graunted my request. Whereuppon within three dayes after, he sent me with letters to his sonne, the gouernour in the citie of Canonor, with commaundement to deliuer me as muche mony as shoulde suffice for the charges of the Christian exploratours or espions of the citie of Calecut. I went therefore incontinent to Canonor, where I agreed with one of the idoiatours (who for pouertie had gaged his wife and children) to cary letters to Calecut to Iohn Maria and Peter Antonie. The content of which letters was, that the Viceroy had graunted them pardon and safe conducte and also money for their charges: Aduertysyng them to make none priuie to this thyng, and especially to beware least it shoulde be knowne to theyr slaues or concubines (for eche of them had a concubine, a child, and a slaue) furthermore to leaue al theyr goods behynd them, except thynges of great price, as mony and iewelles: for they had a very fayre Diamond of the weyght of 32 caractes esteemed to be woorth 35 thousande crownes. They had also a pearle of the weyght of 24 caractes, furthermore, two thousande rubies: of the whiche, some were of the weyght of one caracte, and some of one and a halfe. They had also 64 braslettes, garnyshed with many iewelles: lykewyse in redye coyne, a thousand and fyue hundred peeces of golde. But see what commeth of to much couetousnesse. Whyle they thought to haue saued all, they lost all, and theyr liues therewith: for not contentyng them selues with the aforesayde ryches, they woulde needes also carye with them (notwithstandyng the aduertisement we had geuen them) foure Gunnes, three Munkies, two Muskeattes, and two of those wheelles wherewith precious stones are polished. All whiche thynges, were the onely cause of theyr death: for whereas so many thynges coulde not be secretly conueyed, one of theyr slaues certified the kyng of Calecut heereof, who at the fyrst woulde scarcely beleue it, for the good opinion he had conceyued of them: yet sent foure of his garde (of them whiche are called Naery) to knowe if it were true. But the slaue, perceuyng that the kyng woulde deale fauourably with them, went to the hygh Priest or Bishop of the sayth of the Mahumetans (whom they call Cady) and

The Gouernour
of Portugales
fortresse.

The Viceroye
of the kyng of
Portugall in
India.

Concubines and
slaues.

A Diamond of
the price of 35
thousand
crownes.

Beware of
couetousnesse.

The Bishop of
the Mahu-
metans.
tolde

The Mahumetans conspire the death of the Christians.

An Oration.

The death of Iohn Maria and Peter Antonye.

The Frenche poxe.

tolde hym all that before he had tolde the kyng of Calecut: Addyng moreouer, that the sayde Christians had disclosed theyr secretes to the Portugales. When the Bishop vnderstode these thynges, he called a counsayle of all the Mahumetan merchautes, wyllyng them, of the common treasure, to geue a hundred peeces of golde to the kyng of Gioghi (who was then at Calecut) and to speake to hym in this maner. It is not vnknewen to you (most noble prince) howe a fewe yeeres past, when your maiestie came hither, we receiued you with more honorable enterテインement then we are now able to do: The cause whereof, is no lacke of good wyl, or knowledge of our deuotie towarde your hyghnesse, but rather the great and manyfolde iniuries and oppressions whiche we haue susteyned, and do dayely susteyne by our mortal enemies the Christians, whereof we haue, at this present, example of two Christian traytors of this citie, whiche haue disclosed to the Portugales al our secretes, and therefore we make most humble petition vnto you to take of vs a hundred peeces of golde, to commaund them to be slayne. When the kyng of Gioghi hearde these wordes, he consented to theyr petition, and forthwith appoynted two hundred men to commyt the murder: And that they might be the lesse suspected of the Christians, meanyng soddenly to kyll them in theyr house, came by tenne and tenne as though they came to demaunde theyr accustomed rewarde. But when the Christians sawe so great a company assembled about theyr house, they suspected that they sought somewhat elles then theyr rewarde or offering, and therefore incontinent takyng theyr weapons, they fought so manfully at the wyndowes and doores of theyr house, that they slue syxe men and wounded fourtie. But at the length, some of the Gioghi, shot at them certaine iron arrowes out of crosse bowes, with the which they were both slayne, the one beyng sore wounded in the head, and the other in the bodie. As soone as they sawe them fall downe, they cutte theyr throtes: and takyng the hotte blood in the palmes of theyr handes, drunke it vp, with contumelious wordes agaynst the Christians. After this murder, the concubine of Iohn Maria came to Canonor, with her young sonne, whom I bought of her for eyght peeces of golde: and causyng hym to be baptysed, named hym Laurence, because it was saint Laurence daye. But within a yeere after, he dyed of the Frenche poxe, whiche disease had then dispersed almost through all the worlde, for I haue seene many infected with it foure hundred myles beyonde Calecut. They call it Pua, And they affyrme that this disease was neuer seene there past 17 yeeres before. It is there more greuous and outrageous then with vs.

Of the Nauie of the citie of Calecut, and of the memorable conflicte betwene the Christians and Mahumetans. In the whiche the Portugales with incredible valiantnesse gaue theyr enemies the overthrowe. And howe the kyng of Canonor reioyced at their victorie. Cap. 38.

IN the yeere of our Lorde 1506. the fourth daye of March, woorde was brought vs of the death of the sayde Christians. The same daye, from the cities of Calecut, Pauan, Capagot, Fandaram, and Trompatam, departed a great nauie of two hundred and eyght shippes, of the whiche fourescore and foure were great shippes, or shippes of burden, and the rest were dryuen with Ores, after the maner of foystes, whiche they call Paras. The Nauie was manned with in maner innumerable Mahumetans, shewyng themselues very braue in apparel of purple sylke and Bombasine, with also theyr hygh and sharpe cappes, after theyr maner, of the same colour, lyned with sylke: wearyng also on theyr armes many braceletes, and on theyr handes hadde gloues, embrodered and garnysed with diuers kyndes of workes: for weapons, they had Turkey bowes, swoordes, launces, pelses, and all sortes of gunnes, after our maner. When we sawe theyr Nauie proceeding in order, and well instructed, it seemed farre of lyke a wood, the mastes presentyng the similitude of trees: Whiche thyng seemed so litle to deterre vs, that we were in sure beleefe, that our God and Christe woulde geue vs the victorie agaynst the blasphemers of his holy name, the Idolatours and Sarasens, old enemies of our religion. And therefore the valiant knight and gouernour, the sonne of the honorable lord Don Francisco Dalmeda, viceroy of India, who had there the supream gouernement of twelue shippes, with the assistaunce of the Admirall of the Nauie, when he sawe the great force of the enemye, myndfull of his accustomed vertue, with sounde of trumpet

The nauie of the kyng of Calecut agaynst the Portugals.

The Mahumetan soldiers.

trumpet assembled all the souldiers, and spake to them in this maner. My deare frendes, and brethren in one God, and one fayth of Iesus Christe, nowe is the tyme come when you ought to remember, that as Iesus Christe spared not, neyther feared to gyue his precious body to death for our sakes: euen so, except we wyl shewe our selues most vnkynde, and vnworthy so great grace of God, it shal be our duties to spende our liues in the defence of his glorie, and our holy fayth, assuring our selues of the victorie against these dogges, hateful to God, and progenie of the deuyl. Now therefore fyghtyng in his name, and vnder the banner of his holy crosse, shew your selues manfull and valiant: for nowe is in you the power to great eternal fame, in mainteyning the quarel of our sauour. Therefore with me, lystyng up your hartes to God, and your armes with force and courage, let vs gyue the onset on these dogs. When the gouernour had sayd these wordes, the priest went vp to the hyghest part of the ship, and holdyng in his hand the picture of Christe nayled on the crosse, shewed it vnto the souldiers, exhortyng them to remember the commaundementes of God, and the holy fayth and baptisme whereby they were consecrated to God, puttyng no doubt in the forgeuenesse of theyr sinnes, dying in so godly a quarell: and then blessing them, with inuocation of the name of God, he pronounced the sentence of absolution and forgeuenesse of theyr sinnes. The exhortation of the priest, so moued the hartes of all men, that the teares ranne from our eyes for ioy and great desire we had to die in the quarel. In the meane time the nauye of the Mahumetans made sayle towarde vs. The same daye our Admirall with two foystes made towarde them, and passyng betweene two of theyr greatest shyps, discharged his ordinance on both sydes: whiche the Admirall dyd, to proue the strength of those shyppes, which they chiefly esteeme, and trust most vnto: But this daye was nothing done woorth the memorye. The day folowyng, the Mahumetans with full sayles drewe neare the citie of Canonor, and sent vs woorde by a messenger, that if we woulde permytte them to go whither they woulde, they woulde not haue to do with vs. Our Admirall answered, that the Christians coulde not so forgette the periurie of the Mahumetans, in violatyng theyr faith and promyse made by common consent, when they woulde not suffer the Christians to passe that way, but contrary to theyr fayth and promyse slue 47 Christians, and robbed them of foure thousande peeces of golde: and therefore badde them passe further if they durst, and they shoulde well knowe of what reputation and spirite the Christians are. Then sayde the Mahumetans, Mahumet wyll defende vs, and confounde the Christians: and with those wordes, assaulted vs all at once with incredible furie, thynkyng to haue passed through, hauyng no further to sayle then 10 myles from the shore. But our Admiral of purpose suffered the enemies to come nearer vntyl they were ryght ouer against the citie of Canonor, meanyng there to set on them with all his force, that the kyng of Canonor beholdyng the conflicte, myght be witnesse of the valiantnesse of the Christians. Then when the trumpetter of the Admirals ship sounded the battayle, and gaue the signe, incontinent he assaulted two of theyr greatest shyppes. Heere I am not able to expresse the exceedyng noyse of theyr Drummes, Trumpets, Tambarels, and other such innumerable, which they vse in this case. The Admiral hym selfe, in maner contemnyng all theyr meane shyppes, passed through theyr nauie, and inuaded one of theyr greatest shyppes, castyng thereon chaynes and grasples, to fyght with them at hande strokes: but they cast of the chaynes thryse, yet the fourth tyme the chaynes tooke such holde, that the Christians entred into the ship, where they made such hauocke and slaughter, that all the Mahumetans of that shippe (which were sixe hundred in number) were slayne, insomuche that there was not one left alyue to tell newes. The Admirall encouraged by this victorie, inuaded another of theyr great shyppes, whiche had chayned it selfe with a foyst of the Christians, where was also a great conflict, in the whiche were slayne aboue fyue hundred Mahumetans, and theyr ship sunke. The Mahumetans discouraged by this defeat, assaulted our twelue foystes with all their force, and caryed them away. But heere the manhood and valiantnesse of Iohn Scranus, the captaine of the Galley, shewed itselfe, who only with one Gally made suche a slaughter among the Mahumetans, that it may seeme incredible: for he so fiercely inuaded them that had caryed away the foystes, that he recovered them all,

The oration of
the gouernour to
the Christian
souldiers.

The nauie of the
Mahumetans.
The Admirall of
the Christians.

The quarel and
occasion of the
warre.

The Mahu-
mans geue the
onset.

The valyant-
nesse of the Ad-
mirall.

A great slaugh-
ter of the Ma-
humetans.

The valiantnesse
of Iohn Scranus.

all, and sunke two other of the Mahumetan shippes. In these warres, God of his grace so prospered the Christians, that few of them were slayne, but many wounded. The conflict continued from mornynge, vntyl the darkenesse of the nyght made an ende of the battayle. I may not heere forget to speake of the marueylous aduenture and Godly zeale of Simon Martin, captayne of one of our shippes: for it so chaunced, that the Brigantine in the which I was, departyng somewhat from our nauie, gaue occasion to our enemies to pursue vs, for incontinent foure of the Mahumetan shippes assayed vs, and put vs to much trouble, in-somuch that 15 Mahumetans had nowe entred into our Brigantine, and we were con-strayned to flee to the Poupe, as to the safest place: But the valiant captayne Simon Martin, seying the daunger that we were in, and that the Mahumetans were entred into our Brigan-tine, leapt into it fiercely, and callyng vpon the name of Iesus Christ, fought so valiantly, that he slue sixe of the Mahumetans: wherby we, beyng encouraged, assisted hym in such sort, that the Mahumetans cast themselues into the sea, where some were drowned, and some escaped by swimmyng. Therefore when the Mahumetans knewe that the Christians had the victorie, they sent 4 other foistes to helpe the first. But when the captayne of our Brigantine sawe this, he tooke certayne emptie Tubbes, in the whiche gunne powder had ben kepte before, and stoppyng them with flaxe, placed them in such sort, that they seemed far of, like peeces of great artilerie: then laying a little gun powder by the flaxe, and holding a fyre sticke in his hand, as though he would fire to the Gunne, the Mahumetans thinking that it had ben a gunne indeede, were thereby put in such feare, that they departed. The Admirall yet further pursuing the enemyes, gaue them an other great ouerthrow, and tooke seuen of theyr foistes, laden with all sortes of merchandies, and soonke tenne other with the shotte of great artilerie, of the whiche one was laden with Elephantes. Therefore when the Mahu-metans sawe the sea now almost couered with the bodies of their slaine men, and their chiefe shippes some taken, some soonke, and some spoiled, were out of all hope to recouer, and therefore saued themselues by fleeing. But the Christians, seeing yet hope of further victorie, and the Mahumetans so discouraged, thought it not best to leaue them so, but rather uppon such prosperous successe, to take opportunitie, and vtterly to destroy them: and therefore the Admirall, seeing his men ioyfull of the victorie, and desirous to pursue the enemye, folowed the Mahumetans, and gaue them a new batayle, whiche lasted all day and all nyght, whilst the Christians in the nyght tyme slue them euen in theyr fleeing, and soonke almost all their shippes. In the meane tyme certayne of our foistes sawe a shyppe of burden of the enemye, wanderyng out of the way, and made sayle thither with all hast. But the enemies in short space seeing themselues ouermatched, hurled all their cariages into the sea, and trusting to swimmyng (wherein they are most experte) caste themselues after. But our men folowed them euen to the shore, with launces, crosbowes, and stones, so killing them as they swamme, that the sea was coloured and polluted with their blood. Yet by swimmyng many escaped, by estimation about the number of two hundred, for they are in youth so brought vp in swimmyng, that they swamme in the sea almost twentie myles, of-tentimes so diuyng vnder the water, and remaynyng there so long, that they deceyued our syght: for sometymes we thought that they were soonke, and sometyme agayne seeyng them flote on the water, it so troubled our sense, that we thought we had seene some phan-tasie or vision: but they were in maner all destroyed by one mischaunce or an other, and especially a great number in the great shippes which were soonke by shot of the great artilerie. The day folowyng, the Admirall sent great Brigantines and Gallies to the shore, to number the dead bodies, whiche the sea had caste vp: they were founde to be about three thousande, besyde them also which the sea had deuoured. The kyng of Canonor, beholdyng all these thynges, was greatly in loue with the Christians, and commended their vali-auntnesse and vertue, and not vnwoorthily: for to speake that I haue seene, I haue ben in many sore warres, yet neuer sawe I more valiant men, then the Portugales here shewed themselues to be.

But when we thought that we had nowe made an ende of these Tragidies, we had in maner a woorse to begyn, for it so chaunced, that in fewe dayes after, the kyng of Canonor, who fauoured

Fewe Christians
slayne.

The valiantnesse
of Simon Mar-
tin.

A Stratageme.

Tenne Mahu-
metan shyps
soonke with the
shot of great ar-
tilerie.

The Christians
had the victorie.

An other great
conflicte.

The Mahume-
tans slayne in
swimmyng.
The Mahume-
tans experte in
swimmyng.

The kyng of
Canonor.
The valiantnesse
of the Portu-
gales.

faoured us, dyed: In whose place succeeded an other mortall enimie to the Christians, and friende to the kyng of Calecut, by whose helpe and rychesse hee was aduanced to the kyngdome of Canonor. He therefore assembled his power to make newe warre agaynst the Christians, with great expedition and haste, bycause he supposed that a great parte of theyr munitions was nowe wasted, and they also sore weeryed, and for the most parte wounded. And to further his attempte, the kyng of Calecut sent him 24 peeces of great artillerie. This warre beganne the seuenth day of Aprill, and continued vntyll the 20 of August, before all thinges were pacified. It were heere to long to declare howe in these warres also the Christians behaued them selues manfully agaynst the Mahumetans, which neuer encountered with them fewer then fyue or sixe and twentie thousande in number, hauyng also with them a hundred and fourtie peeces of artillerie, and were armed after the maner of the inhabitants of Calecut: but the Christians with harnesse after our maner.

These Infidelles vse this order in theyr warres. They diuide theyr army into many wynges, euery wyng conteynnyng the number of two or three thousande men, and only one wyng proceedeth to the battayle, the reste attendyng what ende or successe they haue, before they attempt any further. But whilest these wynges are nowe marchyng to ioyn in battayle, it passeth all imagination to thynke, with howe great a noyse of innumeraill musically instruments, after theyr maner, they fill the eares of all the army, to encourage them to fyght, while in the meane season also, a great number runneth before the army with manyeylous flames of artificiaill fyres: and in fine, gyue the onsette with suche outrageous furie and outcry that two thousande of them were able to feare tenne thousande that had no experience of these thynges. But see the goodnesse of G^d, who neuer forsaketh them that beleuee faythfully in his holy religion. Euen nowe in the extremitie of these troubles, our men beyng in maner ouercharged with the multitude of theyr enemyes, and long warres, sodayne newes was brought that a newe naue of Portugales was arryued at Canonor by the conducte of the valiant knyght Don Tristan de Cugna: Whom we immediately aduertysed with howe greenous warres wee were oppressed. Who incontinent sent vs, in certayne Barkes, three hundred valiaunt Souldiours, well armed with harnesse, after the maner of the Christians. When wee sawe these, we recouered our spirites, in such sorte, that if our Admirall would haue permitted, we woulde haue burnt the cite of Canonor. But when the Mahumetans vnderstoode the newe succours that we had, all discouraged in mynde, they sought all meanes to make peace with the Christians, and assygned one named Mamalmaricar, a man of great ryches and wysedome among them, to bee intermediatour, and to make the conditions of peace. Hee therefore vnder safe conducte, came to vs to common of the matter. We tolde him, that we coulde make no peace without the consent of the Viceroye, who was then in the cite of Cucin. The Admirall thought it beste not to contempne the conditions of peace, for that duryng the tyme of the warres, they coulde not sende theyr shyppes laden with merchaundies into Portugale, and therefore by the consent of the Viceroye, the peace was concluded.

But nowe, to myngle some delight with these sorowes, you shal heare a pleasant fable woorthie to be put in memorie. Therefore all thinges beyng pacified, as I walked in the cite of Canonor, I met with certayne merchantes Idolatours, with whom I was acquainted before the warres, who in theyr language sayde thus vnto me, Are you our friende: yea sayde I. Then we pray you in the way of friendship, shewe vs that Christian which is muche hygher and stronger then any other of the Christians, and kylled in maner euery daye about twentie of the Mahumetans, and resisted the dartes of fiftie Naeros (these are of the garde) and escaped without hurte: I answered, that that Christian was not nowe in the cite, but was gone to Cucin to Viceroye. But when I better considered the matter, I sayde thus vnto them, are you my friendes? Yea, we are, sayde they. Then sayde I, That souldier that fought so valiantly in the battayle, was no Portugale. Then sayde they: of what country was he then? I answered agayne, that he was the God of the Portugales, and the great G^d of all the world. Then sayde they, Verily you speake the trueth, for we heard the Mahumetans say, that it was not the Portugales, but the Portugales God, that gaue them the ouerthrowe, and therefore we thynke your God to bee better then theirs, although we know

E e

him

The death of the kyng of Canonor.

A newe expedition agaynst the Christians.

Long warres.

Great oddes. The Mahumetans artillerie.

The order of the Mahumetans Campe.

Instruments.

Outragious outcrye.

The arryuing of a newe Naue of Portugales.

The Mahumetans seeke to make peace with the Christians.

The peace concluded.

Apleasaunt fable.

Saint Christopher the Christian Giant.

The enemyes confesse that God gaue them the victorye.

Simple and
ignorant people.

Messis multa,
sed operarii
pauci, etc.
The Masse.

No more can
wyser men then
they.
Inchaunters, and
of great agilitie.

him not: And by this meanes it was bruited ouer all the countrey, that the Mahumetans were ouercome rather by the assistaunce of God, then by the strength of men, for these people are very simple and ignoraunt, and astonysed in maner at euery thyng, for some when they sawe one of our company hauyng a litle bell in his hande, and hearde the noyse of the bell when he moued his hand, and no noyse when he set it downe, they tooke it for a myracle, saying one to an other: doubtlesse theyr God is the greatest God, for when they touche the bell, it speaketh, and when they touche it not, it sayeth nothyng. They tooke pleasure and admiration to beholde the solemnities of the Masse.

And when the priest lyfted vp the holy bread or host, I sayde vnto them, beholde here the God of the Portugales, and of all the worlde. Then sayde they, You say truly: but we can not perceyue it. This haue I sayde, that you may hereby knowe what simple and ignorant people these are: yet are they very great inchaunters, and can inchaunte Serpentes, whose poyson is so strong, that they kyll only with touchyng. They are also of incredible agilitie, and therefore excell in vaultyng, leapyng, runnyng, swymmyng, tumblyng, walkyng on ropes, and such other exercises of lyghnesse and agilitie.

The seuenth booke, entreating of the viage or Nauigation of Ethiopia. Cap. 1.

They that will take vpon them to wryte any hystorie had neede to beare well in memorie what they haue promysed and taken in hande, lest for their paynes and well meanyng, they be rewarde with shame and rebuke, and therfore whereas in the beginnyng of this booke, I promysed to wryte of the Nauigation of Ethiope, I will with the description of this viage, make an ende of my long traueyle, and speake of such thinges as I sawe there by the way, in my returne from India into my long desired countrey, in the company of the Portugales.

Of diuers and many Ilandes of Ethiope. Cap. 2.

The Ilande of
Monzambrich,

Melinda.
The kyng of
Portugales do-
minion of
Ethiopia.
The conquestes
of Tristan de
Cugna.
Sacutara.

Cumeris.

Pende.

Therefore the seuenth day of December, we directed our iourney towarde Ethiope, trauersing fyrst the great gulfe, and saylyng foure hundred myles, came to an Ilande named Monzambrich, vnder the dominion of the kyng of Portugale. But before we arryued there, we sawe by the way many townes partaining to the Portugales, and also many strong fortresses in the kyngdomes of Melinda and Mombaza. The kyng of Portugale, hath also certayne fortresses in Monzambrich and Zaphala.

But if I should here speake of the memorable factes of the valiant knyght Tristan de Cugna, at his returne from India, I should take in hande a thyng farre aboute my reache: beyng suche, as deserue rather the commendations of Homer and Virgil, for he inuaded and subdued the great cities of Gogia, Pati, and Craua, with also the goodly Ilande of Sacutara, where the kyng of Portugale hath erected certayne fortresses, and omit also to speake of many other Ilandes whiche we sawe in the way: as the Ilande of Cumeris, and sixe other which beare plentie of ginger, suger, and dyuers other goodly fruites, and abundance of fleshe: also the most fruitfull Iland of Pende, likewise subiect to the kyng of Portugale.

Of the Ilande of Monzambrich, and the inhabitantes thereof. Cap. 3.

Zaphala.

Golde.

Blacke Mahu-
metans.

Trogloditz.
Ethiopes.

THIS Ilande (as we haue sayde) is subiecte to the kyng of Portugale, as is also Zaphala. From the Ilande of Monzambrich, is brought much golde and oyle, but is brought thither from the firme lande. The Ilande is not byg, and is inhabited with blacke Mahumetans, lyuyng in maner in necessitie of all thinges, yet hath it a commodious porte. They haue no corne but that is brought from the continent, where also he went alande to see the countrey, where we sawe nothyng but a vagabunde and rascall kynde of blacke men, coueryng only theyr priuities with leaues of trees, and are besyde naked, and the women in lyke maner. Theyr lypes are two fingers thicke, theyr foreheades very large, theyr teeth great, and as white as snow. They are fearefull at the sight of euery thyng, and especially when they see armed men. Therefore seeing theyr fearefulnesse, and knowing them to be without weapons that can doe any great hurte, only sixe of vs well armed, bearyng also with vs Hargabuses, and hauyng in our companie a blacke slaue that somewhat knewe the countrey, we began to enter further into the lande: and when we had gone forwarde one dayes iourney, we founde many

many heardes of Elephantes. Here the slaue that was our guyde, gaue vs counsayle to take fyrebrandes in our handes, bycause these beastes feare fyre aboute all thinges. But we once chanced to fynde three female Elephantes, which had very lately brought forth theyr Calues, and therefore feared not the fyre: but without all feare, folowed vs so farre, that we were fayne to flee to a mountayne to saue vs from the beastes. When we had entred about tenne myles into the land, we found a certayne denne on the syde of a mountayne, where some of the blacke inhabitauntes lurked. These spake so confoundedly and chatteringly lyke Apes, that I am not able to expresse theyr maner of speeche: Yet to goe the neerest thereto that I can, theyr speach is lykest to the euyll fauored voyce which the muleters of Sicilia vse when they dryue theyr Mules: and suche maner of blabberyng vse these people in theyr speache. Heere the Pilot of the shyppe asked vs if wee woulde buye any kyne, saying, that here we should haue them good cheape. But we, thinking that eyther he had mocked vs, or that agreeing with the inhabitauntes (whom he knewe before) he woulde haue deceyued vs of our money and wares, sayde that we had no money. Then sayde he vnto vs, These people desire nothing lesse then money, hauyng muche more plentie of golde then we haue, which is founde not farre hence. Then sayde we to him, What desyre they then? They loue (sayde he) despicable thynges, and of small value: as pynnes, knyues, sysers, looking Glasses, Haukes, belles, bagges, or boxes, to keepe theyr golde in, copper Rynges, iangelinges to hang at theyr Tymberelles, bosses, laces, broches, copper chaynes, caskettes, braselettes, and suche other tryfles to trymme theyr wyues and children. We answered, that we were content to gyue them suche wares for theyr kyne, if they woulde bryng them to the next mountayne. Then sayde our Pilot agayne, They will bryng them with vs to the mountayne: but no further in any condition: Therefore speake what you will gyue? Then one of our companions sayde, that he had a bosse of grauen copper and also a little bell. But I, bycause I had no suche merchaundies, yet beyng desirous to eate fleshe, sayde that I woulde sell one of my shertes for Kyne. Then sayde the Pilot, Let mee alone with the matter. Then callyng vnto him fyue or sixe of the Inhabitauntes, he shewed them our goodly Jewelles, and demanded for them three hundred Kyne. But the inhabitauntes, not muche differing from beastes, made signes that they woulde gyue only fyftiene. In fyne we agreed, yet suspectyng some deceite, neuerthelesse they kept theyr promyse, and sent vs fyftiene kyne by two of theyr companions. We were scarcely departed, but we hearde a noyse and tumulte in theyr dennes, and were partly afraide lest these Troglodites woulde folowe vs, and therefore leauyng our kyne, we tooke vs to our weapons. But they made signes vnto vs to feare nothing. Then our Pilot tolde vs, that their tumulte was only which of them should haue the bosse of Copper. Then recouering our kyne, we droue them forward to the toppe of the mountaine, and there dismissed the two blacke slaues that came with them. Whye wee were thus dryuyng our kyne by the side of a little wood, we met agayne with the Elephantes, whereof beyng in great feare, we forsooke our kyne, and trusted to our feete. Therefore departyng from hence, we returned to the llande, where makyng prouision for our vyage, we sayled towarde the Cape, called Caput Bonæ Spei, passyng the llande of Sainte Laurence otherwyse named Madagascar) beyng fourescore leagues distant from the nearest continent or firme land. I suppose that in shorte tyme the kyng of Portugale will be Lorde of this llande: for hauyng nowe burned and destroyed many villages and townes of the llande, his name is fearefull among them. And, as farre as I can coniecture by my peregrinations of the worlde (especially of India and Ethiopie) I thynke that the kyng of Portugale, if hee continue as he hath begonne, is lyke to bee the rychest kyng in the worlde, and doubtlesse not vnwoorthily for the dignitie and godly zeale of so noble a prince, as by whose meanes the Christian fayth is dayly greatly increased, for it is certayne that in India, and especially in the cite of Cucin, where the Viceroye remayneth, euery holy day, tenne or twelue Idolaters or Mahumetans are professed to our religion, whereby we may conceyue good hope, that in tyme our fayth shall there bee greatly enlarged by the grace of God, who hath there gyuen suche supernaturall victories to the Christians, and therefore all professors of Christes holy name, ought to pray to almyghtie God to assyst hym in so godly an enterprise.

Heardes of Elephantes. Elephantes are afraide of fyre.

An Apythe language.

Rich merchandies for golde.

Troglodites.

Cabo de Buena Speranza. The llande of Sainte Laurence or Madagascar.

The kyng of Portugale.

The Christian religion spreadeth in India.

Of the Cape called Caput Bonæ Spei. That is, the Cape of good hope. Cap. 4.

DEpartying from the Cape named Caput Bonæ Spei, when we had nowe sayled aboute two hundred myles, there rose suddenly a tempest with contrary wynde. The cause whereof was, that we had on the lefte hande the Ilande of Saint Laurence, and many other litle Ilandes, from whence bloweth for the most part a great gale of wynde. And therefore for the space of seuen dayes, beyng here daungerously tossed to and fro by the rages of the sea and wynde, at the length we escaped, by the grace of God. But proceeding about two hundred leagues, a newe tempest rysing so scattered our shyppes in the space of syxe dayes, that we mette not together agayne vntyll we arryued at Luxburne in Portugale. I was in the shyppe of Barthelmewe, a Florentine, citizen of Luxburne. The shyppe was named Saint Vincent, a vessel of exceeding capacite, and laden with seuen thousande tonnes of all sortes of spices. In the way we passed also by an other Iland, named the Iland of saint Helen, where we sawe certayne fyses of such enorme and monstrous byggenesse, that one of them was as bygge as a great house. When they ryse aboue the water, they yane or gape so wyde, that the ypper iawc couereth al the forehead, as it were a souldier in shyngynng harnessse. Agayne when they swimme on the brymme of the water, the forehead is seene the breadth of three great paces. And when they swimme in the sea, they so trouble the water, and come so neere the shyps, that we were fayne to discharge al our artillarye to dryue them away. Shortly after we founde an Ilande, named the Ilande of Ascention, where we sawe many fowles, about the byggenesse of our Duckes, so symple, without suspicion or feare, that we tooke them with our handes: but shortly after they were taken, they shewed an incredible fiercenesse. I thinke verily that they neuer sawe any man before, they so behelde vs before they were taken, and were as styll as if they had ben astonysed: for in that Ilande we sawe no lyuyng creature, saue only innumerable fyses and the sayd byrdes. After we had passed this Ilande many dayes saylyng, as though we were nowe come to our owne worlde, the North starre, and guardions of our maryners, appeared vnto vs. And here oportunitie serueth well, to confute the opinion of them that thinke that men maye not sayle in regions subiect to the pole Antartike or south pole, by the guide of the north starre, for it is certayne, that the Portugales sayle by the guyde of the north starres, although they be vterly out of syght by the eleuation of the pole Antartike. Yet do they sometymes refreshe the vertue of the needle, with the stone which euer naturally respecteth the north pole. A fewe dayes after, we arryued at the fayre region, where are seene many Ilandes, named the Ilandes of Astures, so named for the multitude of those Egles whiche we commonly call Astures. These Ilandes are diuersely named: for some are named Pici, Martii, some De Coruo, also de Floribus, Sancti Georgii, Gratiota, and Feial. Departying from hence, we came to the Ilande of Tertia, where we remayned two dayes. All these Ilandes are marueylous fruitefull, and haue plentie of all thynges necessary for mans lyfe. Departying from hence, in seuen dayes saylyng, we came to the goodly cite of Luxburne, or Vlisbona in Portugale. At my commyng thither, I was brought to the kynges presence, whose handes kissing with most humble reuerence, I thanked his maiestie for the great fauour I had found at the hands of his subiectes and officers in India. He entertayned me most graciously in his courte. vntyll I had informed hym of all thynges whiche I had obserued in my voyage to India. A fewe dayes after, I shewed his hyghnesse the letters patentes whereby his Lieutenante the Viceroye of India, gaue me the order of knyghthood, desyryng his maiestie to confirme the same by his great seale: which my petition, he immediatly graunted. And thus departing from thence with the kynges pasporte and safe conducte, at the length after these my long and great traauyles and dangers, I came to my long desyred and natieue countrey, the cite of Rome, by the grace of God, to whom be all honour and glory.

Tempest.

An exceeding
great shyppe and
great ryches of
spices.

Great Whale
fyses.

The Ilande of
Ascention.

Saylyng by the
north starre in
regions beneath
the Equinoctiall
lyne.

THE
DESCRIPTION OF A VOYAGE

MADE BY
CERTAINE SHIPS OF HOLLAND

INTO THE
EAST INDIES,
WITH THEIR ADVENTURES AND SUCCESSE:

TOGETHER
WITH THE DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRIES, TOWNES, AND INHABITANTES OF
THE SAME:
WHO SET FORTH ON THE SECOND OF APRILL, 1595, AND RETURNED ON THE 14 OF
AUGUST, 1597.

TRANSLATED OUT OF DUTCH INTO ENGLISH BY W. P.

London:
IMPRINTED BY IOHN WOLFE.

1598.

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TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
SIR IAMES SCUDAMORE, KNIGHT.

Right worshipfull, this small treatie (written in Dutch, shewing a late voyage performed by certain Hollanders to the Islandes of Iaua, part of the East Indies) falling into my handes, and in my iudgement deserving no lesse commendation then those of our Countrey-men, (as Captaine Raimonde in the Penelope, Maister Foxcroft in the Marchant Royall, and M. Iames Lancaster in the Edward Bonaventure, vnto the said East Indies, by the Cape de Bona Sperance, in Anno 1591, as also M. Iohn Newbery, and Raphael Fich ouer land through Siria from Aleppo vnto Ormus and Goa, and by the said Raphael Fich himaelfe to Bengala, Malocca, Pegu, and other places in Anno 1583. as at large appeareth in a booke written by M. RICHARD HACLUTE a Gentleman very studious therein, and entituled the English voyages) I thought it not vnconuenient to translate the same into our mother tongue, thereby to procure more light and encouragement to such as are desirous to trauell those Countries, for the common wealth and commoditie of this Realme and themselues. And knowing that all men are not like affected, I was so bold to shrowd it vnder your worships protection, as being assured of your good disposition to the fauoring of trauell and trauellers, (and whereby it hath pleased God to aduance you to that honourable title, which at this present you beare) and so not fitter for the protection of any then your selfe: and as a poore friend wishing all happines and prosperity in all your valiant actions. Which if it please your worshippe to like and accept, it may procure the proceeding in a more large and ample discourse of an East Indian voyage, lately performed and set forth by one Iohn Huguen of Linschoten, to your further delight. Wherewith crauing your fauor, and beseeching God to blesse your worship, with my good Ladie your wife, I most humbly take my leaue:

This 16. of Ianuarie.
1597.

Your Worships to commaunde
W. PHILLIP.

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TO THE

BAYLIEFES, BURGHEMAISTERS, AND COUNSELL

OF THE TOWN OF MIDDELBORGH IN ZEELANDE

IT may well bee thought (Right worshipfull) as many learned men are of opinion, that the actions and aduentures of the ancients long since done & performed, haue beene set forth with more show of wonder and strangenesse then they in truth deserued: the reason as I think was, because that in those daies there were many learned and wise men, who in their writings sought by all meanes they could to excell each other, touching the description of Countries & nations: And againe to the contrarie, for want of good Historiographers and writers, many famous actes and trauels of diuers nations and Countries lie hidden, and in a manner buried vnder ground, as wholly forgotten and vnknowne, vnlesse it were such as the Grecians and Romanes for their owne glories and aduantages thought good to declare. But to come to the matter of voyages by sea, it is euident to all the world, what voyage Iason with certaine yong Grecian Princes made to Colchos in the Oriental Countries to winne the golden Fleece, as also the trauels by Hercules performed into Libia in the West partes, to winne the Aurea Mala or golden apples of Hesperides, which notwithstanding neither for length, daunger, nor profite, are any thing comparable to the nauigations and voyages, that of late within the space of one hundreth years haue been performed & made into the East & West Indies, whereby in a manner there is not one haue on the sea coast, nor any point of land in the whole world, but hath in time beene sought and founde out. I will not at this present dispute or make an argument, whether the Countries and nations of late yeares found out and discouered, were knowne to the auncients, but this is most certaine, that not any strange worke or aduenture was, or euer shall be performed, but by the speciall grace, fauour and mightie hand of God, and that such are worthy perpetual memory, as with noble minds haue sought to effect, and be the first enterprisers thereof, and with most valiant courages and wisdomes, haue performed such long and dangerous voyages into the East and West Indies, as also such Kinges and Princes, as with their Princely liberalities haue employed their treasures, shippes, men and munitions to the furtherance and performance of so worthy actes, which notwithstanding in the end turned to their great aduancements and inriching with great treasures, which by those meanes they haue drawn, & caused in great aboundance to be brought from thence, in such manner, that the King of Spaine nowe liuing, (hauing both the Indies in his possession, & reaping the abundant treasures which yearly are brought out of those countries) hath not only (although couertly) sought all the means he could to bring all Christendome vnder his dominion, but also (that which no King or country whatsoeuer although of greater might then he hath euer done) hee is not ashamed to vse this posie, Nec spe, nec metu. And although the first founders and discoverers of those Countries haue alwayes sought to hinder and intercept other nations from hauing any part of their glorie, yet hereby all nations, & indifferent persons may well know and perceiue the speciall policie, and valour of these vnited Prouinces, in traueilling into both the Indies,

Indies, in the faces, and to the great griefe of their many and mighty enemies. Whereby it is to be hoped, that if they continue in their enterprises begun, they will not onely draw the most part of the Indian treasures into these Countries, but thereby disinherite & spoyle the Countrie of Spayne of her principall reuenues, and treasures of marchandise and trafiques, which she continually vseth and receyueth out of these countries, and out of Spayne are sent into the Indies, and so put the King of Spaine himselfe in minde of his foolish deuise which hee vseth for a posie touching the new world, which is, Non suticit orbis, like a second Alexander magnus, desiring to rule ouer all the world, as it is manifestly knowne. And because this discription is fallen into my handes, wherein is contayned the first voyage of the Low-country men into the East Indies, with the aduentures happened vnto them, set downe and iustified by such as were present in the voyage, I thought it good to put it in print, with many pictures and cardes, whereby the reader may the easilier perceyue and discerne, the natures, apparels, and fashions of those Countries and people, as also the manner of their shippes, together with the fruitfulnessse and great aboundance of the same, hoping that this my labour will not onely be acceptable vnto all Marchants and Saylers, which hereafter meane to traffique into those Countries, but also pleasant and profitable to all such as are desirous to looke into so newe and strange things, which neuer heretofore were knowne vnto our nation. And againe for that all histories haue their particular commoditie, (specially such as are collected and gathered together) not by common report, from the first, seconde, or thirde man, but by such as haue seene and beene present in the actions, and that are liuing to iustifie and verifie the same: And although eloquence and words well placed in shewing a history, are great ornamentes and beautifyinges to the same, yet such reports & declarations are much more worthy credite, & commendabler for the benefit of the commonwealth, which are not set down or disciphered by subtile eloquence, but showne and performed by simple plaine men, such as by copiousnesse of wordes, or subtile do not alter or chaunge the matter from the truth thereof, which at this day is a common and notorious fault in many Historiographers: And thinking with myselfe to whome I were best to dedicate the same, I found it not fitter for any then for the right worshipfull Gouvernours of this famous Towne of Middelborgh, wherein for the space of 19 yeares I haue peaceably continued, specially because your worships do not onely deale with great store of shipping, and matter belonging to nauigation, but are also well pleased to heare, and great furtherers to aduance both shipping and trafiques, wherein consisteth not onely the welfare of all marchants, inhabitants, and cittizens of this famous City, but also of all the commonwealth of the vnited Prouinces, hoping your worships will not onely accept this my labour, but protect & warrantise the same against all men: Wherwith I beseech God to blesse you with wisdom, and godly policie, to gouerne the Commonwealth: Middleborgh this 19 of October. 1597.

Your worships seruant to command

BERNARDT LANGHENEZ.

A
BRIEFE DISCRIPTION

OF A
VOYAGE

PERFORMED BY CERTAINE HOLLANDERS, TO AND FROM THE EAST INDIES,

WITH
THEIR ADVENTURES AND SUCSESSE.

THE ancient Historiographers and discribers of the world haue much commended, and at large with great prayse set downe the diuers and seuerall voyages of many noble & valiant Captains (as of Alexander Magnus, Seleucus, Antiochus, Patrocles, Onesecritus) into the East Indies, which notwithstanding haue not set downe a great part of those countries, as not being as then discovered, whereby it is thought and iudged by some men, that India is the full third part of all the world, because of the great Prouinces, mighty citties and famous Islands (full of costly marchandises, and treasures from thence brought into all partes of the worlde) that are therein: Wherein the auncient writers were very curious, and yet not so much as men in our age: They had some knowledge thereof, but altogether vncertaine, but we at this day are fully certified therein, both touching the countries, townes, streames and hauens, with the trafiques therein vsed and frequented, whereby all the world, so farre distant and seperated from those strange nations, are by trade of marchandises vnited therunto, & therby commonly knowne vnto them: The Portingalles first began to enterprise the voyage, who by art of nauigation (in our time much more experienced & greater then in times past, and therefore easilier performed) discovered those wild Countries of India, therein procuring great honour to their King, making his name famous and bringing a speciall and great profite of all kindes of spices into their Countrie, which thereby is spread throughout all the worlde, yet that sufficed not, for that the Englishmen (not inferiour to any nation in the world for arte of nauigation) haue likewise vndertaken the Indian voyage, and by their said voyages into those Countries, made the same commonly knowne vnto their Country, wherein Sir Frances Drake, and M. Candish are chiefly to bee commended, who not onely sayled into the East Indies, but also rounde about the world, with most prosperous voyages, by which their voyages, ours haue beene furthered and set forwarde, for that the condition of the Indies is, that the more it is sayled into, the more it is discovered, by such as sayle the same, so strange a Countrey it is: So that besides the famous voyages of the Countries aforesaid, in the ende certain people came into Holland (a nation wel known) certifying them, that they might easily prepare certaine shippes to sayle into the East Indies, there to traffique & buy spyces etc. By sayling straight from Hollande, and also from other countries bordering about it,

with

with desire to see strange and rich wares of other Countries, & that should not be brought vnto them by strangers, but by their owne countrey men, which some men would esteeme to be impossible, considering the long voyage and the daungers thereof, together with the vnaccustomed saylinges and little knowledge thereof by such as neuer sayled that way, and rather esteeme it madnesse, then any point of wisdom, and folly rather then good consideration. But notwithstanding wee haue seene foure ships make that voyage, who after many dangers hauing performed their voyage, returned againe and haue brought with them those wares, that would neuer haue beene thought could haue beene brought into these countries by any Holland ships; but what shoulde I herein most commend eyther the willingness and good performance of the parties, or the happinesse of their voyage? whereof that I may giue the reader some knowledge, I will shew what I haue hearde and beene informed of, concerning the description of the Countries, customes, and manners of the nations, by them in this voyage seene & discovered, which is as followeth.

When and how
the ships set saile.

In the yeare of our Lord 1595. vpon the 10. day of the month of March, there departed from Amsterdam three ships and a Pinnace to sayle into the East Indies, set forth by diuers rich Marchantes: The first called Mauritius, of the burthen of 400. tunnes, hauing in her sixe demie canon, fourteene Culuerins, and other peeces, & 4. peeces to shoot stones, and 84. men: the Mayster Iohn Moleuate, the Factor Cornelius Houtman: The second named Hollandia, of the burthen of 400. tunnes, hauing 85. men, seuen brasse peeces, twelue peeces for stones, and 13. iron peeces, the Mayster Iohn Dignums, the Factor Gerrit van Buiningen, the thirde called Amsterdam, of the burthen of 200. tuns, wherein were 59. men, sixe brasse peeces, ten iron peeces, and sixe peeces for stones, the Mayster Iohn Iacobson Schellinger, the Factor Reginer van Hel: The fourth being a Pinnace called the Doue, of the burthen of 50. tunnes, with twenty men, the Mayster Simon Lambertson: Which 4. ships vpon the 21. of the same moneth came vnto the Tassel, where they stayed for the space of 12. daies to take in their lading, and the seconde of Aprill following, they set saile with a North east winde & following on their course the fourth of the same moneth they passed the heades; The sixt they saw Heyssant, the 10. of April they passed by the Barles of Disbon: With an East and North East wind, the 17. of Aprill they discovered two of the Islands of Canaries: The 19. Palm, and Pic, Los Romeros, and Fero: The 25. of Aprill they saw Bona visita, the 16. they ankered vnder Isole de May: The 27. they set sayle againe and held their course South Southeast. The 4. of May, we espied two of the King of Spaines ships, that came from Lisbon, and went for the East Indies, about 1000. or 1200. tunnes each ship, with whom we spake, and told them that we were bound for the straights of Magellanes, but being better of sayle then they wee got presently out of their sight. The 12. of May being vnder fife degrees on this side the Equinoctiall line, we espied fife ships laden with Sugar, comming from the Island of S. Thomas, and sayled for Lisbon, to whome we gaue certaine letters, which were safely deliuered in Holland. Departing from them and keeping on our course, vpon the fourth of Iune we passed the Equinoctial line, where the extreame heat of the ayre spoyled all our victuailes: Our flesh and fishe stunke, our Bisket molded, our Beere sowred, our water stunke, and our Butter became as thinne as Oyle, whereby diuers of our men fell sicke, and many of them dyed; but after that we learned what meat and drinke we should carrie with vs that would keepe good. The 28 of Iune wee passed the sandes of Brasill, by the Portingalles called Abrolhos, which are certaine places which men must looke warely vnto, otherwise they are very dangerous.

Their victuailes
stunke and
spoyled.

They passed the
sandes of Bra-
silia.

These sandes lie vnder 18. degrees, and you must passe betweene the coast of Guine and the sandes aforesaid, not going too neer eyther of them, otherwise close by the Coast there are great calmes, thunders, raines & lightnings, with great stormes, harde by the sands men are in daunger to be cast away: and so sayling on their course, first East South East, then East and East and by North. Vpon the seconde of Iuly wee passed Tropicus Cancr, vnder 23. degrees, and $\frac{1}{2}$. The 13. of the same Month, we espied many blacke birdes. The 19. great numbers of white birdes, and the 20. a bird as bigge as a Swan, whereof foure or fife together

together is a good signe of being neere the Cape de bona Sperance. These birdes are alwaies about the said Cape, and are good signes of being before it.

Tokens of the
Cape de bona
Sperance.

The second of August we saw the land of the Cape de bona Sperance, and the fourth of the same Month we entered into a haven called Agne Sambras, where wee ankered, and found good depth at 8. or 9. fadome water, sandy ground.

They entered
into Agne Sam-
bras.

The 5. day we went on shore to gather fruit, therewith to refresh our sicke men, that were thirty or 33 in one shippe. In this bay lyeth a smal Islande, wherein are many birdes called Pyncuius and sea Wolues that are taken with mens handes: we went into the countrey and spake with the inhabitantes, who brought diuers fresh victuailes aborde our shippes, for a knife or small peece of Iron, etc. giuing vs an Oxe, or a sheepe etc. The sheepe in those Countries haue great tayles, and are fat and delicate. Their Oxen are indifferent good, hauing lumps of flesh vpon their backs, that are as fat as any of our good brisket beefe: the inhabitantes are of small stature, well ioynted and boned, they goe naked, couering their members with Foxes and other beastes tayles: they seeme cruell, yet with vs they vsed all kind of friendship, but are very beastly and stinking, in such sort, that you may smell them in the wind at the least a fadome from you: They are apparelled with beastes skinnnes made fast about their neckes: some of them, being of the better sort, had their mantles cut & rayzed checkerwise, which is a great ornament with them: They ate raw flesh, as it is new killed, and the entrailles of beastes without washing or making cleane, gnawing it like dogs, vnder their feet they tye peeces of beastes skinnnes, in steed of shooes, that they may trauel in the hard wayes: We could not see their habitations, for wee saw no houses they had, neither could wee vnderstande them, for they speake very strangely, much like the children in our Countrey with their pipes, and clocking like Turkey Cockes: At the first wee saw about thirtie of them, with weapons like pikes, with broad heads of Iron, about their armes they ware rings of Elpen bones: There wee could finde neyther Oringes nor Lemons, which we purposely sought for.

The 11. of August we hoysed anker, sayling towards the Island of S. Laurence, and the 22. of the same month we had a contrary wind that blew North East: The 25. a West winde, and so held our course East North East: The 28. there blew a South East wind, & the 30. a South West winde, and our course lay North North East to sayle to the Isle of S. Laurence. The first of September wee discovered the point of the Islande of S. Laurence, vnder 16. degrees, and the third day we saw the Island being very desirous to go on land, for that many of our men were sicke, whereby wee could hardly rule our shippes, or bring them farther without healing, or refreshing of our men. The 9. of September Iohn Schellinger sent out his boate to rowe to lande, where they founde three Fishermen, of whome for two or three kniues they had great store of fishes. The 13. we entered into a small Bay, but because wee founde no good anker ground, as also being very foule we sayled out againe. The 14. we sayled vnder a small Island about a mile or 2. great, by the Hollanders called their Church yarde, or the dead Island, because many saylers dying in that place, were buried in the African earth, and the 29. of the same Month died Iohn Dignumsz Mayster of the Lyon of Holland, and was buried the next day after.

With what
wind they sailed
to S. Laurence.

There Iohn Peters of Delft Sayler of the Hollandia, & Koelken van Maidenblick of the Amsterdam were set on shore vpon the Island of S. Laurence, where they were left, because they had committed certaine notorious crimes.

They had great
store of fish for
2 or 3 kniues.

Meane time the Pinnace was sent out to looke for fresh water, which hauing found, the boat returned to bring vs newes, and therewith the flete sayled thither, and the 10. of October the shippes ankered before the Riuer, and went on shore, where we found good provision of all necessaries, the inhabitantes being very willing thereunto, bringing vs of al things that we needed, where for a Pewter Spooone wee had an Oxe, or three sheepe. The 11. of October we went on shore with a boat full of sicke men, and the next day we were assailed by a company of wild men, against whom our weapons little preuailed, for they hurt one of our men and tooke all that we had from vs, whereby vpon the thirteenth of the same Month, wee were forced to insconce our selues with peeces of wood, and braunches of trees, making Cabins within our Sconce, for that the 15. of October they came againe, but then we tooke

How the wilde
men assailed
thi, and forced
them to insconce
themselues.

The maner &
custome of the
wild people.

The wilde men
brought things
aboard to com-
fort them.

The description
of one of their
kings.

The wilde peo-
ple came on
board their ships
and seemed very
friendly.

one, and slew another of them. The 19. of Nouember our Pilot Claes Ianson was intrapped and murdered by the wild people, although we used all the means we could to helpe him, but they feared no weapons, about ten or twelue dayes after we tooke one of them that paid for his death. The first of December our men hauing for the most part recovered their healthes, were all carryed aborde the ships: in that parte of Madagascar the people are of good condition, and goe naked, onely with a Cotton cloth before their priuie members, and some from their breasts downward: Their ornaments are Copper ringes about their armes, but Tin rings are more esteemed with them, and therefore tinne with them is good marchandise. Their Oxen haue great lumpes of fat vpon their backes: Their sheepes tayles way at the least twelue pound, being of an elle long, & two and twentie inches thick. They gaue vs six of those sheepe for a tinne Spooone: They dwel in cottages and liue very poorely: they feare the noyse of a peece, for with one Caliuier you shall make an hundred of them runne away: Wee coulde not perceyue any religion they had, but after wee were informed that they helde the law of Mahomet, for the two boyes that wee tooke from of the land, shewed vs their circumcision: There we found no fruit of Tambaxiumes, but great numbers of Parrats, Medicats, and Turtle Doues, whereof we killed and eat many. The second of December we burned our scone, and fourteene of our men going further into the Islande brought certaine of the countrey men prisoners, and being aboard our ships taught them what they shoulde doe. The thirteenth of December wee hoysed anker, minding to holde on our course for the Islands of Iaua, & for that by reason of the pleasantnesse of the ayre we had in a manner all recovered our healthes, we set our course East and by North, and East Northeast. The nineteenth of the same Month wee were seperated by foule weather, & the 22. with great ioy we met againe. The tenth of Ianuarie Vechter Willemson dyed, being a verie honest man, and Pilot in Molenaers shippe, for whome we were much grieued, and the same day we determined to put back againe for the Islande of S. Laurence, for as then wee began againe to haue a great scouring among our men, and many of them fell sicke: But presently therevpon we espied the Islande of Saint Mary, and the next day being arriued there, some of the inhabitants came aboard our shippes with a basket of Ryce, Sugar canes, Citrons, Lemons, & Hens, whereof we were very glad, as being phisicke for vs.

The 13. 14. 15. 16. and 17. dayes we were on land, where we bought Ryce, Hens, Sugar canes, Citrons and Lemons in great abundance, and other kinde of fruites to vs vknowne, also good fish, and greene Ginger: There we tooke a Fish, which thirteen men could hardly pull into our shippe, and because the Island was little, and we had many men, wee entred into the Bay of the firme land with our Pinnace, where for a string of Beades of small value we had a tunne of Ryce: The King came aboard our Pinnace to see it, & was as blacke as a Deuill, with two hornes made fast vpon his heade, and all his body naked like the rest of the countrey people.

This Island lyeth about a small mile from Madagascar, about 19. degrees Southward from the Equinoctiall line (Madagascar or S. Laurence is an Islande belonging to the Countrey of Africa, and lyeth Southwarde vnder 26 degrees, ending Northwarde vnder 11. degrees by the inhabitants it is called Madagascar, & by the Portingalles the Islande of S. Laurence, because it was discovered on S. Laurence day: The riches of this Island is great, it aboundeth in Ryce, Honnie, Waxe, Cotton, Lemons, Cloues etc. The inhabitantes are blacke and go naked, but the haire vpon their heades is not so much curled as those of the Mosambique, & they are not ful so blacke.)

The 23. of Ianuary we ankered before a Riuer where likewise we had all kind of necessaries, and after that we went to lie vnder a small Islande within the same Bay.

The 25. of Ianuarie there came some of the wild people aboard our ships, making signes to haue vs go on land, which we did, and there we had good Ryce & other fruits in great abundance. On the left side of the entry of the Riuer lyeth one of their Townes, and on the right hand two townes, where we had most of our trafique.

The 26. of Ianuarie wee had interpreters, whom we made to drink wine, wherewith they were as drunk as beastes.

The

The manner & condition of the people inhabiting in the great Bay of Antogil, on this side the Equinoctiall line vnder 16 degrees, on the South side of the Island Madagascar.

IT is a very great Bay, about ten mile broad, behind it lyeth a high Island, and three small Islands: there is good harbour against all windes. The Island is inhabited, and therein groweth all kindes of fruites, it hath a great fall of water that commeth down out of the hilles, where we laded all our water, and halfe a mile from thence within the land, there runneth a great Riuer, wherein likewise there is much water to be had, when you enter into the Riuer about a quarter of a mile inward on the left hand, ther is a smal towne or village, not closed nor fortified, in it there is about 200. houses, & on the right hand where the Riuer diuideth it selfe, there is two other such Townes: They were all compassed with palles, and the houses were placed about two foote aboue the ground, vpon foure or fife palles or stakes of wood, and all the vpper partes of reede and strawe. The cause why their houses are made so high from the ground is to auoide the danger of venomous beastes that are there in great abundance, as Serpents, Snakes, Camelions, and other kindes of beastes. The people are very blacke, but their hayre and bearded are not so much curled as the right Mores, nor their noses nor lippes so great nor flat. They are subtile and strong people, much addicted to drinking, for they will bee as drunke as Swine, with a kind of drinke made of Honie & Ryce. They go naked, onely that about their middles they weare a cloth made of the barke of a tree, drawne in small threedes: they make and vse very fine Mats to sitte vpon: They haue no great store of weapons, for that halfe of them are vnprouided, and that they vse is a speare of nine or ten foote long, with a great wooden Target: They are very fearefull of our Caliuers, for 5. or sixe men with Caliuers will cause great numbers of them to flie away: We taught them what our peeces ment, for wee perceyued that they knew them not, before they had proued them: at the first they thought they coule carry no further then their owne lengthes, for they knew not what they were: Their Kinges ornamentes were ten or twelue Copper Rings about his armes: if we had had such Ringes with vs, wee might haue sold them at what prices wee woulde. They likewise vse beades of Glasse, which they weare about their armes and neckes, by them esteemed for great ornamentes: for a boxe of beades of small value, we had an Oxe, or three or foure Sheepe: rounde about this Bay are townes and villages, where you may haue of all things to refresh your selues, Lemons and Citrons are there greater and better then in Portingall: Likewise Oringes, Ryce, Hennes, Goats, Honie, and many other sortes of fruites, and to conclude it is the best Bay in all the world to refresh ships. Being on land we were wel entertayned, and must of force drink with them of their drinke made of Hony and Ryce: There we trafiqued with them, and had sufficient of euery thing, but euery night we went aborde our shippes.

Why their houses stand so high aboue the earth.

The maner of the wilde men in that country.

The third of February we had so great a storme, that most of our ankers were lost, and we ran vpon the land in great daunger to cast our ships away, but God holpe vs, for the storme ceased, and then we went to hoyse vp our lost ankers, and so againe went to anker vnder the Island, glad that we had so well escaped that daunger. The fift of February we went to seeke for our boats, but the wild men had smitten them in peeces, & taken out the nailes, thinking likewise that our shippes woulde haue beene cast away vpon the shore, which they still expected: and when we came thither, they stood vpon the shore with their weapons in hand and threw stones at vs, and we perceyuing them in that minde, made towarde our shippes, for we desired not to reuenge our selues, nor once to fight with them without commission from our Generall, whom we certified thereof. The eyght of February we rowed into the Riuer to buy cattle, and other things, but they were become our enemies, threatning and casting stones at vs, wherevpon we put out two shalops to run a shore close to the land, and made our Caliuers and other weapons ready.

Wherewith we shot at them, but they feared not our shot, for they knew not what they ment, they thought likewise that the peeces coule carrie no further then they were long:

but when they sawe eight or nine of their fellowes dead, they fled into the woodes, and wee entering vpon the lande set fire on their houses, whereof we burnt about twentie or thirtie. The 9. of Februarie we sailed on the other side to buy cattle, and other necessaries, but they seemed vnwilling to deale with vs, but we threatening to burne their houses, they brought vs Cattle and fruites inough, with all things else to our desires.

The 12. of Februarie wee hoised anker, and set sayle out of the great Bay of Antongill, being well prouided of all necessaries, we put out with a North wind, the Bay stretching Northeast and Southwest: The 2. of March we had a West winde, our course being East and East & by North towards Iaua. In March and Aprill about the Islande of Brandawe, we found that our Compasses helde two Strikes to farre Northwarde, and we coulde not perceiue the sands that are set downe in the Portingalles sea Cards, but we saw many turnings of streames, and we were much troubled with calmes, but with the new Moone we had winde enough out of the West & North West. The 27. of May we found the water aboard our shippes to bee much lessened, and therefore euery mans portion was but halfe as much as he was wont to haue; so that each man was allowed but foure draughts euery day, which was but a small quantitie. Whereby through the extreame heat we endured great thirst, so that at that time a draught of water aboard our ship was worth a Riall of 8. The first of Iuly we saw the Islande of Emgano, whereat we much reioyced, because of the great thirst wee endured in our shippe, and when wee made neerer to it, we perceyued it to be an Islande lying before the straightes of Sonda, vnder 9. degrees on the South side of the line.

The sixt of Iuly we put somewhat nearer to the land, and there we saw sixe or seuen canoes lying vnder the shore, but farre off, and durst not make toward vs: in the end we manned out a shalop & rowed to land, but they made from vs, & when our men were hard by the shore, there we saw about 40. or 50. of them standing vpon the shore with their bowes; wherewith our men durst not land, for they seemed to be a cruell kind of people, and altogether wild, for they went all naked, not hauing any thing before their priuy members. They were of a reddish colour, but when our men saw no aduantage they turned again vnto their shippes.

The seuenth of Iuly we saw the point of the land of Sumatra, which is a verie high land descending downewarde with a long end.

The 11. of the same Month we were close vnder the land, where there lay an Island, and there we ankered.

The manner of
the Gouvernor of
Sumatras com-
ming on bord.

The 12. of Iuly in the morning we saw certaine ships, whereof one came vnto vs, wee rowed vnto it with a shalop, and spake with it, but we could not vnderstand them, but they shewed vs where we should haue water, which made vs glad, that wee might once againe haue our bellies full of water: it being almost foure Monthes that wee had not seene any land, nor taken in any fresh victuailes. We sent our Pinace to the firme land of Sumatra, there to seeke for some reliefe: for that where we lay there dwelt not any man. The 13. of Iuly the Captain or principall ruler of Sumatra came aboard our ships to see them, which was done with great solemnitic, hee being apparelled after the Turkish manner, with a wreath about his heade, and a fearefull countenance, small eyes, great eye browes, and little beard, for a man might tell all the haire vpon his chinne: he brought vs a present of Betele, which are leaues which they continually chaw, and eat it with chalke.

This Island of Sumatra or Taprobana (as it is saide) is the greatest of all the Orientall Islandes, it is diuided from the firme land of Malacca by a straight and dangerous sea, by reason of many Islandes and cliffes that are within it: Out of this Island as some men are of opinion, Salomon had his Gold wherewith he beautified the Temple, and his owne pallace, and then in the Bible it should be named Orphir, for certainly Sumatra is rich of mynes of Golde, Siluer, and Mettall, and the inhabitants therof are very expert in melting of brasse peeces: Therein is a fountaine of pure Balsame, the Portingalles haue no fortresse therein, yet they traffique in certaine hauens, specially in Pedir and Campar: There is also in this Island a place called Manancabo, where they make poinyardes and daggers, by them calde cryses,

cryses, which are much esteemed in those Countries, and those of Malacca and Iaua, hold them for their best weapons, and with them are very bold.

The same day our Pinnace returned againe vnto vs, bringing vs good newes, that wee were welcome vnto the Countrey people, and brought vs certaine Indian Nuttes or Cocus, Melons, Cocoribers, Onions, Garlike, and a sample of Peper and other spices, which liked vs well.

The fourteenth of Iune we laded in some fresh water.

Right ouer against Sumatra, on the South side of the Equinoctiall lyeth the Islande of Iaua Maior, or great Iaua, and these two Islandes are deuided by a straight commonly called the straight of Sunda, which lyeth between these two Islandes, bearing the name of the principall haue of Iaua called Sunda: In this channel there runneth a great streame, and course of narrow waters, through this straight M. Candish an Englishman passed with his ship, comming out of the South sea from new Spaine. Iaua beginneth vnder seuen degrees on the South side, and so stretcheth East and South 150. miles long, it is very fruitfull, specially of Ryce, Cattle, Hogges, Sheepe, Hennes, Onions, Garlike, Indian Nuttes, and all kinde of spices, as Cloues, Nutmegges, Mace, etc. Which they carrie to Malacca. The chiefe haue in the Islande is Sunda Calapa, there you haue much Pepper, better then that of India, or of Malabar, & there you may yearely lade 4. or 5000. Quintales of Pepper Portingall waight, there likewise you haue great store of frankencense, Camphora, & some Diamants: but they haue no other kinde of money but a certaine peece called Caixa, as bigge as a Hollands Doibt, but not so thicke, with a hole in the middle to hang it vpon a string, in which manner they commonly hange hundrethes or thousandes together, and with them they know how to make their accountes, which is two hundred Caixas make a Sata, and fise Satas make a thousand Caixas, which is as much as one Crusado of Portingall, or three Carolus Gilderns, Flemish money: Pepper is solde by the sacke, each sacke waying 45. Catten waight of China, each Catte as much as 20. ounces Portingall waight, and each sacke is worth in that Country at the least 5000. Caixas, and when it is highest at 6. or 7000. Caixas: Mace, Cloues, Nutmegs, white and blacke Benjamin, Camphora, are sold by the Bhar, each barre waying 330. Catten of China: Mace that is faire & good is commonly worth from 100. to 120. thousande Caixas: Good Cloues accordingly, and foure Cloues called Bastan are worth 70. & 80. thousand Caixas the Bhar: Nutmegs are alwaies worth 20. & 25. thousand Caixas the Bhar: White and blacke Benjamin is worth 150. and 180. thousand Caixas, and sometimes 200. thousand. The wares that are there desired and exchanged for spices, are diuers sortes and colours of Cotton Linnen, which come out of seuerall Provinces; and if our Cambricke or fine Hollande were carryed thither, it would peraduenture bee more esteemed then the Cotton linnen of India.

The 15. of Iune there rowed a scute called a Prawen harde vnder the lande by vs, wee called him, but not against his will, and shewed him siluer, and other wares that liked him well, he bad vs make towards the strand, and told vs of Bantam, saying that there we should haue al kinds of Marchandise. Then we made signs vnto him that if he wold bring vs to Bantam, we wold pay him for his labor, he asked vs 5. rialles of 8. and a red cap, which we graunted vnto, and so one of the men in the scute came on bord the Mauritius, and was our Pilot to Bantam, where we passed by many Islandes.

The nineteenth of Iuly as wee sailed by a towne, many Portingalles boded vs, and brought vs certaine Cocus and Hens to sell, which wee bought for other wares.

The 22. of the same Month wee came before the towne of Bantam, within three miles of it, and there ankered vnder an Island. The same day about euening a scute of Portingals boded vs that were sent by the Gouvernour to see what ships we were, & when we shewed them that wee came thither to traficke with them, they told vs, that there was the right Pepper country, & that there we might haue our lading, that new Pepper was readie to be gathered, and would be ripe within two Monthes after, which pleased vs well, for wee had already beene fiteene Monthes and twelue daies vpon our voyage, hauing endured great daungers, miseries and thirst, many of our men by sicknesse being dead.

The

The 23. of Iune wee hoysed our ankers, and went close to the towne of Bantam, and ankered harde by 4. small Islands, that lie right North from the Towne: the same day the Sabander (who is there one of the greatest officers next the King) came aboard our shippes, asking vs what we would haue, we said we were come to buy Pepper and other spyces, and that wee had readie money, and certaine wares, whereof we shewed him some parte, which hee liked well, saying that there wee might haue lading enough, shewing vs great countenance.

The same day likewise there came a great number of scutes vnto our ships, bringing all kinds of victuailles to sel, as Hennes, Egges, Cocus, Bonanas, sugar canes, Cakes of Ryce baked, and many other things. The 24. of Iune there came many men aborde our ships, bringing diuers wares to sell, shewing vs great friendship, and as it seemed were very glad of our arriall there, telling vs that there we might haue Pepper enough, and new Pepper within two Months after, and that Pepper was then as good cheap as it had beene any time within ten yeares before, that wee might buy 5. or 6. sackes for one Catti, (being about 20. Guilderns) which was ordinarily sold but one sacke for that price: euery sacke wayeth 54. pounce Hollandes waight, so that a pounce would be worth about a brasse penie Hollands money.

The same day about noone the Sabander borded vs once againe, willing Cornelis Houtman to go on land to speake with the Gouvernour, for as then there was no King, for about a Month before our arriall there, the King was gone with a great armie before the towne of Palimbam, which hee thought to take, and had almost gotten it, but there he was stricken with a great Preece by a Renigado of the Portingalles, and so was slaine. His death was much lamented by the straungers that dwelt at Bantam, for he was a good king, being about 25. yeares of age: he left behind him foure wiues, whereof the eldest was not aboue 15. yeares of age, and a yong sonne of three Monthes olde, that was to succeed him in his Kingdome, and they had chosen a Protector or Gouvernour to rule in his minoritie, whom they call Kipate, and when the Kipate by the Sabandar sent to our Sargeant Maior to come vnto him into the towne, he made him answer that he had no such commission, but he desired the Gouvernour first to come aboard his ship, and then he would go on shore, he likewise desired vs to go neerer to the towne with our shippes.

And therevpon wee sayled somewhat neerer to the Island that lay next vnto the towne, within halfe a mile from it, & there we ankered at 4 fadome clay ground, the towne lying South from vs, where wee had a good roade: The next morning the Gouvernour sent aborde, and the men that came spake not onely good Portingall, but other languages: he let our Sargeant Maior vnderstand that he would come aborde, and desired that hee woulde with a shalop meet him halfe the way, which was done about noone, and the Gouvernour came aborde with a great company of men, where we shewed him all our wares, which liked him well, desiring vs to come on land, saying that we should be welcome, promising vs much fauour, wherewith he returned to the land with certaine rich presents that we gaue him. The 26. Barent Heijn Factor of the ship called the Mauritius, died very sodainly.

The 27. and 28. great numbers of people borded our shippes bringing all sortes of necessities & victuails to sell.

The 29. there came an Emperour aboard our shippe, whose father in time past had beene Emperour of all Iaua, and commanded all the Kinges of Iaua, but this man because of his badde life was not much accounted of: he spake good Portingall, for his mother was a Portingall woman borne in Malacca: This Emperour had conspired against vs with the Portingalles, but as then we knew it not.

The 30. of Iune Cornelis Houtman tooke a boate and went into the towne, and there spake with the Gouvernour about certaine affaires, touching a contract to bee made with him.

The first of Iuly Houtman went again into the towne, and when he returned he brought with him a certaine contract made & signed by the Gouvernour himself, who most willingly consented therevnto, & saide vnto him, Go now and buy what you will, you haue free liberty;

The Gouvernour
of Bantam
came aboard
their ships.

The Emperour
came aborde and
secretly conspired
with the
Portingalls
against them.

A contract to
buy & sell in the
towne.

liberty; which done, the said Houtman with his men went to see the towne, apparelled in the best manner they coulede, in veluet, Satin, and silkes, with rapiers by their sides: The Capitaine had a thing borne ouer his head to keep him from the Sun, with a Trumpet before him, which certaine times he caused to bee sounded: There the Emperour bad them to a banquet after the Indian manner: From thence they went to the Portingalles, that made much account of Houtman, and made him a banquet, saying that they had seene him in Lisbon. The 2 of Iuly many Marchants came aboard, profering vs Pepper verie good cheape, but because we were vnskilfull in the waight and other thinges wee tooke respite to answer them.

The 3. of Iuly the Sabander came aboard, and he was our great friend, for that after we found it so, hee tolde vs what waight the sackes of Pepper were, and what prises they bare, counselling vs to buy.

The 7. of Iuly the Gouvernour sent vs a man secretly by night willing vs to looke vnto our selues, and not to trust the Emperour, with whom all the Marchantes conspired, and went to inuade our ships, and that hee ment to rob vs, as being very licentious and euill minded.

The 8. of Iuly the Emperour sent vnto our ships, & offered to make them a banquet, bidding all the Captaines, maisters, Pilots, Gentlemen, Officers, Trumpets, and Gunners to come into the towne to him, and there he woulde make merrie with them: This was done by the Portingalles aduise, thereby to haue all the chiefe and principall men out of our ships, but we perceiued their intent.

The 11. of Iuly the Emperour perceyuing that his deuise would not take place, hee went from Bantam to Iacatra.

The 12. of Iuly wee had a house offered vs within the towne.

The 13. of the same month Reyner van Hel with eyght Gentlemen went into the towne, taking certaine wares with him, of euery thing a little, and laid it in the house appointed for the purpose: there to keep a ware house and to sel our merchandise, and presently both Gentlemen and Marchants came thither to buy and to sell vs Pepper.

The 15. and 16. many Gentlemen, Marchants, Chinars, and Arabians came to our ware-house & into our ships, offering vs Pepper, but our Factor offered them to little a price.

The 25. of Iuly the Gouvernour came againe aborde our shippes, and there looked vpon certaine of our wares, whereof hee bought some, and counselled vs to buy Pepper: About the same time the Portingalles made great sute vnto the Gouvernour, promising him many giftes to deny vs traffike, and to constraine vs to depart from thence, saying we were no marchantes, but that we came to spie the countrie, for they said that they had seene many Fleminges in Lisbon, but none like vs. Among the Portingalles there was one that was borne in Malacca, of the Portingalles race, his name was Pedro Truide, a man well seene in traueyling, and one that had beene in all places of the world: He was our good friend, & euery day came to talke with our Captaines, saying, you do not well that you make no more haste to take in your lading, you shall haue no better cheape wares, & withall shewed vs many other things: wherevpon the Portingalles hated him, and not long after he was murdered in his bed.

In August we did little, and tooke no great store of lading in seeking to haue Pepper better cheape, which the Portingalles liked not well of, and saide vnto the Gouvernour, that we desired not to buy; which the Gouvernour began to hearken vnto, for they offered him great summes of money that hee shoulde not permit vs traffique, so that in the end hee commaunded that no man shoulde carrie any Ryce aborde our shippes, whereby we were abashed, and thereupon we sent vnto the Gouvernour for our money which hee ought for the wares hee had bought, which moued him.

The 26. of Iuly hee sent one of our Gentlemen with some of his men and nine slaues aboard our ships.

The situation of the Towne of Bantam, the principall towne of traffique in the Island of Iaua, their strength & manner of building, with their traffique,

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The Emperour
ment to fall
vpon the ships
to rob them.

The hatred of
the Portingalles
against the.

what people come thither, what wares are there most desired, what nations bring them thither, or come to fetch them, together with their religion, customes, & manner of house keeping.

BANTAM lyeth in the Islande of Iaua maior, about 23. miles to sea ward within the Isle, between Sumatra and Iaua: On both sides of the Towne there runneth a Riuer, about 3 foot and a half deep, so that no shippes can enter into them: The Towne is compassed about with a Riuer: The towne is almost as great in compasse as the old towne of Amsterdam: The wals are made with flankers: They haue great numbers of Peeeces therein, but they knowe not how to vse them, for they feare them much: all their Peeeces are of brasse, & they haue many brazen bases. Their walles are not about two foote thicke made of bricke: euery flanker hath diuers mastes and peeeces of wood, which they vse when they are besieged by their enemies. The houses are made of straw and reedes, standing vpon 4. wooden postes. The rich haue their chambers all hanged with silken Curtins, or els with cotton linnen: Their houses are most placed vnder Cocus trees, whereof the towne is full: Without the walles are many houses, wherein strangers for the most part haue their dwellings. The towne hath three great market places, wherein dayly there is markets holden, where you may buy all kindes of wares, and where there commeth a great number of people, very strange to beholde: Within the towne there is a great church or muske of wood, wherein they obserue the law of Mahomet: Gentlemen & men of any qualitie haue their owne muskes in their houses. The towne is not built with streetes, nor the houses placed in order, but very foule lying full of filthy water, which men must passe through, or leape ouer, for they haue no bridges: In the towne there is great resort of diuers Countries and nations, as of Malacca, Bengala, Malabar, Guihereters of Pegu, Sani Malicas, Banda, China and of many Kingdomes that haue great traffique for Pepper, that groweth rounde about Bantam, which in August and September is ripe, there you haue Nutmegs, out of the Island of Banda, and Cloues from Moluca, which the Portingalles doe most buy vp: Wee bought Nutmegs there for a blank a pound: All victualles and necessaries are there in great abundance to be had, as Hennes, Hartes, Fish, and Ryce, and diuers kindes of fruites, as Auanas, Cocus, Bonanas, Manges, Doroyens, Iacca, Pruna, Grapes, Oranges, Lemons, Pomegarnets, Cocombers, Melons, Onions, Garlicke; but breade they haue none, but in steade of it they eate Ryce: Beefe is there the dearest victuaile, for an Oxe in that place is worth 7. 8. or 9. Rialles of 8. The Chinars haue the greatest and most trafficke in that towne. They come thither in the Month of Ianuarie, with 8. or 9. great shippes, bringing all sorts of Porseline, silks, Damaske, gold thread, Iron pannes, and Iauas money called Caixas, whereof 12000. make a Ryall of eyght: They are hanged vpon stringes by two hundred together, for the which they both buy & sel al kinds of marchandise, and there they lade Pepper which they carrie into China: Without the towne they haue a great place wherein they commonly vse to sell their wares, and there they dwell, and haue greater and better houses then any are within the towne, all made of reedes, onely that in euery house they haue a square place made of stone, wherein they put their wares to keepe them from burning, as some riche men in the towne likewise haue: The Chinars are very subtil and industrious people, and will refuse no labour nor paynes to yearne money, there they make much Aqua vitæ of Ryce and Cocus, and trafficke much therewith, which the Iauars by night come to buy, and drinke it secretly, for by Mahomets law it is forbidden them. The Chinars liue there with free libertie: When they come to remaine there for a yeare or more as they thinke good, they buy themselues a wife or two, or more as they thinke good, and liue together like man and wife, and when they meane to depart, they sell their wiues again, but if they haue children they take them with them & so returne to China: They haue no special religion, but pray vnto the Deuill, that he would not hurt them, for they know that the Deuill is wicked, and that God is good, and hurteth no man, therefore they thinke it needlesse to pray to God. They acknowledge not the resurrection of the deade, but when a man dyeth they thinke he neuer riseth again: In their houses they haue great painted Deuils, before the which they place wax candles, and sing vnto them, praying them not

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to hurt them, and the more monstrous that their shapes be, the more they honour them. These people liue very hardly and poorely within Bantam, for there is not any work or labour how filthy soeuer it be, but they will do it to get money, and when they haue gotten something they returne againe to China. They are verie like Iewes in our countrey, for they neuer goe without a paire of ballances, and all thinges is good wares with them, and are ready to do any seruice. When we came first before Bantam, they came euery day in great companies into our shippes, and there set out their wares to sel, as silkes, sowing silkes, and porcelines, so that our vpper deckes were full of pedlers, that wee could hardly walke vpon the hatches.

The manner, condition, custome, going, standing, apparell, housekeeping, wares, and behaviour of the Iauars in Bantam.

The Iauars and inhabitants of Bantam, are proude and obstinate, with a very stately pace, they hold the law of Mahomet, which they haue not had aboue 35. yeares, for as yet there are many heathens among them that neuer were made Mores: it is a very lying and theeuish kind of people, not in any sort to bee trusted. Their apparell both of rich and poore is a cotton cloth, and some of silke about their middles, which they tie about them with a girdle. the vpper parte and from the knees downewarde all naked; most of them goe bareheaded, but the principallest of them haue a wreath or Turkish roule about their heades, and some little cappes: Their priestes come out of Meca in Arabia, and are yellowe of colour: Their ^{What weapons} weapon is a poinyard, which they call Crisis: it is made with hilts, and the handle is a Deuil ^{they weare.} cut out of wood or bone: the sheathes are of wood: with them they are very bolde, and it is accounted for a great shame with them if they haue not such a Dagger, both yong, old, rich & poore, and yong children of fise or sixe yeares olde, and when they go to the warres they haue targets, and some long speares, but most of them such poinyardes: They vse neyther great shotte nor caliuers when they go against their enemies: for a small matter one King wil make warre against another. When we came first before Bantam, we offered to make a contract with the Gouvernor and the counsell of the towne, that they should deliuer vs a certaine quantitie of Pepper, and wee woulde goe with our shippes before Palimbam, and helpe them to reuenge the death of their Kings vpon their enemies, for (as they said) we might goe within a bowe shot of the towne with our shippes, and the Towne is but of wood without walles, so that we would presently haue beaten it downe to the ground. They offered vs some of their principall Gouvernours to be left for pledges in our shippes, and their men woulde sayle in their fustes, such as shoulde go on land, and we should doe nothing els but shoote out of our shippes, but our Captaines would not do it, considering our small number of men. The Iauars take as many wiues as they will, and are able to maintaine; ^{How many} but the common people haue but one, & some two married wiues, and some 10. 20. and ^{wiues they haue.} 30. concubines: For a small matter they will sende their married wiues home agayne vnto their fathers, when they haue layne fise or sixe dayes with them, saying they like them not, and so their marriage is vndone, when they desire it.

The manner, custome, housholding, childbearing, sporting & cleanlinesse of the women in Bantam.

The women of the towne are well kept from such as are circumcised, whereof the rich men haue many, and from other men or their friendes, for their owne sonnes may not come into the house where the women are. They lie all naked and chaw Betelle, and haue a slauish woman that continually scratcheth their bodies, that is, such as are married women, but such as are concubines are as waiting Gentlewomen to the married women; when they goe out to giue them more maiestie, and those that haue the greatest number are of most estimation: The Concubines haue but fewe children, for the married women poyson their children, and these concubines are bought and solde: by their apparell a man can hardly discerne the riche from the poore, for they goe all with a Cotton cloth about their bodies vp to their breastes, and bounde about their middles with an other cloth, bare footed and their heads vncovered,

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their hayre bound right vpon the top of their heads in a heape, but when they are in their pride, they weare crownes vpon their heads, whereof some of them are of pure golde, and ringes of golde, and some of siluer about their armes, euery one according to their abilitie. They are very curious about their bodies, for they washe themselues at the least fīue or sixe times euery day: they neuer ease themselues nor haue the company of their husbandes, but they presently leape into the water and wash their bodies, and therefore the water that runneth through Bantam is very vnholosome; for euery one washeth themselues in it, as well pockie as other people, whereby wee lost some of our men that drunke of the water: The women are verie idle, for they do nothing all the day but lie downe; the poore slaues must doe all the drudgerie, and the men sit all day vpon a mat, & chaw Betele, hauing ten or twentie women about them, and when they make water, presently one of the women washeth their member, and so they sit playing all the day with their women: Many of them haue slaues that play vpon instrumentes much like our Shakebois, they haue likewise great basons whereon they strike, & therewith know how to make good musick, whereat the women daunce, not leaping much, but winding and drawing their bodies, armes and shoulders, which they vse all night long, so that in the night time they make a great noyse with basons and other instruments, and the man he sitteth and looketh vpon them, euerie one of the women strīuing to doe her best that she may get her husbands fauour and her secret pleasure. The Gentlemen, Citizens, and marchantes haue their Gardens, and fieldes without the towne, and slaues for the purpose to labour in them, and bring their maisters all kindes of fruit, Rice and Hennes in the towne, as also the Pepper that groweth there, which runneth vp by an other tree, as Hoppes with vs, and groweth in long bunches like Grapes, so that there is at the least 200. graines in one bunch: it is first greene, and after it becommeth blacke, and is there in great abundance, so that it is the right Pepper countrey; for when we came thither they said vnto vs, *Aqui ai tanta Pimienta, como terra*, that is, here is as much Pepper as earth, and so we found it, and yet we departed from thence by our owne follies, without our lading of Pepper: Wee staide for new Pepper, meane time the Portingalles sent their letters into euery place seeking to hinder our trade: At the first we might haue sufficient, for there we founde enough both to buy for money or to barter. We likewise had money and wares sufficient: we might easily haue had sixe or eight hundred tunnes, as we were aduertised by some of the countrey, that we should presently buy, for that the Portingalles sought all the means they could to hinder vs, as after it appeared; and therefore he that thinketh to come soone enough, cometh oftentimes too late, and we vsed not our time so well as it fell out.

How Pepper
groweth in that
countrey.

A letter sent by
our men in the
town that were
kept prisoners.

The 29. of August we had a letter sent vs by night from our men that were in the towne, that lay in a maner as prisoners, to will vs to let our pledge go a shore, otherwise they feared they shoulde hardly escape with their liues, and great danger might fall vpon them: this pledge came aborde with the 9. slaues.

The 30. of August we sent the pledge and the rest of our Iauers to land, with promise that he would do the best he might to get our men leaue to come aborde: about euening of the same day wee had newes from our men by foure of our saylers that as then they were better vsed, saying they thought they should come aborde when two shippes were gone that ment to saile for Malacca, being laden with Nutmegs and other things.

The first of September, and the 2. 3. and 4. wee sent many letters to the Gouvernour and hee to vs, and likewise to our men that were in the towne, being nine in number, all our best marchants and captains, hauing with them about 6. or 7000. Guildernes in marchandise, and they againe to vs.

They went
nearer to the
towne.

The 5. of September when wee perceyued that delays were daungerous, wee went close to the towne with all our 4. shippes, and so neere that we had but two fadome muddie gronde, and presently with two of our boates for our securitie wee set vpon three Iauan shippes, whereof two were laden with fish and Cocus, wherein wee founde a man of China, being of some account. The third ship was laden with 20. tunnes of Cloues, 6 tunnes of Pepper, and some Benioni, and Piementa da Rauo, wherein we founde fīue Malabardes slaues to the Portingalles, whom
wee

wee likewise tooke, & they were very willing to goe with vs, thereby to bee eased of the slavery wherevnto the Portingals put them, and perceyuing that the Portingalles went often to and from another shippe that lay not farre from vs, we took our Pinace and made towardes it, and being harde by it, the Portingals left it & set it on fire: This ship had the richest wares in it as the Portingalles slaues tolde vs, for it was laden with fiftie tunnes of Cloues, which were burnt in it.

The sixt and seuenth of September we hearde no newes, so that wee went close to the Towne agayne, shooting with our great Peecces into it, slaying diuers of the people (as after we were informed :) They likewise shot with their Peecces agaynst vs, which the Portingalles did, for that the Iauars haue little or no skill at all therein, and are very fearefull of them, and although they had many peecces in the towne, yet they did vs no other hurt then onely shot one of Molenares halfe masts in peecces.

The seuenth of September wee had a skirmish, which was in this manner, we perceyuing a Iauan ship vnder sayle, sent our Pinace with sixe and twentie men in her to fetch it in, which the Iauan shippe perceyuing fledde behinde an Islande, where our Pinace followed him so fast that shee fell a grounde, which the townes men perceyuing, made them readie with foure and twentie boates full of men, all armed after their manner, and set forward in good order, being diuided in two companies, seuen on starre bord, & 17. on lardde bord of the Pinace, in order like a halfe Moone, threatening vs with their speares, they thought by reason of their great number of men, that they had already taken it, but it fell out otherwise, for they in the Pinace, perceyuing them comming, shotte among them, and they were so near vnto her that we could not shoot at them: and when they were harde by the Pinace, shee gotte a flote, as they thought to take her, hauing cast out an anker in good time, and thereby wounde themselves off the grounde, but for haste they were forced to cutte their Cable, because they had not time enough to winde it vppe, and with all they shotte one of their boates vnder water. The Pinace drawing her boate after her, the Iauans presently leapt into it, and cutte a sunder the roape that helde it, which they immediately stole from vs, thrusting with their Speares in at the loope holes. Seuen of their Boates being round about vs were so sharply paide with the iron peecces, stone peecces, and Caliuers, that the 17. others durst not come so neere vs: I thinke there were at the least 100. of them that neuer carryed newes how they sped in that skirmish, for euery boate had at the least 60. men in it, and they were so thicke in them, that they could not help themselves, nor did any thing els but shake their speares, and they shot but one base: their arrowes hurt vs not, and so the Pinace returned agayne vnto our shippes, saying close before the towne, and shooting into it with her ordinance: They shot out of the towne, but it hit her not, because they shot with stone pellets, wherewith you cannot shoote so certainly as with iron bullets.

The 8. 9. and 10. of September we had letters from our men out of Bantam, by the which they willed vs not to shoot any more, for that the Gouvernour threatned to set them vpon stakes: Houtman wrote they were in good hope that they shoulde bee put to ransome, which wee counselled them to doe as well as they might.

The 11. of September we had a letter from Houtman, and one from the Gouvernour, wherein hee wrote that he would set our men at libertie, so we would be quiet, but if we desired warre, he woulde once againe come and visite vs in another sort: wee answered him that there he should find vs, that wordes were but wind, & that he should set our men at a reasonable ransome, and thereof send vs an answer the next day.

The 12. and 13. of September wee had no answer out of the towne, and we had want of water, and could get none thereabouts but that which came out of the towne, for that the Gouvernour had taken order that we should get no water about the towne, so that we hoised ankers to go seeke some.

The 17. of September we came before 3. or 4. Islands which Molenare and Shellenger sayled betweene, and for that the streame ranne so strong there, they were forced to goe so nigh the shore, that they might almost leape on lande, whereby they escaped great danger, but the other shippe and the Pinace sayled about the Islands, and so met with the other two, and

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casting

A skirmish betweene the Pinace and 24. boats.

The contents of the Gouvernours letter.

casting forth their ankers went on shore, where wee spake with men that saide they would shew vs where wee shoulde haue water, so we would giue them two Caliuers.

The 18. 19. 20. 23. and 24. we stayed to lade water, for it was hard to get, and we were forced to keep good watch, which done hoysing ankers againe, wee sayled towards Bantam, holding our course Eastwarde.

The 27. we sayled Northeast towards the lande of Iaua maior.

The 28. setting sayle agayne, we kept East Northeast along by the coast of Iaua, & about noone because of the great streame that runneth in the straight, wee were forced to anker, and the 30. day wee set sayle againe.

The first of October in the euening wee came to a great Islande, being three miles from the towne, and there we ankered finding good clay ground.

The 2. of October wee had a letter from our men, how they were seperated one from the other, and kept by the Gentlemen of the towne, and their wares parted among them.

The 3. 4. and 5. when wee were againe before the towne, we had other letters, that by our comming they were better vsed, and hoped to bee set at a reasonable ransome, and that they promised that one of our men should come aborde, so he would retorne againe into towne, that shoulde by worde of mouth certifie vs what hope they were in, and the cause thereof, that we might the better belieue it.

How the laurs
vsed our men
being prisoners.

The 6. of October in the night one of our men came aborde, and shewed vs what had past, when we shotte into the towne, how they were seperated and kept close prisoners, and cruelly threatned by the laurs, whereby they still expected when they should bee put to death, and howe they sought all the meanes they coulede to make them to deny their faith, and become Mores, but they remayned constant, and saide they woulde rather die, and that they had by force shauen three of our men after the Morish manner, and how the Portingals had sought all the meanes they coulede to buy them for slaues, offering money for them that they might sende them to Malacca, how they were set at libertie againe, & might goe where they woulde within the towne, and so they hoped all would be well, and that they shoulde bee set at libertie for some small ransome, and that the Gouvernour asked them 3000. Rialles of 8. but they hoped to bring him to 2000. whereat we much reioyced.

The 8. 9. and 10. of October we passed ouer to make some agreement with them that we might be quiet.

The maner of
their ransome.

The 11. of October they agreeede vpon a ransome of 2000. Ryalles of eyght, and were content, that what goodes soeuer we had taken from them, wee shoulde keepe as our owne, and for our goodes that they had stolen, and forcibly taken from our men within the towne, they would keepe them, and so exchange one for the other, they likewise were content to quit vs of all our debts, that we ought within the towne eyther to the Gouvernour or to any other man, and that from thence forward we should be free, and traffique in the towne, both to buy and sell when it pleased vs, & with their good willes as we had done, and before we paide our money, the towne was to sende two men aborde our ships, which done, we were to pay the halfe of our ransome, and vpon the payment thereof, they shoulde set halfe of our men at liberty, and that halfe of our men being come aborde, wee were to pay the other halfe of our ransome, which was 1000. Ryalles of eyght; which being performed, their two men, and their other halfe of our men were on both sides to bee deliuered and sette free, and without contradiction it was performed.

The 12. and 13. this agreement being ended, diuers victuailers came aborde our shippes to sell vs Hennes, Egges, and all other kind of victuailes.

The 14. we gaue certaine presentes in signe of good will, to such as had shewed vs fauour when we were in contention with them.

The 15. 16. 17. and 18. some of our Factors went into the towne, where they bought certaine Pepper, & brought it abord our ships.

The 19. they went again into the towne, & bought a greater quantitie at 5. sakes for one Catti, minding in that sorte euery day to take in our lading, but it fell not out as wee desired, for the Portingalles that coulede not brooke our company, made such means to the Gouvernour, that

that he gaue commandement that we should buy no more Pepper, before we had paide 1400. Rialles of 8. which he challenged of vs because we had cast anker within his streame, where-vpon our Marchantes went and agreed with him, which done wee thinking to buy Pepper as we did before, the Gouvernour againe commanded to the contrarie, whereby we perceyued their deceipt, in that he wold not hold his word. The countrymen would gladly haue solde their Pepper, as also the Chinars, Arabians, Mahometitians, and secretly some Portingalles, but when we saw wee could not get it out but with great daunger, wee thought it not conuenient to buy: and when we spake vnto the Gouvernour, touching the holding of his worde, he made vs answere, that he had no bones in his tongue, and that therefore he coulde speake that which he ment not to doe: and to say the truth most part of the Iauars are a kind of deceitfull people, for whatsoeuer they say and presently performe, that shall you be sure of and no more.

Why the Gouvernour forbid vs trafficke.

The 25. of October there came an Ambassador into Bantam sent from Malacca to the Gouvernour with a present of 10000. Rials of 8. desiring him to forbid vs both his towne and streame, that wee might not trafficke there. Whereof wee were aduertised by the Sabandar and other of our friendes counselling our men to get them out of the towne, and not to returne againe, otherwise they would be in daunger to be stayed againe, and we hauing sent a man into the towne to saue him from being holden prisoner, our host where we lay being on shore was forced to bring him out couered with certaine mattes; so that vpon the 26. of the same month all our trafficke and friendship with them ceased: but our hoast being our friende, came secretly aborde our ships, and shewed vs that he and his company had two ships lying before the towne, laden with Nutmegges and Mace that came from Banda, for the which hee agreed with vs at a price, vpon condition that we should seeme to take them by force, that hereby he might colour his dealing with vs: wherevpon the first of Nouember we sailed to the towne with all our ships, and set vpon the two Iauan shippes, wherein we found a number of 30. slaues, that knew nothing of their maisters bargaine made with vs, so that they began to resist vs, wherewith we shot among them, and presently slew 4. or 5. of them, the rest leapt ouer borde, and swamme to land, which done we tooke the two ships, and put their lading into ours: The Portingalles shippe that brought their Ambassadour, lay close vnder the shore, wherevnto we sent two of our boats, but the Portingals that were in her shot so thicke with their peeces vpon our men, that our boates were forced to leaue them with losse of one of our men, but our shippes shot in such sorte with their ordinance vpon the Portingall shippe, that they spoyled and brake it in peeces, wherein their Captaine was slaine, and the victuallers that stil brought vs victuailles to sell, tolde vs that with our peeces we had slain three or foure men within the towne, & that the townes men began to make an armie of ships to set vpon vs.

How they tooke two Iauan ships.

They fought with a Portingall shippe.

The 2. of Nouember we espyed a shippe that came toward Bantam, which we ioyned vnto with our boais, and being neere vnto it, they spread their fights, which were of thicke mattes, and began to defend themselves; our men shot among them with stone peeces and Caliuers, and they defended themselves with great courage, hauing halfe pikes wherewith they thrust at vs, & that serued likewise to blow arrowes out of them, for they were like trunks, out of the which trunks they shot so great numbers of arrowes, that they fell as thick as hayle, and shotte so certainly, that therewith they hurt at the least eyght or nine of our men, but the arrowes are thinne and light, so that their blaste coulde not make them enter into the flesh aboue the thicknes of two fingers, onely the head of the arrowe (which is made of reede, and loose stayeth in the flesh) when we shot with our Caliuers they ranne behind their fightes, but whē they perceiued that their matted fights could not defende them, and that they were killed through them, they entered into their boate, and by strength of oares rowed from vs, leauing their shippe, wherein we founde two dead men, and we slew three more of them as we rowed after their boat, so that in all they lost fise men, as we after heard, and that they were to the number of 40. which done, wee brought their shippe to ours, wherein we found good store of Ryce and dried fish.

They fought with a Iauan shippe.

The

The 6. of Nouember, perceyuing not any hope of more trafficke for vs with those of Bantam, wee hoised anker and set sayle, setting our course towards the straight of Sunda.

The marchants
follow them
with wares.

The seuenth of Nouember wee came and ankered before a Riuier of freshe water, about sixe miles from Bantam, where wee tooke in our prouision of water: thither certaine Merchants followed vs with Porseline, telling vs that they were sory for our departure, & that they longed for our returne againe.

The thirteenth of Nouember wee set sayle, and about euening wee came before Iacatra, in time past called Sunda Calapa, which hath beene a rich Towne of marchandise, but vpon some occasions and by reason of their hard vsage the Marchants had withdrawn themselves from thence, therefore at this present there is little or nothing to doe. Iohn Huguen in his booke saith this to be the principal towne of trafficke, but that is long sithence, for now there is not any trade of marchandise.

The fourteenth of Nouember wee sent two of our men into the towne, hauing some of theirs in pawne, who tolde vs that many of the inhabitantes were gone out of the towne with all their goodes, being in great feare of our peeces, and there wee had great store of victuailes, and much more then wee required brought aboard our ships.

The 18. wee set saile from Iacatra, and being about two miles from the towne, our shippe called Amsterdam fell vpon a cliffe, but it got off againe without any hurt, and therewith wee presently made towards the straight.

The 2. of December we passed by 3. townes which we might easily perceiue, we likewise passed by Tubam, and ankered vnder Sidaya. The 3. of December there came men out of the towne, and desired vs to stay, saying that there we might haue Cloues & Nutmegs as many as we woulde, bringing certaine banketting stuffe (as a present from their King) vnto Schelengers ship, because it lay nearest to the land, and they came most aboard it.

The 4. of December they came again into Schellengers ship, bringing certaine presentes with them, and among the rest a certayne birde that coulde swallowe fyer, which is a very strange fowle, and was brought alieue to Amsterdam, which after was giuen to the states of Hollande lying in the Hage, and some good fruites, willing vs to sende a man on shore, to see their spices, whereof they said they had great store: wherevpon we sent a man out of the Amsterdam, and with him an interpreter, one of the Portingalles slaues, they leauing three or foure of their men aborde our shippes, for pawnes till his returne: when our man came to lande hee was well vsed, and there they shewed him fortie or fiftie bals of Cloues; which done they brought him before the King, that promised him great fauor, and told him that the next day he wold himselfe come aborde our ships, and deale with our Capitaines, and with that he let our man depart.

How the In-
dians betrayed
them.

The 5. of December we expected the Kinges comming aborde, putting out all our flagges and streamers, and about noone there came 8. or 9. indifferent great shippes full of men from off the shore, wherein wee thought the King to bee, but when they were almost at vs they diuided themselves, three of them rowing to Shellengers ship, and when they barded him, they thinking the King had been there, Reymer van Hel as Factor and the Maister came forth to receyue him, but the Iauers entering all at once, Reymer van Hel said, What will all these people do aborde the shippe, for there was at the least two hundred men, who all at one time drewe out their poinyardes, and stabbed our men that neuer suspected them, so that presently they had slaine twelue of the shippe, and two sore wounded, that boldly withstoode them: the rest of our men being vnder hatches presently tooke their pikes, and thrust so fast out at the grates, that the Iauers woulde haue forced the middle part of the ship, wherein was two entries, but our men standing at them with their swordes in hande draue them out, not ceasing still to thrust vp with their pikes, meane time they kindled fier, lighted their matches, and shot off their stone peeces that lay aboue the hatches, wherewith they began presently to flie, most of them leaping ouer bord, and swam to their two boates, that lay harde by our shippes, whereof one with a great peece was presently stricken in peeces: The rest of our ships hearing vs shoote in that manner, entered into their boats, and made towards them,

them, rowing harde to the three Indian fustes, wherein were at the least 100. men, and shotte among them with their peece, wherewith they leapt into the water, euery man swimming to shore, and we with two boates after them, hewing and killing them as our deadly enemies, who vnder pretence of friendship sought to murder vs, and wee handled them in such sort, that of two hundred men there got not aboue thirty of them to lande, the rest of their fustes lay farre off and beheld the fight: Three of their fustes thought to rowe to the Pinace to take her, which they might easily haue done, as hauing not aboue 7. or 8. men in her, being busie to set vpe a newe maste, but when they perceyued their men to bee so handeled in the Amsterdam, and that they leapt ouer borde, they turned backe againe, and in great haste rowed to land, so that at that time they got not much by the bargain, and no small grieue to vs, for there wee lost 12. men, that were all stabbed with poinyards, their names were Iohn Iacobson Schellenger, maister of the ship, Reymer van Hel Factor, Gielis Giele-son Gentleman, Barent Bonteboter, Arent Cornedrager, Cornelis van Alcmuer, Simon Ianson, Wiltshut Ios the Carpenter, Adrian de Metselar, one of the Portingalles slaues, and two boyes, whereof one was but twelue yeares olde, whereby wee perceyued them to be a kinde of cruell people, for they had giuen the little boy and all the rest of our men at the least 12 stabbes a peece after they were dead.

The names of
their men that
were stabbed.

The same day about euening we hoysed ankers, and set saile, hauing manned the Amsterdam with men out of our other shippes, and so helde our course Eastward.

The 6. of December we came to a great Island called Madura, where we ankered, and in the euening two of their men came aborde our shippes, with message from their Gouvernour, saying that we were welcome, desiring vs to stay there, for he would trafficke with vs, and sell vs some Pepper, as they saide, but wee believed them not.

The 7. of December there came another boat abord, bringing certaine fruites, saying that the next day their Gouvernour would come to see our shippes.

The 8. there came a great fuste and three smal boats, from off the land all full of men, saying their Gouvernour was among them: we willed them not to goe to the Amsterdam, but to the Mauritius, but they woulde not, but made to the Amsterdam, thinking because there had beene so many murdered in her, there was not many men aborde her at that time, and when they were within a pykes length of her, (although they were directed to the other shippes) they remembring their late mischance, shotte off three or foure stone Peece full laden, wherewith they slew and hurt many of the Indians, wherevpon they presently leapt ouer bord, & wee with our boates followed after and slew diuers of them, taking ten or twelue, thinking by them to know what their intent was to doe, but they coulde not certifie vs, and therefore we let them go againe onely keeping two boyes, who long after stole out of the shippe, and swamme to lande: They tolde vs that the Gouvernour being a Bishoppe or chiefe instructor of the country, was within the boate and slaine among the rest, hee had therein likewise a little boy one of his sonnes who wee likewise tooke, and sent to lande: The Bishoppe was of Meca, and much esteemed of among them, a great Clearke, and Gouvernour ouer all the rest of the Country: There was a Iewell found about him, which as yet is kept.

About euening we hoysed ankers, & set sayle, & the 11. of December we came to two small Islands, where wee ankered, there wee founde none but poore people and fishermen, that brought vs fish, Hens, and other fruit to sell.

The 13. wee set sayle, and the 14. wee had a West winde, which they call the passage winde, that would haue serued vs well to saile to Moluccas, from whence wee were not distant aboue two hundred miles, and as then it was a good yeare for Cloues, which happeneth euery three yeares: It was told vs that we might there haue a Cabbin laden full of Cloues, wherevpon wee determined to sayle thither, but because wee had already indured a long and troublesome voyage, and but ill manned, wee woulde not, longing to bee at home: This contrary wind holding vpon the foure and twentie of December wee came to an Islande where we had beene before.

How farre they
were from Mo-
luccas.

The

The 25. of December Iohn Molenaer maister of the Mauritius, dyed sodainely, for an hower before hee was well, and in good health.

The 28. 29. 30. and 31. of December wee were busied to take all the wares, sayles, and other thinges out of the Amsterdam, her victuailes and furnitures seruing for our voyage homewarde, & lying vnder that Island, we had victuailes brought vs euery day as much as wee needed, both fish, Hens, venison and fruit, and at reasonable price, but there we could get no water.

The Amster-
dam set on fire.

The 11. of Ianuary when we had vnladen the Amsterdam we set her on fier, letting her burne, taking her men into our shippes.

The 12. of Ianuarie we set sayle again, some desiring to sayle Eastward, others Westward, but in fine wee set Westwarde to sayle once againe to Bantam, wherewith the Mauritius sayled Southeastwarde, to gette about the Island of Iaua, and we followed her. The 14. of Ianuary we once againe perceyued the East point of the Island of Madura, and held our course Southward: on that side of Madura there lyeth many small Islandes, through which we sayled.

The Pinace on
ground,

The 16. in the morning our Pinace fell on grounde vpon the coast of Iaua, not far from Panorocan, where she shotte off three peeces, at the which warning wee made thither with our boates, and by the helpe of God got her off againe: There we saw a high hill that burnt, vnder and aboue the fire hauing a great smoake, most strange to behold.

The 18. of Ianuary we entered into the straight that runneth betweene Iaua and Baly, and by reason of the hard & contrary streame that ran therein, we were forced to anker vpon the coast of Iaua, where wee found good anker ground.

The 19. wee set set sayle, and when wee came neere to the coast of Baly, we entered into a rough streame, and our shippes draue backward, as swiftly as an arrow out of a bow, and there we found no anker ground, nor any anker could haue holden vs, but Molenaer got the coast of Iaua and ankered, which in the ende wee likewise did, and ankered at the least three miles from him, and so much we had driuen backe in the space of halfe an houre.

The 20. of Ianuarie wee went and lay by our other ships.

The 21. of Ianuarie there came two barkes to the Mauritius, wherein there was one that coule speake good Portingall, who tolde vs that the towne of Ballaboam was besieged by a strange King, that had marryed the King of Ballaboams daughter, and after he had laine with her he caused her to bee slaine, and then came to besiege her father. This towne of Ballaboam lyeth on the East end of the Island of Iaua, and is the same towne where M. Candish was when hee passed that way, and the old King wherof he writeth was as then yet liuing, being at the least 160. years of age. There we saw great numbers of Battes, that flew ouer our shippes, and were as bigge as Crowes, which in that Countrey they vse to eat, as they say: About noone we came before the towne of Ballaboam, so neare vnto it, that we might easily see it, and there we lay behind a high point of lande, thinking to take in water.

The 22. of Ianuarie we tooke our Pinace, and sayled about the shore as neere the land as possible we might, to seeke for fresh water, but we found none, for the Riuer that ran through the towne was paled vp (by them that lay before it) so that no man might passe either out or in, but onely on the lande side, and that with great daunger: The same day there came 2. or 3. men aboard our shippe, that stole out of the towne by night, and came from the King, to desire our help with our great shot, which wee coule not doe; because that thereabouts it was very shallow, and we might not go neere it with our shippes; they tolde vs they had great want of victuailes within the towne, whereby many of them were already deade for hunger, and much desired our aide, but it was not in vs to doe. Those that besieged the towne were Mores, but they in the towne were heathens, and as yet had not receyued Mahomets lawe, and that (as wee heard after) was the cause of their warre: There wee sawe many Storkes flying and sitting in the field: with vs we cannot imagine where the Storkes remaine in winter time, but here wee sawe them in the winter time.

The

The 24. of Ianuarie we sayled from thence, perceyuing nothing for vs to get, and tooke our course right ouer to the Island of Bally.

The 25. we came to Bally, where one of their barks borded vs, telling vs that there we should find a Riuer of fresh water, and of all thinges els sufficient to serue our necessities, wherevpon wee ankered.

The 26. of Ianuarie our Pinace sent her boat to land, to see the Riuer, and there one of our men was sent on shore, but when he was on land he found nothing, but an armie of ten thousand men, that ment to relieue the towne of Ballaboam, and the Riuer was nothing worth to lade water, wherevpon our men came on borde againe: Their Generall thought to haue gotten some great pray out of our shippes.

The 27. of Ianuarie we set sayle to finde a conuenient place to refresh vs with water and other prouision, for wee were informed by a man of Bengala, that of his owne will sayled with vs, and that had beene in Bally, that there wee should finde water and other thinges to serue our necessities, so that by night wee ankered vnder a high pointe of lande on the South West ende of Bally.

The 28. of Ianuary one of their boates borded vs with sixe or seuen men, saying that their King was desirous to deale with vs for such wares as hee had, and sent to know from whence we came, and we said wee came out of Holland.

The 29. and 30. there came more men aborde our shippes, but as wee suspected that was not the right hauen, for the people came rowing in great haste a far off, and the man of Bengala could not tell what to say, but the King was thereabout, and euery day sent vs some fruit.

The first of February wee had two hogges brought aborde our shippes, that wee bought for two Ryalles of eyght, and we eate them very sauerly.

The 2. of Februarie, we set saile that wee might get aboute the point, where wee thought to finde a better place for freshe water, but by reason the winde was contrary, wee coulede not doe it, but were forced to anker againe.

The 3. of February we set saile againe, and then wee had a storme, so that our saile blew euery way, and because of the contrarie winde we could not reach aboute the point, but were constrained to anker, but the Mauritius and the Pinace got past it, although thereby the Mauritius was in no little daunger, but because the Pilot had laid a wager of 6. Rialles of 8. that hee would get aboute it, hee would passe, what daunger soeuer it might be, and sayled close along by the cliffes, whereby wee lay at anker without companie.

The 4. and 5. wee set saile once againe to get aboute the point but could not reach it.

The 6. we had a letter from Rodenburgh, that certified vs how the Mauritius lay at anker at the least 7. or 8. miles beyond the point, and he that brought the letter came with it ouer land; and at the same time there was a man sent on lande with a small present for the King, that we might winne his fauour.

The 7. our man came on borde againe, and brought vs newes how Rodenburgh with one of the Portingalles slaues, being on lande were against their willes led before the King, but the saylors of the Mauritius had gotten men for pledges.

The 8. of Ianuarie, the same man went on land out of our shippe with more presentes of veluet and a caliuier, the better to get the Kinges fauour, which liked him well, and desired vs to bring the ship nearer to the towne, saying he would send vs water, and other things sufficient to supply our wants.

The 9. we sayled into the checke with our shippe, & ankered about a small halfe mile from the land, & being ankered there came at the least 70. boates of the Countrey to see our ship, and the King sent vs word that hee was desirous to heare vs shoote off 5. or 6. of our great peeces, wherevpon wee shot fime of our greatest peeces, and the King stoode vpon the shore to see them.

The 10. we had a letter from Cornelis Houtman, to wil vs to come to them, for that there they had founde a good place for water, and of all other necessities, so that about euening wee set sayle, leauing two of our men and a Portingall slaue among the Indians, whome the

King promised should come vnto vs ouer land, yet that night wee could not reach about the point, meane time we perceyued our Pinace that came to helpe vs.

The 16. we got by the Mauritius, that had already laden in her water, and hooped her vessels, wherevpon we began presently to do the like, and to visite our vessels that were almost spoyled.

The 17. our men whome wee left with the King came ouer land vnto our shippes, and then we bought great store of cattle and fruit.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. wee employed our time to lade water, which wee had verie easily, and refreshed our selues with Cattle, Hogges, fruit, and Lemons sufficient. There came one of the Kinges principall officers with our men ouer land, to pleasure vs in all things we desired, he was very desirous to haue some present of vs.

Two of our
men stayed with
the Indians.

The 22. of Ianuarie two of our men that sayled in the Mauritius stayed on lande, but wee knewe not the cause: it should seeme some great promises had beene made vnto them, for as we vnderstoode, the King was very desirous to haue all sortes of strange nations about him, but our people were therein much ouerseene, for there they liued among heathens, that neyther knewe God nor his commandementes, it appeared that their youtnes and wilde heades did not remember it, one of their names was Emanuel Rodenburgh of Amsterdam, the other Iacob Cuyper of Delft: within a day or two they sent vnto vs for their clothes, but wee sent them not.

The 23. 24. and 25. we made a voyage on land, and fetcht as many Hogges aboard our shippes as we could eate.

The 25. of Februarie we hoysed ankers, minding to set saile & so go homeward, leauing our 2. men aforesaid on land, but because it was calme weather we ankered, and went once againe on lande, and the 26. of the same Month wee set saile and helde our course West South West, but we had a calme.

The situation of the Island of Baly.

How 50 women
burnt them
selues with one
man.

The Island of Baly lying at the East end of Iaua, is a verie fruitfull Islande of Ryce, Hennes, Hogges, that are verie good, and great store of cattle: but they are very drie and leane beastes. They haue many horses: the inhabitantes are heathens, and haue no religion, for some pray to Kine, others to the Sunne, and euerie man as hee thinketh good. When a man dyeth his wife burneth her selfe with him: there were some of their men aborde our shippes, that told vs, that when some man dyeth in that Countrey, that sometimes there are at the least fifty women that will burne themselves with him, and she that doth not so is accounted for a dishonest woman: so that it is a common thing with them: The apparel both of men and women is for the most part like those of Bantam, nothing but a cloth about their middles: Their weapons is, each man a poinyarde at their backes, and a trunk with an iron point like a speare, about a fadom and a halfe long, out of the which they blowe certaine arrowes, whereof they haue a case full; it is an euil weapon for naked men: they are enemies to the Mores and Portingalles. This Island yeeldeth no spice, nor any other costly ware, onely victuailes and clothes which they weare about their bodies, and slaues that are there to be solde. The King went with more state then the King of Bantam: all his garde had pikes with heades of fine gold, and he sate in a wagon that was drawn by two white Buffles.

The first of March we had a calme.

The third we got a good wind that blew Southeast, holding our course West South West.

The situation of
Iaua.

The fourteenth the wind blew stil South East, sometimes more Southwarde, and sometimes Eastward, being vnder 14. degrees, and a good sharpe gale, holding our course West Southwest: There we found that Iaua is not so broad, nor stretcheth it selfe not so much Southwarde, as it is set downe in the Carde: for if it were, we should haue passed cleane through the middle of the land.

The 22. of March the winde helde as it did, being vnder 19. degrees, holding our course West South West.

The

The 19. of April our ship had no more bread left, but for our last partition euery man had seuen pound, both good and badde breade, and from that time forwarde our meate was Rice sodden in water, and euery man had a canne of water euery day, with three romers of wine, and weekly each man three romers or glasses of oyle and that very strong, and nothing els.

The 20. we had a calme, the 21. a calme with a Northerne aire.

The 23. a good wind that blew Southwest.

The 24. we saw the firme lande of Æthiopia, being vnder 33. degrees, and as wee gessed, wee were then about an hundred miles from the Cape de bona Sperance, yet we thought we had been at the least three hundred miles from it, so that wee may say, that God wrought wonderfully for vs: for that if wee had fallen by night vpon the land, we had surely runne vpon it: wee had a good winde out of the West, and West Southwest.

The 25. of Aprill in the morning wee had a calme, with a very hollow water, & at euening we had a good winde, that came North and Northeast, and although wee had so good a wind yet our shippe bare but little sayle, although the other two shippes of our company were at the least two mile before vs, for most part of the night wee sayled with our schouer saile, holding our course Southwest & by West.

The 26. of Aprill in the morning we coulde not see our shippes, which pleased not our men, besides that our shippe was very weake, whereby her ribs shoke, and her ioynts with the force of the water opened and shut, so that as then our shippe was very leake, hauing the winde Northwest, holding our course as neere as wee could West Southwest, and then we put out our maine sayles, at noone the winde came West, with a great storme, so that most of our sayles blew in peeces, and so wee draue forward with out sayles.

The 27. of Aprill still driuing without sayle with a West winde, wee were vnder thirty six degrees, so that we found that the streame draue vs South & South West.

The 28. of Aprill still driuing without sailes, we had the height of 36. degrees and 20. minutes, and about euening we hoised saile againe, the winde being West Southwest, & we held our course Northwest with very hollow water.

The 29. of April we could not as yet see our shippes, the wind being West.

The 30. of Aprill we had fayre weather with a West and West South West wind, and then we saw many great birdes with white billes, which is a signe not to bee far from the Cape de bona Sperance, we likewise saw certain small birdes, speckled on their backes, and white vpon their breasts.

The first of May wee had a South winde with fayre weather, hauing 34 degrees and a halfe, holding our course West Southwest.

The seconde of May wee were vnder 35. degrees, and $\frac{1}{2}$. holding our course West and West and by North.

The fourth of May we found our selues to be vnder 37. degrees South South East winde, our course being West and by North, and West North West.

The 5. and 6. of May we had all one winde at noone being vnder 35. degrees, wee thought wee had past the Cape, and held our course Northwest, towards Saint Helena, still without sight of our ships.

The 8. of May with a South wind wee helde North West and by West.

The 9. we had a calme with a gray sky, and were vnder 31. degrees and twentie minutes, and then our portion of oyle was increased a glasse more euery weeke, so that euery man had foure glasses.

The 10. we had stil South winds, and were vnder 29. deg.

The 14. of May twice or thrice we saw reedes, called Trombos driuing on the water, being such as driue about the Cape de bona Speranza, which wee thought verie strange, for that the Portingals write, that they are seene but thirtie myles from the Cape, and wee gest our selues to be at the least 200. beyond it.

The 15. we still had a South East wind, & helde our course Northwest.

The 16. of May in the morning we saw two ships, whereat we much reioycd, thinking they had

had beene our companie, we made to leeward of them, and the smallest of them comming somewhat neere vs, about the length of the shotte of a great peece, shee made presently toward her fellow, whereby we perceiued them to bee Frenchmen, yet wee kept to leeward, thinking they would haue come & spoken with vs, but it should seeme they feared vs, and durst not come, but held their course Northeast; at noone we had the height of 22. degrees, and 50. minutes with a Southeast wind, holding our course Northwest.

The 17. of May wee were vnder 21. degrees and a halfe: the 18. the wind being Southerly, we were vnder 19. degrees and a halfe.

The 19. and 20. we had a calme with a Southern are.

The 21. the ayre comming Southwest, we held our course Northwest: and were vnder 17. degrees and 3. partes: There we found the compasse to decline three quarters of a strike or line North eastward, after noone we had a Southeast wind, and our course West Northwest.

The 22. of May we had still a Southeast winde, and were vnder the height of 16. degrees and 40. minutes, holding our course West Northwest.

The 23. of May, by reason of the cloudy sky, about noone we could not take the height of the Sunne, but as we gest we had the height of the Island of S. Helena, and held our course West and by South to keepe vnder that height, for there the compasses decline a whole strike or line: in the euening we found that we were vnder 16. degrees.

The 24. of May in the morning wee discovered a Portingall ship, that stayed for vs, and put out a flagge of truce, and because our flagge of truce was not so readie as theirs, and we hauing the wind of him, therefore he shot two shootes at vs, and put forth a flagge out of his maine top, and we shot 5. or 6. times at him, and so held on our course without speaking to him, hauing a South East winde, holding our course West and by South to find the Island of S. Helena, which the Portingall likewise sought.

*Foure Portingall
ships richly
laden.*

The 25. of May we discovered the Island of S. Helena, but we could not see the Portingall ship, still sayling with a stiffe Southeast wind, & about euening we were vnder the Island, which is very high lande, and may be scene at the least 14. or 15. miles off, and as we sayled about the North point, there lay three other great Portingall ships, we being not aboue half a mile from them, wherevpon wee helde in the weather and to seawarde Northeast as much as we might. The Portingalles perceyuing vs, the Admiral of their fleet shot off a peece to call their men that were on land to come aborde, and then wee saw foure of their shippes together, that were worth a great summe of money, at the least 300. tunnes of gold, for they were all laden with spices, precious stones, and other rich wares, and therefore wee durst not anker vnder the Island, but lay all night Northeastwarde, staying for our company.

The 26. of May in the morning wee made towards the Island againe, with a good Southeast winde, and about noone or somewhat past we discried two shippes, and about euening as we made towards them, we knew them to be our company, which made vs to reioice, for we had been asunder the space of a whole Month, & so we helde together and sayled homeward, holding our course Northwest: for as yet our men were well and in good health, and we found a good Southeast winde, and had water enough for foure or fise monthes.

*They past the
Equinoctiall line.*

The 27. 28. 29. and 30. of May wee had a Southeast winde, with faire weather, and the 27. day we were vnder 14. degrees. The first of Iune we were vnder 6. degrees, with a Southeast wind, holding our course North West, but by means of the Compasse that yeelded North eastward, we kept about Northwest & by North. The 6. of Iune wee were vnder one degree on the South side of the line, there wee founde that the streame draue vs fast into the West, and therefore wee helde our course more Northernly and sayled Northwest and by North, with an East and South East wind. The 7. of Iune wee past the Equinoctiall line, with an East wind, holding our course North Northwest.

The 10. of Iune in the euening we were vnder 5. degrees and a halfe on the North side of the line, and then we began again to see the North star, which for the space of 2. years we had not seene, holding our course North Northwest, there we began to haue smal blasts, & some times calmes, but the aire all South and Southeast.

The 11. of Iune we had a calme, and yet a darke sky, that came Southeastwarde.

The

The 12. of Iune wee had a close sky with raine, and the same day about euening our fore top maste fell downe.

The 13. we strake all our sailes and mended our ship.

The 14. we had the wind Northwest, holding our course West Northwest as neare as we could, but by reason of the thick sky wee could not take height of the Sun. The 15. of Iune we had the wind North, & North Northwest.

The 16. of Iune wee had the height of 9. degrees & 10. minutes, the winde being North-east and North Northeast. The 17. the winde was Northeast with fair weather, & we held Northwest, & Northwest & by North till after noone. The 18. we tooke a great fish called an Aluercoor, which serued vs all for 2. meales, which wee had not tasted of long time before.

They tooke a great fish.

The 26. we had still a Northeast winde, and sometimes larger, holding our course North Northwest with large saile, and were vnder 17. degrees and $\frac{1}{2}$.

The same day there came much dust flying into our shippe, as if we had past hard by some sandie downe, & we gest the nearest land to vs might be the Island of S. Anthony, and wee were as then at the least 40. or 50. miles from it: The same day likewise there came a flying fish into our shippe, which we eat.

The 28. of Iune wee had the height of 20. degrees, with a East Northeast wind & East and by West, with full sayle, there we saw much Sargosse, driuing on the water. The last of Iune we had the Sun right ouer our heades, and yet we felt no heat, for that by reason of the cold ayre we had a fine coole weather. The same day we passed Tropicus Cancrī, still hauing the winde East Northeast, and in the euening we were vnder 24. degr.

The second of Iuly we still saw Sargosse driuing vpon the water, & had the wind somewhat lower North Northeast with a calme. The thirde of Iuly the winde came againe East Northeast, and wee helde our course North and by West. The 8. of Iuly wee were vnder 33. degrees & $\frac{1}{2}$. with an East wind, holding our course North and by East, and yet we saw much Sargosse driuing, but not so thicke as it did before.

The 10. of Iuly we had a good wind that blew south and South and by East, and hoysted vp our maine tops, that for the space of 26. daies were neuer touched, and held our course North Northeast, there we were in no little feare to fall among the Spanish fleet, which at that time of the yeare keepeth about the Flemmish Islands.

The same day one of our boyes fell ouer bord, and was carried away with a swift streame before the wind, but to his great good fortune, the Pinace saued him, that was at the least a quarter of a mile from vs: this euening we found the height of 36. degrees.

The 12. of Iuly we had a Southwest wind, holding our course Northeast and by North: Our Pilot and the Pilot of the Pinnace differed a degree in the height of the Sunne, for ours had 38. degrees, and theirs but 37. We gest to be about the Islands of Corbo & Flores, but the one held more easterly, and the other more Westerly. The 13. of Iuly wee had still a Southwest winde, and after noone wee thought wee had seene land, but we were not assured thereof, for it was somewhat close. The 14. of Iuly we had a calme, and saw no land, and then our men began to be sicke.

The 17. of Iuly wee had a South Southeast winde, with faire weather, and were vnder 41. degrees, holding our course East Northeast.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. it was calme. The 22. of Iuly the winde came North, and wee helde our course East Southeast. The 23. of Iuly the wind was North North East and North-east, and we held as near as we could East & East Southeast, the same day our steward found a barrell of stockfish in the roming, which if we had beene at home we would haue cast it on the dunghil, it stunke so filthily, & yet we eat it as sauerly as the best meat in the world.

The 24. we had a West wind, & that with so strong a gale, that wee were forced to set two men at helme, which pleased vs well.

The 25. of Iuly we had a storme that blew West and West Northwest, so that we bare but two sailes, holding our course Northeast and by East.

The first of August we were vnder 45. degrees with a North West wind, holding our course Northeast and by East.

The

The second of August one of our men called Gerrit Cornelison of Spijkenes died, being the first man that dyed in our voyage homeward.

The 4. of August we had a Northwest wind.

The 5. of August in the morning the winde came Southwest, and we were vnder 47. degrees, holding our course Northeast and the North Northeast, and wee gest that wee were not farre from the channell, those dayes aforesaid we had so great colde in our shippes, as if it had beene in the middle of winter: We could not be warme with all the clothes wee had. The same day we saw Sargosse driue vpon the water.

They saw a
shippe with the
Prince of
Oranges flagge.

The 6. of August we had a West wind, in the morning we cast out our lead and found grounde at 80. fadome, and about noone we saw a shippe that bare the Princes flagge, yet durst not come neare vs, although we made signes vnto him, and after noone wee saw the land of Heissant, whereat we all reioyced.

The 7. of August in the morning we saw the land of Fraunce, and held our course North Northeast, and likewise we saw a small shippe, but spake not with it.

The 8. of August in the morning we saw the Kiskas, and had a South wind and somewhat West, holding our course East Northeast.

They saw a
man of war.

The 9. of August we entered the heades, and past them with a Southwest wind, sayling Northeast. After noone we past by a man of warre being a Hollander, that lay at anker, and hee hoysed anker to follow vs, about euening wee spake with him, but because of the wind wee coule hardly heare what hee said, yet hee sailed on with vs.

The man of war
gaue them vic-
tuales.

The 10. of August the man of warre borden vs with his boat, and brought vs a barrell of Beere, some bread and cheese, shewing vs what news he could touching the state of Holland, and presently wee sawe the land of Holland, & because it blew very stiffe & a great storme, after noone wee ankered about Petten to stay for better weather, and some new Pilots, & that was the first time we had cast anker for the space of 5. monthes together, about euening it beganne to blow so stiffe, that wee lost both an anker and a cable.

They cut down
their maine mast.

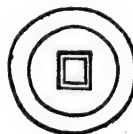
The 11. of August we had still a Southerly winde, & therefore about noone the Mauritius set saile, and wee thought likewise to saile, but our men were so weake that we could not hoysed vp our anker, so that we were constrained to lie still till men came out to helpe vs, about euening the winde came Southwest, and with so great a storme, that we thought to haue run vpon the strand, and were forced to cut downe our maine maste.

The 12. and 13. we had a hard South West wind, & sometimes West, so that no Pilots came aboard our ship, but the 13. day about euening it began to be faire weather.

The 14. of August about breake of day in the morning, there came two boats with Pilots and men aboard our ship, that were sent out by our owners, & brought vs some fresh victuales, which done they hoysed vp our ankers, and about noone we sayled into the Tessel, and ankered in the channell, where we had fresh victuales enough, for we were all very weake.

This was a great noueltie to all the Marchantes and inhabitantes of Hollande, for that wee went out from thence the second of April 1595. and returned home again vpon the 14. of August 1597. there you might haue bought of the Pepper, Nutmegs, Cloues, and Mace, which wee brought with vs. Our saylors were most part sicke, being but 80. men in all, two third partes of their company being dead, & lost by diuers accidentes, and among those foreshore such as were sicke, as soone as they were on land and at their ease presently recovered their healthes.

The Copper money of Iaua.



This

This Copper money commeth also out of China, & is almost as thicke, great and heavy, as a quarter of a Doller, and somewhat thicker, in the middle hauing a square hole, 2000. of them are worth a Riall of 8, but of these there are not ouer many, they vse to hang them vpon stringes, and pay them without telling, they stand not so narrowly vpon the number, for if they want but 25. or 50. it is nothing.

The leaden money of Iaua.



This peece of money (being of bad Leade is very rough) hath in the middle a foure square hole, they are hanged by two hundred vpon a string, they are commonly 10. 11. and 12. thousand to a Riall of 8. as there commeth great quantitie out of China, where they are made, and so as there is plentie or scarcitie they rise and fal.

FINIS.

A

TRUE REPORT

OF THE

GAINEFULL, PROSPEROUS AND SPEEDY VOIAGE

TO

I A U A

IN THE

EAST INDIES,

PERFORMED BY A FLEETE OF EIGHT SHIPS OF AMSTERDAM:

WHICH

SET FORTH FROM TEXELL IN HOLLAND,

THE FIRST OF MAIE 1598. STILO NOVO.

WHEREOF FOURE RETURNED AGAINE THE 19. OF IULY ANNO, 1599. IN LESSE
THEN 15. MONETHS, THE OTHER FOURE WENT FORWARD FROM IAUA
FOR THE MOLUCCAS.

At London;

PRINTED BY P. S. FOR W. ASPLEY, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT THE SIGNE OF THE TYGERS
HEAD IN PAULES CHURCH-YARD.

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A

TRUE REPORT

OF

THE GAINFULL, PROSPEROUS, AND SPEEDY VOIAGE TO

IAUA IN THE EAST INDIES,

PERFORMED BY A FLEET OF 8. SHIPS OF AMSTERDAM:

WHICH

SET FORTH FROM TEXELL IN HOLLAND THE FIRST OF MAIE 1598.

STILO NOVO.

WHEREOF FOURE RETURNED AGAINE THE 19. OF IULY ANNO 1599. IN LESSE THEN 15. MONETHS;
THE OTHER FOURE WENT FORWARD FROM IAUA FOR THE MOLUCCAS.

Whereas in the yeare of our Lord 1595. a certaine company of substantial merchants of Amsterdam in Holland did build and set forth for the East Indies four well appointed shippes, whereof three came home An. 1597. with small profit (as already in sundry languages is declared) Yet neuerthelesse the aforesaid company, in hope of better successe, made out the last yeare 1598. for a second voiage, a fleete of eight gallant ships, to wit, The shippe called the Mauritius, lately returned from that former voyage, being of burden two hundredth and thirty last, or foure hundredth and sixty tunnes, or thereabouts. This shippe was Admirall of the fleete. The Master wherof was Godevart Iohnson, the Commissarie or factor Cornelius Heemskerck, and the Pilot Kees Collen. ^{1. Mauritius.}

The second ship called the Amsterdam, was of the burden of four hundredth & sixty ^{2. Amsterdam.} tunns. The Master's name was Claes Iohnson Melcknap; The factor or commissarie Iacob Heemskerck.

The third was named Hollandia, about the burden of sixe hundredth tunns: which had like- ^{3. Hollandia.} wise been in the former voiage. The Master was Symon Lambertson or Mawe, the Factor Mast. Witte Nijn, who died in the voyage before Bantam, and in his roome succeeded Iohn Iohnson Smith.

The name of the fourth ship was Gelderland, of burden about foure hundredth ^{4. Gelderland.} tunns. Master wherof was Iohn Browne, factor or commissarie, Hans Hendrickson.

The fift was called Zeelandia, of the the burden of three hundredth & sixtie tunns. The ^{5. Zeelandia.} master was Iohn Cornelison, the Commissary or factor N. Brewer.

The sixt ship named Utrecht of the burden of two hundredth & sixtie tunns. The Master ^{6. Utrecht.} was Iohn Martsen, the Factor or commissary Adrian Veen.

The seuenth a pinnas called Frisland, of burden about seenty tunns. The Master Iacob ^{7. Frisland.} Cornelison, the Factor Walter Willekens.

S. Ouerijssel.

The eighth a pinnas that had been in the former voiage called the Pidgeon, now f Ouerijssel, of the burden of fifty tuns. The Master Symon Iohnson. The Factor Arent Hermanson.

Of this fleete was Generall and Admirall Master Iacob Neck. Viceadmirall Wybrand van Warwick: and Rereadmirall Iacob Heemskerck.

With this fleet of eight ships we made saile from Texell the first of May 1598. Stilo Nouo, being the 21. of Aprill, after the account of England, and sailed with good speed vnto the Cabo de bona Speranza: as further shal appeare by a Iournal annexed vnto the end of this discourse.

Being past the Cape, the 7. and 8. of August, by a storme of weather fise ships were separated from the Admirall, who afterwarde came together againe before Bantam.

They meete
with a ship of
Zeland.

The 26. of August with three shippes wee came within the view of Madagascar, and the 29. wee met with a ship of Zeeland, called the Long-barke, which had put to sea before vs, and now kept aloofe from us, supposing we were enemies: but at length perceiuing by our flagges what we were, they sent their Pinnas aboard vs, reioycing greatly to haue met with vs, because that diuers of their men were sicke, and ten were already dead: and they had in all but seuen men aboard the shippe that were meat-whole, and eleuen marriners to guide the shippe. Wee agreed to relieue them with some supplie of men: but through dar- nesse and great winde wee lost them againe.

The Isle of
Santa Maria.

After this, we the Admiral Mauritius, the Hollandia, & the pinnas Ouerijssel keeping together, came to the Island of Santa Maria, before the great bay of Antogil in Madagascar: where wee got a small quantity of Rice. We tooke the King prisoner, who paide for his ransome a Cow and a fat calfe.

In this Island we found no great commodity: for being the month of September, the season was not for any fruits: the Oranges had but flowers: Lemons were scant: of Sugar-canes and Hens there was some store, but the Inhabitants were not very forward in bringing them out.

Killing of the
Whale.

Heere wee sawe the hunting of the Whale, (a strange pastime) certaine Indians in a Canoa, or boate following a great Whale, and with a harping Iron, which they cast forth, piercing the whals body, which yron was fastned to a long rope made of the barks of trees, and so tied fast to their Canoa. All this while pricking and wounding the Whale so much as they could, they made him furiously to striue too and fro, swiftly swimming in the sea, plucking the canoa after him: sometimes tossing it vp and downe, as lightly as if it had been a strawe. The Indians in the meane time being cunning swimmers taking small care though they were cast ouerboord, tooke fast hold by the boat stil, and so after some continuance of this sport, the whale wearied and waxing faint, and staining the sea red with his bloud, they haled him toward the shore, and when they had gotten him so neare shore on the shallowe that the most part of him appeared aboue water, they drew him aland and hewed him in pieces, euery one taking thereof what pleased them, which was to vs a strange sight. It is reported that the Indians of Terra Florida vse the like fishing for the Whale. Our men might haue taken some part thereof, but refused it: the pieces thereof were so like larde or fat bacon.

The Bay of
Antogill.

From thence we made toward the great Bay of Antogill and anchored vnder the Island, where wee tooke in fresh water.

Our Indians that were brought from thence by them of the former voiage (the names of whome were Madagascar the one, and the other Laurence) wee offered to set there on land, but they refused, chusing rather to tarry with vs and to be apparelled, then to go naked in their owne countrey: working and moyling for a miserable liuing, opposing their bare skins to the vehemency of the sunne and weather: and their excuse was, that in that place they were strangers and had none acquaintance.

How long their
beere continued
good.

Our beere continued good vntill we were passed the Cape de bona speranza: from thence we began to mingle it with water hauing a portion of wine allowed vs twice a day, and this allowance continued vntill our returne into Holland.

We

We went with our boates vp the riuer seeking refreshing: but the Inhabitants gaue vs to vnderstand by signes that wee might returne, for there was nothing to be had. Wee rowed into the riuer about three leagues, and found their report to bee true. The cause was, that the Kings made warre there one against an other, and so all the victuals were in manner destroyed, insomuch that the Inhabitants themselues many of them perished for hunger, and in one of these battailes one of their Kings was lately slaine. Wherefore after fūe daies abode and no longer, we departed, & in Gods name made to sea again, directing our course the sixteenth of September for Iaua. About the nineteenth of Nouember we came within sight of Sumatra, and the 26. of the same moneth 1598. wee in the three shippes aforesaid, to wit, the Mauritius, our Admirall, the Hollandia, and the Ouerissell, arriued before the city of Bantam in Iaua. Presently vpon this our arriual, our Admirall and Generall Master Jacob van Neck, sought with all friendship to traffique with the people of the saide towne of Bantam, sending Master Cornelis Heemskerck on land to shew them what we were, for they thought vs to be the very same men that had been there the yeare before, and al that while guarded the sea cost, as being assuredly persuaded that we were pirates and sea rousers. But we, to make them vnderstand the contrary, sent on lande one Abdoll of China, a captiue of theirs, whom we brought from them in our first voyage; by whose meanes we got audience and credite: and so we presented our gifts and presents to the King, which was but a childe: and the chiefe gouernour called Cephat, hauing the kingly authority, most thankfully receiued the same in the name of his King. The said presents were a faire couered cup of siluer and gilt, certaine veluets and clothes of silke, with very fine drinking glasses, and excellent looking glasses, and such other gifts more. Likewise we presented our letters sealed very costly with the great seale of the noble & mighty lords the Estates generall of the united Prouinces, and of Prince Mauritz, whome they termed their Prince. Which letters were by them receiued with great reuerence, creeping vpon their knees: and (the same being well perused, read and examined) they found thereby our honest intent and determination for traffike: insomuch that a mutuall league of friendship and alliance was concluded, and we were freely licensed to trade and traffike in such wise, that euen the fourth day of our arriual we began to lade; and within foure or fūe weekes all our foure ships hauing taken in their full freight, were ready to depart.

When our three shippes aforesaid had remained there welnigh a moneth, about Newyears-tide arriued the other fūe shippes of our company before mentioned in very good manner, and well conditioned. And so our whole fleete of eight ships ioyfully met together, and had none or very fewe sicke persons among them, hauing lost by death in the whole fleete but 35. men in all, of which number some perished through their owne negligence. Vpon this happy meeting wee displaied our flags, streamers and ensignes after the brauest manner, honouring and greeting one another with volleies of shot, making good cheere, and (which was no small matter) growing more deeply in fauour with the townsmen of Bantam. Vnto vs were daily brought aboard in Prauwes or Indian boats great quantity of hens, eggs, Cocos, bonanos, sugar-canes, cakes, made of rice, and a certaine kinde of good drinke which is there made by the men of China. Thus the people daily bartered with vs for pewter and other wares, giuing so much victuals for a pewter spoone, as might well suffice one man for an whole weeke. Wee trucked likewise for diuers other things, as for porcellan dishes and such like. Howbeit, that which our Indian Abdoll declared (namely, that more ships were comming besides the three aforesaid, and that others beside them also were sent out of Zeland) little tended to our commodity: for thereupon the Iauans tooke occasion to inhance the price of their pepper, insomuch that we were forced to pay for 55. pounds of pepper first three, and afterward four Reals of eight: neither did they demaund or call for any thing so much as for the said Reals of eight. Mercery or haberdashers wares were in no such request as money. Also we much marueiled, how the Iauans should tell vs of more shippes to come, making signes with their foure fingers and thumb, that foure Lyma (which word in their language signifieth shippes) were comming.

And here you are to vnderstand, that our Generall Master Van Neck, together with the commis-

They arriue at
Bantam.

They present
their letters and
gifts.

Trade licensed.

The whole
fleet meet before
Bantam.

The price of
pepper inhanced.

Four ships
laden.

Their departure
from Iaus the
13. of January
1599.

Sasemolonke a
notable mar-
chant of Ban-
tam.

The four other
ships sent to the
Moluccas.

commissaries or factors, thought good, besides the three forsaide ships that came first, to lade one other, to wit, the greater pinnasse called Frisland, whereof was Master Iacob Cornelison, and factor Walter Willekens. These foure ships hauing receiued their ful freight, and giuen notice on land of their departure (to the end that none of their creditours might bee vnpaid) and also hauing well prouided themselves of rice and water, departed the thirteenth of Ianuary 1599. and sayled to Sumatra, where they tooke in fresh water; for that the water of Bantam first waxeth white, and afterward crawleth full of magots.

Vpon the land of Sumatra we bartered kniues, spoones, looking-glasses, bels, needles and such like, for sundry fruits, to wit, melons, cucumbers, onions, garlike, and pepper though little in quantity, yet exceeding good.

We had to deale with a notable Merchant of Bantam, named Sasemolonke, whose father was a Castilian, which sold vs not much lesse then an hundreth last of pepper. He was most desirous to haue traueiled with vs into Holland: but misdoubting the displeasure and euil will of the king, and fearing least his goods might haue bin confiscated, he durst not aduenture vpon the voiage.

Certaine daies before our departure from Bantam were the other foure shippes dispatched to go for the Moluccas, and ouer them was appointed as Admirall and Generall Master Wybrant van Warwicke in the shippe called Amsterdam, & Iacob Heemskerck Viceadmirall in the shippe Gelderland, the other two shippes in consort with them being Zeland and Vtrecht before mentioned.

These foure made saile towards the Moluccas, and parted from vs the 8. of Ianuary in the night, and in taking of our leaues both of vs together, made such a terrible thundering noise with our ordinance, that the townsmen were vp in alarme, vntill they knewe the reason thereof. The people were glad of their departure, hauing some mistrust of vs, remaining there so strong with 8. ships. And they asked daily when wee should depart, making great speed to help vs vnto our lading, and shewing themselves most seruiceable vnto vs.

The 11. of Ianuary 1599. we in the foure shippes laden with pepper departed from Bantam homeward. The 13. we arriued at Sumatra. The 19. we shaped our course directly for Holland. The 3. of April we had sight of Capo de buona speranza. The 8. of Aprill we doubled the said Cape, proceeding on for the Isle of Saint Helena, whither we came the twenty sixt of the same moneth, and there refreshed our selues for the space of eight daies.

In this Island we found a church with certaine bootes or tents in it, and the image of Saint Helena, as likewise a holy water fat, and a sprinckle to cast or sprinckle $\frac{1}{2}$ holy water: but we left all things in as good order as we found them.

Moreouer here we left behinde vs some remembrances in writing, in token of our being there. At this place died of the bloody flixe, the Pilot of our Admirall Kees Collen of Munickendam, a worthy man, to our great grieve.

This Island (as Iohn Huighen van Linschotten describeth it) is replenished with manifold commodities, as namely with goates, wilde swine, Turkies, partriges, pidgeons, &c. But by reason that those which arriue there vse to discharge their ordinance, and to hunt and pursue the saide beastes and fowles, they are now growen exceeding wilde and hard to be come by. Certaine goates whereat we shotte fled vp to the high cliffes, so that it was impossible to get them. Likewise fishes wee could not catch so many as wee needed; but wee tooke in fresh water enough to serue vs till our arriuall in Holland.

A man left on
land at Saint
Helena.

Here we left on land as a man banished out of our society, one Peter Gisbrecht the masters mate of the great pinnasse, because hee had stroken the Master.

Very penitent hee was and sorie for his misdemeanour, and all of vs did our best endeour to obtain his pardon: but (the orders and ordinances whereunto our whole company was sworne being read before vs) we were constrained to surcease our importunate suit, and he for the example of others to vndergo the seuerer doome that was allotted him.

There was deliuered vnto him a certaine quantity of bread, oile, and rice, with hookes and instruments to fish withall, as also a hand gun and gunpowder.

Hereupon we bad him generally farewell, beseeching God to keepe and preserue him from

from misfortunes, and hoping that at some one time or other he should finde deliuerance; for that all shippes sailing to the West Indies must there of necessity refresh themselves.

Not far from this place we descried a saile which wee iudged to be some Frenchman, by whom peraduenture the saide banished party might bee deliuered.

The fourth of May we set saile from Saint Helena, and the tenth of the same moneth wee passed by the Isle of Ascension. The 17. day wee passed the line. The 21. we sawe the Pole-starre. The 10. and 11. of Iune we had sight of the Canaries. About the Azores wee stood in feare to meete with some Spanish Armada, because our men were growen faint and feeble by reason of their long voiage. The 27. of Iune we entered the Spanish sea. The 29. we found our selues to be in fortie foure degrees of northerly latitude. The 6. of Iuly our Admirall f Mauritijs had two of his mastes blowne ouerboord; for which cause we were constrained to towne him along. The 11. of Iuly wee passed the Sorlings. The 13. we sayled by Falmouth, Dartmouth, and the Quasquets. The 17. we passed by Douer. The 19. meeting with some stormes and rainy weather we arriued at Texell in our owne native country, without any great misfortune, saue that the Mauritius once stroke on ground.

Thus having attained to our wished home, we gaue God thanks for this our so happy and prosperous voiage: because there neuer arriued in Holland any shippes so richly laden.

Of pepper we brought eight hundreth tunnes, of Cloues two hundreth, besides great quantity of Mace, Nutmegs, Cinamom, and other principall commodities. To conclude this voiage was performed in one yeare, two monethes, and nineteene daies.

We were sailing outward from Texell to Bantam seuen moneths, we remained there sixe weekes to take in our lading, and in six moneths we returned from Bantam in Iaua to Holland.

The performance of this long and dangerous voiage in so short time we ascribed to Gods deuine & wonderfull providence, hauing sailed at the least 8000. leagues, that is to say, twenty four thousand English miles.

The ioye of the safe arriual of these shippes in Holland was exceeding great: and postes were dispatched to euery principall towne and city to publish these acceptable newes.

The merchants that were owners of these ships went straight toward Texell for the refreshing of their men, and for other necessary considerations. The Commissary or Factor master Cornelis Heemskerck together with Cornelis Knick, hied them with all speed towardes the Estates generall and prince Mauritz his excellency, not onely to carry the saide good newes, but withal to present the letters of the King of Iaua importing mutuall alliance, friendship and free intercourse of traffike in consideration of their honourable, liberal, and iust dealings: they brought gifts also from the said King of great price and value.

The 27. of Iuly the Mauritius our Admirall together with the Hollandia came before Amsterdam: where they were ioyfully saluted with the sound of eight trumpettes, with banqueting, with ringing of bells, and with peales of ordinance, the Generall and other men of command being honourably receiued and welcommed by the city.

The merchants that aduentured in these voyages being in number sixteene or seauenteene (notwithstanding the foure shippes gone from Iaua to the Moluccas, as is before mentioned) haue sent this last spring 1599. foure ships more to continue this their traffique so happily begun: intending moreouer the next spring to send a newe supply of other ships. And diuers other Marchants are likewise determined to enter into the same action.

Of them that departed from Zeland these bring no newes, otherwise then is aforesaide. Neither doe they report any thing of the two fleetes or companies, that went from Rotterdam the last sommer 1598. shaping their course for the streites of Magellan.

Wee haue before made mention of an Indian called Abdoll, which was brought from Bantam in the first voiage, and had continued an whole winter or some eight monethes at Amsterdam in Holland.

Where during that space (being a man of good obseruation and experience, and borne about China) hee was well entreated, cherished, and much made of.

This Abdoll vpon his returne to Iaua being demanded concerning the state of the Netherlands,

The Isle of Ascension.

The particulars of their rich lading.

Friendly letters and presents from the King of Iaua.

A new supply of foure Hollandish ships sent this last spring 1599. to the East Indies.

An intent of the marchants of Amsterdam to send more ships the next spring 1600.

The relation of Abdoll an In-

dian, concerning
the Netherlands.

therlands, made vnto the principall men of Bantam a full declaration thereof, with all the rarities and singularities which he had there scene and obserued.

Which albeit to the greatest part of readers, who haue trauailed those countries may seeme nothing strange, and scarce worthy the relation: yet because the report was made by so meere a stranger, & with the Iauans that heard it wrought so good effect, I thought it not altogether impertinent here in this place to make rehearsall thereof.

First therefore he tolde them (to their great admiration in that hoat climate) That hee had scene aboue a thousand sleds drawen, and great numbers of horsemen riding vpon the frozen water in winter time, and that he had beheld more then two hundred thousand people trauailing on foote and on horseback vpon the yce, as likewise that the said sleds were by horses drawen so swiftly, that they made more way in three houres than any man could go on foote in tenne. And also that himselfe for pleasure had beene so drawen, the horses being brauely adorned with bells and cymbals.

Howbeit they would hardly be induced to beleeeue that those countries should be so extremely colde, and the waters so mightily frozen, as to beare such an huge waight.

Hee tolde them moreouer, that Holland was a free countrey, and that euery man there was his owne Master, and that there was not one slaue or captiue in the whole land.

Moreouer, that the houses, in regarde of their beautifull and lofty building, resembled stately pallaces, their inward rich furniture being altogether answerable to their outward glorious shew.

Also, that the Churches (which he called Mesquitas) were of such bignes and capacity, as they might receiue the people of any pretie towne.

He affirmed likewise, that the Hollanders with the assistance of their confederates and friendes, maintained warres against the King of Spaine, whose mighty puissance is feared and redoubted of all the potentates of Europa.

And albeit the said warres had continued aboue thirty yeares, yet that during all that time the saide Hollanders increased both in might & wealth.

In like sort he informed them of the strange situation of Holland, as being a countrey driuing vpon the water, the earth or ground whereof, they vse instead of fewell, and that he had oft times warmed himselfe, and had scene meat dressed with fires made of the same earth.

In briefe, that it was a waterish and fenny countrey, and full of riuers, chanelles, and ditches, and that therein was an innumerable multitude of boates and small shippes, as likewise great store of tall and seruiceable ships, wherewith they sailed vnto all quarters of the world, etc.

This man Abdoll wee found to bee a captiue or slaue, and sawe there his wife and children in very poore estate dwelling in a little cottage not so bigge as an hogsty: but by oure meanes he was made free and well rewarded.

Notwithstanding he did but euil recompence vs: for he was charged to be the cause why pepper was solde dearer then ordinary vnto vs by a penny in the pounce: for hee told them that certaine shippes of Zeland and of other places were comming thitherwardes.

The Portugals
go about to hin-
der the trade of
the Hollanders.

And here the reader is to vnderstand, that some foure moneths before the said three ships arriued at Bantam, the Portugales came with an Armada of gallies and fustes, being set forth by the Viceroy of Goa and the gouernour of Molucca, to intercept the traffique of the Hollanders vnto those partes, and to make them loose all their expenses, labour, and time which they had bestowed: and also that their great and rich presentes which they gaue vnto the Iauans the yeare before, to bring them into vtter detestation of the Hollanders, might not be altogether in vaine.

The Generall of them that came from Goa was Don Luis, and of those that came from Molucca Don Emanuell: who brought their Armada before Bantam, intending to surprize the city, vnder pretence that the same preparation was made to resist certaine pirates that came thither out of Holland the last yeare, and were determined this yeare also to come againe. Vnder these colours they sought to take the towne and to fortifie the same, & they

they built certaine sconces in the countrey, committing great outrages, rauishing the Women, with many other villanies. Hereupon the townsemen of Bantam very secretly provided certaine gallies and fustes in great hast, and sodainly assailed the Portugales before they were well aware of them: for which cause finding but small resistance, they tooke 3. Portugale gallies with certaine shippes, and slewe about 300. of them, taking 150 Portugales prisoners, of which we daily saw some going vp & downe the streetes of Bantam like slaues and captiues. Besides these they tooke about 500. galli-slaues prisoners.

The Portugals
vanquished.

Vpon this hard successe the rest of the Portugals betooke themselves to flight: but whether they bee arriued at Goa or Molucca, or what is become of them since, we are not able to auouch. The foresaid attempt and ouerthrowe, bred greater enmity betweene the Portugales and them of Bantam, and gaue an especiall occasion for the aduancement of our traffique.

The fiue ships (whereof we haue before signified that foure were dispatched by the whole companie for the Moluccas) being seuered beyonde the Cape of Buona Speranza from the other three of their company, and hauing quite lost them, came all of them shortly after vnder an Island called (as it is thought) by the Portugals Isola de Don Galopes: but they named it the Island of Mauritius. Here they entered into an hauen, calling the same Warwickke, after the name of their Viceadmirall, wherin they found very good harborow in twenty degrees of southerly latitude.

The course
which the fiue
ships tooke after
they were sepa-
rated from their
three consorts
about the Cape
of buona espe-
ranza.

This Island being situate to the East of Madagascar, and containing as much in compasse as all Holland, is a very high, goodly and pleasant land, full of green & fruitfull vallies, and replenished with Palmito-trees, from the which droppeth holesome wine. Likewise here are very many trees of right Ebenwood as black as iet, and as smooth & hard as the very Iuory: and the quantity of this wood is so exceeding, that many ships may be laden herewith.

The Isle of
Mauritius de-
scribed.

Great store of
Ebenwood.

For to saile into this hauen you must bring the two highest mountaines one ouer the other, leauing sixe small Islands on your right hand, and so you may enter in vpon 30. fadomes of water. Lying win the bay, they had 10. 12. & 14. fadoms. On their left hād was a litle Island which they named Hemskerk Island, and the bay it selfe they called Warwick bay, as is before mentioned. Here they taried 12. daies to refresh themselves, finding in this place great quantity of foules twise as bigge as swans, which they called Walghstocks or Wallowbirdes being very good meat. But finding also abundance of pidgeons & popiniayes, they disdained any more to eat of those great foules, calling them (as before) Wallowbirds, that is to say, lothsome or fulsome birdes.

Of the said Pidgeons and Popiniayes they found great plenty being very fat and good meate, which they could easily take and kil euen with little stickes: so tame they are by reason y^e the Isle is not inhabited, neither be the liuing creatures therein accustomed to the sight of men.

Here they found rauens also, and such abundance of fish, that two men were able to catch enough for all fiue ships.

Tortoises they founde so huge, that tenne men might sit and dine in one of their shelles, and one of them would creepe away, while two men stood vpon the backe thereof.

Huge Tortoises.

Here was founde waxe also whiter then any of ours, lying about the strande, bleached (as it is like) by the sunne: and in some of this waxe there were Arabian letters or characters printed: wherby it is probable, that some Arabian ship might bee cast away thereabout, out of which the said waxe might be driuen on land.

They found likewise Corall on this land, and many trees which we call Palmitos, whereout droppeth wine as out of the Coco-tree: which wine being kept hath his operation as our new prest wine, but after some time it commeth vnto the ful vertue and perfection.

Corall.
Palmitos.

The said Palmitos they esteemed to bee a kinde of wilde date-trees.

We sought all the Island ouer for men, but could find none, for that it was wholly destitute of Inhabitants.

Vpon this Island we built an house with a pulpit therein, and left behind vs certaine writings

writings as a token and remembrance of our being there, and vpon the pulpit we left a Bible and a psalter lying.

A good watering
place.

Thus after 12. daies aboard at this Island, being well refreshed, they tooke in excellent fresh water being easie to get, and very sweet and sauory to drinke, and then set saile, meeting the three other ships their consorts at the time and place before mentioned.

A briefe description of the voiage before handled, in manner of a Iournall.

MAIE.

The first of Maie 1598. with the eight shippes before mentioned, we set saile in the name of God from Texell in Holland.

The third of May we passed along the coast of England, descrying some of her Maiesties ships, and they vs, whom we honoured with discharge of our artillery.

The fourteenth, we had sight of the Isle of Porto Santo lying in thirty two degrees.

The sixteenth, wee came within sight of the Canaries.

The twenty two, we first saw flying fishes.

The twenty three, we passed by the Isle Dell Sall.

The thirty one, we had a great storme, so that we lost sight one of another: but by night we came together againe.

IVNE.

The eighth of Iune wee crossed the Equinoctiall line.

The twenty foure wee sayled by the sholdes of Brasile lying vnder eighteene degrees of Southerly Latitude.

IVLIE.

The twenty one of Iuly we got to the height of the Cape of buona esperanza.

From the thirtieth of Iuly till the second of August, we continually sayled in sight of the land of the foresaid Cape.

AVGUST.

The seuenth and eighth of August wee had such foule and stormy weather, that five ships of our company were separated from vs, whom we saw no more vntill they came to vs before Bantam.

The twenty sixt we descryed the Island of Madagascar.

The twenty nine came by us the ship called the Long barke of Zeland, hauing in her but nine sound men, tenne dead, and the rest all sicke: but the same night we lost the sight of her againe.

SEPTEMBER.

The seauenth of September, we came before the Island of Santa Maria, and afterward wee put into the great bay of Antogill.

The sixteenth of September, wee set saile from thence, directing our course for Iaua.

OCTOBER.

The first of October, wee got to the heighth of Bantam.

The fifteenth, died the first man in our Admirall.

NOVEMBER.

The nineteenth of Nouember, we came within sight of Sumatra.

The twenty ninth, wee road before the citty of Bantam: And the thirtieth, we payed our toll to the gouernour.

AND

IANVARIE.

ANd vpon Newyeares daie 1599. Stilo Nouo, we began to take in our lading.

Then came vnto vs before Bantam, with great ioie and triumph, our fiue separated shippes, all the people standing vpon the shore gazing, and suspecting some harme intended against them.

The eighth of Ianuary, foure of the said 5. newcome shippes (God send them a prosperous voyage) set saile toward the Moluccas.

Moreouer our foure shippes being well and richly laden at Bantam made saile homewarde the eleuenth of Ianuary, and the thirteenth, wee were shot as farre as the Isles of Sumatra.

The nineteenth, we proceeded thence on our voiage, and the same day, to the great grieffe of vs all died the Pilot of our Admirall.

APRILL.

THE third of Aprill, we descried the land of Capo de buona esperanza.

The eighth, wee doubled the same Cape, thence shaping our course for the Island of Saint Helena, where the twenty sixt we happily arriued, and departed from thence vpon the fourth of Maie.

MAIE.

THE tenth of Maie, wee sailed by the Isle of Ascension.

The seauenteenth, we passed the Equinoctiall line.

The twenty one, we saw the North starre.

IUNE.

THE ninth and tenth of Iune, we had sight of the Canaries.

The twenty seauen, wee sayled vpon the Spanish Sea.

The twenty nine, we were in fortie four degrees.

IULIE.

THE fourth of Iuly, we saw behind vs two sailes, one before the other, which were the first that we had seene of a long time.

The sixt of Iuly our Admirall had both his foremast and maine-mast blowne ouer board.

The eleuenth, we passed the Sorlings, the thirteenth, Falmouth, Plimmouth and the Quasquets.

The seauenteenth, we came before Douer.

The nineteenth, wee had foule and stormy weather, at what time by Gods good blessing wee arriued in our natieue countrey at Texell in Holland, hauing performed in the short space of one yeare, two moneths and nineteene daies, almost as long a voiage, as if we should haue compassed the globe of the earth, and bringing home with vs our full freight of rich and gainfull Marchandize.

FINIS.

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NEWES

FROM THE

EAST INDIES:

OR A

VOYAGE TO BENGALLA,

ONE OF THE GREATEST KINGDOMES UNDER THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE
PEDESHA SHASSALLEM,

USUALLY CALLED

THE GREAT MOGULL.

WITH THE

STATE AND MAGNIFICENCE OF THE COURT OF MALCANDY, KEPT BY THE NABOB
VICEROY, OR VICE-KING UNDER THE AFORESAYD MONARCH:

ALSO THEIR

DETESTABLE RELIGION, MAD AND FOOPISH RITES, AND CEREMONIES, AND WICKED
SACRIFICES AND IMPIOUS CUSTOMES USED IN THOSE PARTS.

WRITTEN BY WILLIAM BRUTON

NOW RESIDENT IN THE PARISH OF S. SAVIOURS SOUTHWARK,

WHO WAS AN EYE AND EARE WITNESSE OF THESE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTIONS; AND
PUBLISHED AS HE COLLECTED THEM BEING RESIDENT THERE DIVERS YEARES:

AND

NOW LATELY COME HOME IN THE GOOD SHIP CALLED THE HOPEWEL OF LONDON:

WITH

DIVERS MERCHANTS OF GOOD ACCOUNT

WHICH

ARE ABLE TO TESTIFIE THE SAME FOR TRUTH.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY I. OKES,

AND ARE TO BE SOLD BY HUMPHREY BLUNDEN AT HIS SHOP IN CORNE-HILL AT THE SIGNE OF THE
CASTLE NEERE THE ROYALL EXCHANGE 1698.

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RARE AND MOST STRANGE RELATION

FROM

BENGALLA IN THE EAST INDIES,

BEING

ONE OF THE GREATEST KINGDOMES UNDER THE GREAT MOGULL,

AND

OF THEIR LAWES, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMES &c.

Although diuers learned, painefull, and skilfull Mathematicians and Geographers haue with great industry spent much profitable Time, in finding out the circumference of the Terrestrial Globe, in describing Empires, Kingdomes, Principalities, Lordships, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Variations of Climates & Scituations, with the diuersities of Dispositions, of Tongues, Religions, Habits, Manners, Lawes, and Customes of sundry Nations: Though much labour, perill, and Cost hath beene worthily imploy'd by Pliny the Second, Ortellius, Iodoco Hondius; or (to come nearer) to our English Worthies, such as are described in the Booke of Hacklewicks Voyages, namely, Windham, Chancelour, Grinville Willouby, Drake, Cauendish, Gilbert, Chidly, Frobusher, Clifford, Sidney, Deuoreux, Wingfield; as also the exceeding paines taken by Mr. Samuel Purchase, and the Learned and Renowned Knight Sir Walter Rawleigh in their descriptions of the whole World, not forgetting the perills that Mr. Sands passed in his tedious Trauells, with his exact Relations and Descriptions: With Atlas new Imprinted (a rare Worke) and lastly, William Lithgow deserues a kind Remembrance of his nineteene yeeres sore and dangerous Trauells of his feete & pen, worthy your obseruation and Reading.

But all these Authors and Actors both of History and Trauell, did neuer discouer all, but still (out of their plentifull Haruests of Obseruations) they left some Gleanings for those that came after them to gather. For the manifestation whereof in this following discourse, I haue tyed and bound myselfe to speake onely Truth, though it seeme incredulous or Hyperbolicall; and if I should any way sway or stray from the Truth, there are liuing men of good Fame, Worth and Estimation, who are able & ready to disproue me.

Therefore briefly to the matter in hand; I William Bruton was shipp'd as a Quartermaster, from the Port of London, to serue in the good Ship called the Hope-well, of the Burthen of 240 Tunnes. To relate our long & tedious passage by Sea, and our arriuell at euery Port
and

and Haue were but little to the purpose, & would more tire than delight my Reader: Therefore to begin, that after my Arriual in those parts, & in my seruices and passages there fore the space of 7 yeeres, I obserued many things, and put them in writing; but afterwards I came to know that the same things had beene discover'd and described formerly by more sufficient & able men of Capacity than my selfe, I thought good to keep them to my selfe, and discover nothing but that which before was not so fully or scarce knowne as I shall now decypher them.

The 22. of March, 1632. I being in the Countrey of Cormandell with sixe Englishmen more at a place called Massalupatam, (a great Towne of Merchandize) Master Iohn Noris, the Agent there, was resolved to send two Merchants into Bengalla, for the settling of a Factory there, and these sixe Englishmen (of the which I was one) were to goe with the Merchants, and withall to carry a present from the Agent to the Nabob, (or King) of that Countrey, to obtaine the Promises that formerly hee had granted to the English for Traffick, & to be Custome free in those of his Dominions and Ports. Wherefore a Iunke was hired at Massalupatam to be our Conuoy; the said Iunke did belong vnto those parts & the Names of the Englishmen that were appointed for that Voyage, were Mr. Ralph Cartwright Merchant, Mr. Thomas Colley second, William Bruton, Iohn Dobson, Edward Peteford, Iohn Bassley, Iohn Ward, & William Withall.

Though we hired the aforesaid Iunke, March 22. yet it was the 6. of Aprill following before we could be fitted to depart from Massalupatam, and in much various Weather with many difficulties and dangers, (which to relate here, would be tedious & impertinent to my intended discourse) the 21. of Aprill, being then Easter-day, we were at Anchor in a Bay before a Towne called Harssapooore: It is a place of good strength, with whom our Merchants doe hold commerce with correspondency. This 21. day in the morning, Mr. Ralph Cartwright sent the Moneys a shore to the Gouvernour of Harssapooore, to take it into his safe keeping & protection till such time as he came a shore himselfe. So presently there came a Portugall Friggat fiercely in hostility towards vs, but we made ready for their entertainment, & fitted ourselues & the Vessel for our best defences: but at last they steered off from us, & vpon our command shee came to an Anchor somewhat neare vs, & the Master of her came aboard of vs, who being examined whence he came, & whither he was bound to which demands he answer'd nothing worthy of beleefe, as the sequel shewed; for hee seem'd a friendly Trader, but was indeed a false Inuader, (where opportunity and power might helpe and preuaile) for on the 22. day Mr. Cartwright went a shore to the Gouvernour of Harssapooore, & on the 24. day the said Master of the Frigat (with the Assistance of some of the ribble rabble Rascalls of the Towne) did set vpon Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Colley, where our men (being oprest by multitudes) had like to haue beene all slaine or spoyld, but that (Lucklip) the Roger (or Vice King there) rescued them with 200. men.

In this fray Mr. Colley was sore hurt in one of his hands, and one of our men much wounded in the legge and head; their Nockado or India Pilot was stab'd in the Groyne twice, and much mischief was done, & more pretended, but by Gods helpe all was pacified.

The 27. of April we three tooke leaue of the Gouvernour, and Towne of Hassarpooore, (I meane three of vs) namely, Mr. Cartwright, William Bruton, and Iohn Dobson; leauing Mr. Colley & the other foure men with him, till newes could be sent backe to them from the Nabobs Court, at Cutteke or Malcander, of our succeesse and proceedings there with our other goods, for he is no wise Merchant, that ventures too much in one bottome, or that is too credulous to trust Mahometanes or Infidels.

And hauing laden our small Boats with the goods (which were Gold, Siluer, Cloth and Spices, of which Spices those parts of India, are wanting, and they almost are as deare there as in England) we passed some two Leagues and halfe by Water, & after that, the said goods was carried by land in Carts, till wee came to a great Towne called Balkkada, but it was more than three houres after Sunne-setting, or late before we came thither.

The 28. of April in the morning, the Gouvernour of this Towne came & saluted our Merchant, & promised him that whatsoeuer was in his power to doe him any friendly courtesie, he

he should command it; and indeed he was euery way as good as his word; for hee lent vs Horses to ride on, and Cowlers (which are Porters) to carry our goods, for at this Towne the Carts did leaue vs, & our goods were carried on Mens shoulders: then we set forwards, being accompanied by the Gouvernour, with his Musicke, which were Shalmes, & Pipes of sundry formes, much after the formes of Waits or Hoboyes, on which they play most delicately out of Tune, Time & Measure. In this manner the Gouvernour, with a great number of People did bring vs about halfe an English Mile out of the Towne, where he courteously tooke his leaue of vs, but yet he sent his seruants with vs as guides, & that they might bring his Horses back to him that he lent vnto vs.

This towne of Balkkada, is a strong & spacious thing, very populous: There are many Weauers in it, & it yeeldeth much of that Countrey fashion Cloath. This day, about the houres of betweene eleuen & twelue of the Clocke it was so extreame hot that we could not trauell, & the winde did blow with such a souldering scalding heat, as if it had come forth of an Ouen or Furnace, such a suffocating fume, did I neuer feele before or since; and here we were forced to stay neare three houres, till the Sunne was declined, we hauing happily got vnder the shadow of the branches of a great Tree all that time. Then we set forward for the Towne of Harharrapoore: which in the space of two houres, or a little more, wee drew neare vnto: so we stay'd awhile till our carriages were come vp together vnto vs; which done, there met vs a man, who told vs that his Master staid our comming, then we speedily prepared ourselues for the meeting of so high esteem'd a person: & when we came to the Townes end, there did meet vs at a great Pogodo or Pagod, which is a famous & sumptuous Temple (or Church) for their Idolatrous seruice & worship there vsed, & iust against that stately & magnificent building, we were entertained & welcomed by one of the Kings greatest Noblemen, & his most deare and chiefeest fauourite, who had a Letter from the King his Master, & was sent from him to meete vs & conduct vs to his Court. The Noble mans name was Mersymoineine. He did receiue vs very kindly, & made vs a very great feast or costly colation before supper, which being done we departed for our Sirray, (or Inne) where we lay all night with our goods: but Mersymoineine staid with his followers & seruants in his & their tents at the Pagod.

The 29. day of April wee staid at Harharrapoore, & visited this great man, but the greatest cause of our staying, was by reason that the Nockador (or Pilot) of the Frigget, whose men did affront & hurt some of our men at Harssapoore, for which cause the Frigget was staid there, & the Pilot of her came to this great man, thinking by gifts to cleare his Vessell, (the which he thought to make prise of) but he would not be allured by such rewards or promises; but told him that he must appeare before the Nabob, & seeke to cleare himselfe there.

The 30. of April we set forward in the Morning for the City of Coteke (it is a City of seuen miles in compasse, & it standeth a mile from Malcandy, where the Court is kept) but Master Cartwright staide behinde, & came after vs, accompanied with the said Noble man: We went all the day on our iourney till the Sun went downe, & then we staid for our Merchant, being eight English Miles from Coteke, & about twelue or one of clocke at night they came where wee were: so we hasted & suddainly got all our things in readinesse, & went along with them, & about the time of three or foure of clocke in the Morning we came to the house of this Mersymoineine at Coteke, being May day.

Here we were very well entertained & had great variety of sundry sorts of meates, drinks, & fruits, such as the Countrey yeelds, euen what we could or would desire fitting for our vse. About eight of the Clocke Mersymoineine went to the Court, & made knowne to the King, that the English Merchant was come to his house, then the King caused a great banquet to be speedily prepared, & to bee sent to the house of Mersymoineine, which banquet was very good & costly. Then, about three or foure of the clocke in the afternoone, wee were sent for to the Court of Malcandy, which is not halfe a mile from Coteke. The magnificence of which Court, with the stately structure & situation of the place, as well as my weake Apprehension can enable, I describe as followeth.

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The

The Court of Malcandi in Bengalla.

GOING from the house of Mersymomeine, we passed ouer a long stone Cawsey, of some two foote in breadth, & at the end thereof we entred in at a great gate, & being conducted along further, we came into a Bussar, or very faire Market place, where was sold a great number of all sorts of Fruits, Hearbes, Flesh, Fish, Fowle, Rice, & such like needfull commodities & necessaries as the Countrey yeelded, (which is very fertile.) Hauing passed this place, we did enter in at a second gate, where was a guard of some fifty armed men, & so we came into a place all paved with great stones, or as it may fitter be called, a faire & spacious streete, where Merchants seated on both sides the way, were buying & selling all kind of their own and forraigne wares & merchandizes that was very rich and costly.

Passing this place we entred in at a third Gate, where was another Guard of one hundred men armed : By this gate was a great Pogodo or Pagod, which ioyned to the Southermost part of the King's house. In this streete there were houses but one side of the way, for on that side that the King's house was on, there was no other House but that. Then we came to a fourth Gate, which was very spactous & high, & had two lofty stories one aboue the other, & vpheld by mighty Pillars of gray Marble, most curiously caru'd & polish'd : At this Gate was a great guard of 150. Men or more, all armed.

Going through this Gate, we entred into a very great broad place or streete, (much of the breadth of the streete betweene Charing Crosse & White-Hall or broader, & no dwelling in it; here we passed the wall of the King's House, or Palace, till we came to the Court Gate.

In this broad street are euery day 1000. Horses in readinesse for the Kings vse; (for he hath alwaies 3000. at an houres warning, in the two Townes of Coteke & Malcandy; whereof 1000. alwaies waiteth at the King's Gate, & so by turnes doe all the rest attend as their places & seruices require.

Ouer against the Gate of the House is a very great house of Timber, whose Chambers are made with Galleries, built & supported with great Arches to vphold the Roofe: In these Galleries there were men that played on all kind of loud Instruments, euery morning they beganne to play at foure of the Clocke, & gaue ouer at eight.

On the North side of the Gate is a small Tower, builded with two hollow Arches, wherein are placed two mighty Images of stone, with great Pipes of Iron placed in their breasts & by deuices in the lower roomes, they doe make fire & water to flash & spout out of those Pipes on Festiuall dayes. On the South side of the Gate there standeth a great Elephant, artificially wrought of gray Marble, but for what vse I know not.

At the entrance into the Pallace Gate, we passed through a Guard of 150. men armed, the Pillars within were all of gray Marble, carued three stories one aboue the other. The outward Court was paved all with rough hewne Marble. On the South side of the Pallace were houses wherein were men, cunning workers in rich workes, employed onely for the King's vse and seruice.

On the North side (in the Pallace) a faire fabrick builded, wherein was erected two stately Tombes, who were founded by one Backarcaune,—he was Nabob, & predecessour to this Nabob now gouerning: & at the East end of the Pallace there was a faire place made and paved with broad gray Marble, & curiously railed about, the Rayles being foure foote & halfe high from the ground, & a very faire Tanke, which is a square pit paved with gray Marble, with a Pipe in the Midst of it, whose water descended betweene two Walls, with the formes of Fishes of sundry sorts, carued in stone very artificially, as if they had beene swimming or gliding up the Wall against the streame.

At this East end there was also a second Gate, where was a guard of 100. men armed; here stood also men that did keepe the time of the day by obseruations of measures of Water, in this manner following: First they take a great Pot of Water of the quantity of three Gallons, & putting therein a little pot of somewhat more than halfe a pinte (this lesser pot hauing a small

small hole in the bottoome of it) the water issuing into it, hauing filled it, then they strike on a great plate of brasse, or very fine metal, which stroak maketh a very great sound, this stroak or parcell of time they call a Goome, the small being full they call a Gree, 8 Grees make a Par, which Par is three houres by our accompt.

They likewise do begin the day at the houre of sixe in the morning, & it is ended with them at sixe at night: here we entred into the second Pallace, which had in the midst thereof a faire & sumptuous Theatre built & about it was made small bankes, whereon were planted great varieties of fruits & flowers, very sweete to the sent, & pleasing to the sight; this place was also curiously railed in round; Then we entred into a narrow passage betweene two high stone Walls, where there was another Guard of 250. men armed: This passage brought vs to a third Gate, wherein wee entred into a third Pallace or pleasant prospect, for in the midst of it there was a very faire pavement of Marble,——square, of the largenesse of ——yardes every way, & railed some three foot & a halfe higher then the ground, that was on the out-sides of it: it was likewise delicately rayled about, & in the midst of it there was an ascent of foure steps high, & all the roomes in it were spread or ouer-laid on the floore with rich Carpets exceeding costly.

The space betweene the outward Railes & these Roomes was about 30. foote, & the length 80. foote on the one side, but on the other side was a faire Tanke of water.

This place they called the Derbar (or place of Councell, where Law & Iustice was administred according to the custome of the Countrey, & it was likewise adorned & beautified with very pleasant Trees and Flowers, & Bankes about them with Gutters betweene the Bankes, in which Gutters water passed for the cooling & watering of them, & the water proceeded from the Tanke afore-mentioned. Here we stay'd the space of some two houres (or thereabouts) looking vp & downe, & being looked vpon by Souldiers, & such fashioned Gentlemen as the Court yeilded, (for there were more than 100. men armed, which were of the Nabobs, or Kings Priue Guard). At last the word came forth that the King was coming: then they hastened and ouer-laid the great large pavement with rich Carpets, & placed in the midst against the Railes, one fairer & richer Carpet than the rest, wrought in Bengalla-work: They likewise placed a great round pillow of red veluet on this Carpet; they placed also sixe small Pillars of Gold on the ends & sides of the rich Carpet, to hold it fast, or presse it to the ground, lest it should be raised with the Winde. They also placed vpon the Railes a Pannel of Veluet to leane on: At the last his Maiesty came accompanied with the number of 40. or 50. of his Courtiers, the most part of them were very graue men to see to: Also the Nabobs owne brother (a comely Personage) did beare the Sword before him. Then the Noble-man (Mersimomein) presented our Merchant (Mr. Ralph Cartwright) to the King, who did obedience to him, & the King very affably bended forward (in manner of a Curtsie or respect) and withall leaned his Armes on two mens shoulders, & slipped off his Sandall from his foote (for he was bare-legged) and presented his foot to our Merchant to kisse, which hee twice did refuse to doe, but at the last hee was faine to doe it: then the King sate downe, & caused our Merchant to be placed by his Brother: His Counsell sate all along by the foot-pace of the Roomes before mentioned, his brother & his Favourites sate thwart the place or pavement, every one sitting in the fashion of a Taylor crosse-legg'd.

The Assembly being set, our Present was presented to the King, which was some twenty pounds of Cloues, twenty pounds of Mace, twenty pounds of Nutmegs, two Bolis of Damaske, halfe a Bale, or fourteene yards of Stammell-cloath, one faire Looking glasse, whose frame was gilded, one fowling piece with two locks, & one double Pistoll; this was the present which the King receiud with much acceptation & content, & withall demanded the cause of our coming & our request: To whom our Merchant answered, that he was come to desire his Maiesties fauour & Licence for free Trade in his Countrey, & not to pay any lunkan (or Custome). At this request he seem'd to make a stand (and pausing a little) he conferr'd priuately with his Councell, but gaue vs no answer.

Our Merchant likewise requested that the English Merchants Trading for the East Indies might haue free Licence to come with their shipping small or great, into the Roads & Har-

bours of his Sea-port Townes or to any Hauens or nauigable Riuers or any such place or places as shall be found fitting for the safeguard, building or repairing of the said Vessels belonging to the honourable company. And likewise to transport their goods either off or on the shoare without the let or hinderance of the Natiues of the Countrey: Likewise to haue his Licence to quoyne Moneys, Gold or Siluer, Countrey-money, & such as is currant with the Merchant.

By this Time that our Merchant had ended the relation of his Suits & cause of his coming, the Kings Minister with a loud voyce called to Prayer. Then the King speedily arose from his Seate, & all his Company went with him, & wee were dismiss till prayer was ended. When the Minister came there was a large couering spread ouer the rich Carpets; the couering was of black & white cloaths, on this they all stood, & when they kneeled, they did kneele with their faces towards the going downe of the Sun, (which is to the West.) Prayer being ended, the Assembly sate again concerning our Propositions, all other businesses were laid aside; being now the shutting in of the Euening, there came a very braue shew of lights in before the King. The foremost that came were sixe Siluer Lanthornes, vshe'd in by a very graue man, hauing in his hand a Staffe ouer-laid with Siluer, & when he came to the steps of the Pauement, he put off his shooes, & came to the Carpets, making obedience: so likewise did those that bore the sixe lanthornes; but all the other lightes, being one hundred & thirty stood round about the Railes. Then the Vsher took the lanthorne that had two lights in it, & (making obedience) lifted his armes aloft, & made an ample Oration, which being ended, they gaue all a great Salame, or kind of Reuerence with a loud voyce, & departed euery one, & placed the lights according as the seuerall offices & places did require. Here we stay'd till it was betweene eight & nine of the Clocke at Night, but nothing accomplished; onely wee had some faire promises of furtherance by some of the Courtiers: Thus wee were dismiss for that time & wee returned for our Lodging at Mersimomeins house at Coteke, accompanied with a great multitude of people, & many Lights, who much admired our kind of habit and fashion.

The second day, wee came in the After-noone againe to the court before the Nabob, which being set, there mette vs at the Derbar (or Councell-house) our old enemy the Nockada of the Frigget, who made a great complaint against vs, that wee had sought to make prize of his Vessell, & to take his goods by force, hee had likewise giuen a great gift to a Nobleman to stand his friend & speake in his behalfe.

Our Merchant pleaded likewise, that all such Vessells as did trade on the coast, & had not a Passe either from the English, Danes, or Dutch, was lawfull Prise. Hee answered that he had a Passe; our Merchant bid him produce the same before the Nabob & hee would cleare him: to which the Nabob & the whole Councell agreed: but he could shew no Passe from any of the afore-named 3. Nations, but he shew'd two Passes from (or of) the Portugals, which they call by the name of Fringes, & thus was he cast, & we had the better of him before the King and Councell.

But then stood vp the Nobleman to whom hee had giuen a reward, (who had also a little knowledge or insight in Sea-affaires) & said, what Stranger seeking a free trade, could make prize of any Vessell within any of the Sounds, Seas, Roads or Harbours of his Maiesties Dominions? This he spake not so much for the good of the King, but thinking and hoping that the Vessell by his meanes should haue beene clear'd with all her goods & the Nockado (or Pilot) acquitted, that so by those meanes hee might haue gained the more & greater rewards; but hee was quite deceiued in his vaine expectation. For the Nabob perceiuing that shee belonged to Pyplye, a Port-Towne of the Portugals, whom the Nabob affects not, where the Portugals were resident, & that shee was not bound for any of his Ports, hee made short worke with the matter, & put vs all out of strife presently, for hee confiscated both vessell & goods all to himselfe. Whereby the Nobleman was put by his hopes, who was indeed a Gouvernour of a great Sea-towne, whereto much Shipping did belong, & many ships & other Vessels were builded. Our Merchant seeing that hee could not make prize of the Vessell or the goods, nor haue any satisfaction for the wrongs which he & our men had receiued,

ceiued, he rose vp in great anger & departed, saying, that if hee could not haue right here, he would haue it in another place, & so went his way, not taking his leaue of the Nabob, nor of any other, at which abrupt departure they all admired.

The third day in the Morning the King sent for our Merchant by the Lord Comptroller of his Court, who went with him accompanied with Mersimomein & others to the Derbar, where there was a very graue Assembly set: Then came the King, who being set, he smiled vpon our Merchant, & (by an Interpreter) demanded the cause why hee went the last euening (or ouer-night) in such an anger? To whom he answer'd boldly, & with a sterne vndaunted countenance, that he had done his Masters of the Honourable Company wrong, & (by his might & power) had taken their rights from them which would not be so endured or put vp. The King hearing this demanded of the Assembly, which were as well Merchants as Nobles, (in the Persian Tongue) of what strength & force our shipping were, their number, burthen & force, where our chief place of residence was for Trading: Hee likewise sent for Persian Merchants, & did diligently enquire of them the same demands & questions: who answer'd that we had great trading on the coast of Cormadell, India and Persia; & likewise in the South-Seas, as Bantam, Iaparo, Iaubee & Macossor: They further told the Nabob, that our Shipping were great, and of great force withall, & likewise if his pleasure was such as to be at ods with vs, there neither could, would or should any Vessel, great or small, that did belong to these parts, stirre out of any Hauens, Ports or Harbours of his Maiesties Dominions, but they would take them & make prize of them, for they were not able to withstand their force. At these words the King said but little, but what he thought is beyond my knowledge to tell you.

Then the King turn'd to our Merchant, & told him in Moores language (the which hee could very well vnderstand) that he would grant the English free Trade vpon these Conditions following.

That if the English Ship or Ships should at any time see any ship or ships, Iunke or Iunks, or any other Vessel of the Nabobs, or any of his subiects in distresse either by foule weather, or in danger of Enemies, or in any other extremitie, that we (the English) should helpe, aide, & assist them to our powers, or if it happened they were in want of Cables, Anchors, Water, Victualls, or any other necessities whatsoever that did belong to them, that we the said English should helpe them as we were able. Likewise that we the said English should not make prize of any Vessel belonging to any of the Dominions of the said Nabob, & that we the said English should not make prize of any ship, Vessel or Vessels within the Ports, Riuers, Roads, or Havens of the Nabob, though they were our enemies; but at the Sea wee might make prize of them if we could: to this all our Merchants agreed. Then the King caused Articles on his part to be drawne, & published in this manner following.

Here I the said Nabob, Vice King & Gouvernour of the Countrey of Woodia, vnder the great & mighty Prince Pe De-ha Shassalleem, doe giue & grant free licence to the aforesaid Ralph Cartwright Merchant to trade, buy, sell, export & transport by Shipping, either off or vpon the shore, not paying any Iunkeon or Custome, nor any vnder me to cause them to pay any: Likewise, that if they doe conuay Goods by shore betweene Factory & Factory or any other place for their better aduantage of gaine within these his Dominions, I straitly charge & command that no Gouvernour, Custome-gatherer, or other Officer whatsoever, shall make or cause them to pay any Iunken or Customes; but shall suffer them to passe free, without let, hinderance, molestation, or interruption of stayage, but shall (I say) helpe & further them in any thing that shall be the furtherance of their businesse. Moreover, I doe grant to the English Merchants to take ground, & to build houses fitting for their Employments, & where they shall see conuenient for their best vtility & profits, without let or hinderance of any of my louing Subiects.

And further I doe giue & grant to the English Merchants free Licence to build Shipping, small or great, or any other Vessel which they shall thinke best & fittest for their occasions & vses; they paying no more than the Custome of the Countrey to the Workmen; & likewise to repaire shipping if any occasion be to require it.

Likewise

Likewise I the Nabob doe command that no Gouvernour or Officer whatsoever vnder me shall doe the English any wrong, or cause any to be done vnto them, as they shall answer it at their perills, wheresoeuer they are resident: Neither shall any wrong be done to any seruant of theirs, that doth belong vnto them.

And againe, if any Controuersie should be betwixt the English, & the people of the Countrey, if the matter be of any moment, then the said cause shall be brought before me the Nabob at the Court at Malcandy, & at the Darbar I will decide the matter, because the English may haue no wrong, (behauing themselves as Merchants ought to do.)

This Licence formed & giuen at the Royall Court of Malcandy, the third day of May 1693, but not sealed till the fift day of May following at night.

The fourth day of May the King sent a great banquet to the House of Marsymoineine, to our Merchant, & there came to this feast the great man that did speake on the Nockado's side against vs, at the Darbar, about the frigget aforesaid: He brought with him to our Merchant for a present a bale of Sugar, a Bottle of Wine, & some sweet meates; saying, he was sorry for the things before done & past, but if any thing lay in him to doe the Company & him any good, he & they should be sure of it. This man was Gouvernour of a Towne called Bollasarye, a Sea Towne where shipping was built; (as is afore said) his name was Mercossom, & vnderstanding that the Merchant was minded to trauaile that way, hee promised him to doe him all the courtesies that could be.

The fifth day of May in the afternoone we were before the King againe at the Darbar, at our comming he called for our Perwan, (which was our warrant or licence) & then he added to it the free leaue of coyning of Monies & sealed it with his owne signet himselfe, & so all things were strongly confirm'd & ratified for our free trade in his territories & Dominions.

The sixth day of May the King made a great Feast at the Court where were assembled the most & chiefe of all his Nobles & Gouvernours that were vnder his command, & being set, he sent the Lord Comptroller of his house for the English Merchant Master Ralph Cartwright to come vnto him, who came with all speede, & when he was in the presence of the King, he caused him to set downe by him, & take part of the Feast (for the King was exceeding merry & pleasant) then the King caused a Vest or Robe to be brought, & with his own hands did put it vpon our Merchant; & thus was he inuested & entertained in the presence of this Royall, Noble & great assembly.

This day the King was in magnificent state & Maiesty, on rich Persian Carpets: (as is before mentioned) But ouer this great Company was a large Canopy of branched Veluet of foure colours, & in the seames betweene the ioynings of it was yellow Taffata, which hung downe like vnto the Vallence of a bed, it was 80. foote in length, & 40. foote in bredth, & it was vpheld with foure small Pillars, ouerlayd with siluer, whose height was twelue foote, & in thicknesse one foote. Here we staid till about the houre of fve in the afternoone, & then we tooke our leaues of the King & the rest, & departed to Coteke to the house of Mersymoineine.

Thus haue I plainly & truly related the occurrences that hapned at the Court of Malcandy, but although the Palace of the Nabob be so large in extent, & so magnificent in structure, yet he himselfe will not lodge in it, but euery night he lodgeth in Tents with his most trusty Seruants & Guards about him, for it is an abomination to the Moguls (which are white men) to rest or sleepe vnder the rooffe of a house that another man hath builded for his owne honour. And therefore hee was building a Palace which he purpos'd should be a Fabricke of a Rest, & future Remembrance of his renowne: He likewise keepeth three hundred Women, who are all of them the daughters of the best & ablest subiects that he hath.

The seuenth day of May we went vp & downe in the Towne of Coteke; it is very populous of people, & hath daily a great Market in it of all sorts of necessaries which the Country affordeth, it is seven miles in compasse, & hath but two great Gates belonging to it, it is three Miles betweene the one Gate & the other.

Vpon

Vpon the eighth day of May we went to the Court at Malcandy againe to desire of the King a Warrant, or free Passe, for a safe conuoy of Letters, or any other such occasion through his Countries.

Here we found his Maiesty sitting in the outward Palace of the Court on the Pauement by the Tanke before named, with a very faire Canopy ouer him, made of Damaske, & vp-held by foure small Pillars overlayd with Siluer, with his Nobles by him for this effect & purpose following.

He was by the great Mogul commanded to wage warre with all expedition against the King of Culcandouch (a great Prince neighbouring vpon his confines) which had wrongfully with hostility entred on the Southwest part of his Countrey, & had made some spoyle & hauock on the same. The King, I say, had here called all his Commanders, Leaders & Capitaines together giuing them a great charge concerning the good vsage of his men, & their best endeauours in the management & performance of their seruices in those Warres. Hee likewise gaue gifts to the Leaders, & money to the Souldiers to encourage them. The Army consisted of 30000. men, which was 1000. Horse & 2000. foote, armed for the most part with Bowes & Arrows; & some againe with Darts, like our Iauelins, but farre more sharpe; & some againe with a kind of Falchon, Semiter, or like a bended Sword by their side; some of which weapons haue cut in sunder two malefactors, which haue been condemned to dye, being bound backe to backe, at one blow giuen backwards by the Executioner. But our Commission being granted, & our businesse ended finally, our Merchant (reuerently) tooke his leaue of the King; & the King (with his Nobles) did the same to him, wishing him all good successe in his affaires in his Countrey; & so we departed.

The ninth of May we gathered together all our things; & at night wee departed from Coteke.

The tenth, at the houre of two in the Afternoone we came to the Towne of Harharrapoore, & hosted in the house of our Interpreter.

The eleuenth day wee went to the Gouvernour of the Towne, & shewed him our Fermand or Commission from the King; the Gouvernour made a great Salame, or courtesie in reuerence vnto it, & promised his best assistance & helpe in any thing that he could doe, & there the said Gouvernour had a small Present giuen to him.

The twelfth day of May Master Thomas Colley came to vs at Harharrapoore, & the rest of the Englishmen with him, with all the goods; then wee hired a house for the present, till such time as ours might be builded, for our further occasions to the Companies vse.

This Towne of Harharrapoore is very full of people, & it is in bounds sixe or seuen Miles in compasse; there are many Merchants in it, & great plenty of all things, here is also cloth of all sorts great store, for there doth belong to this Towne at the least 3000. Weauers that are house keepers, besides all other that doe worke, being bound or hired.

The foureteenth day the two Merchants went abroad, & found out a plat of ground fitting to build vpon; then they layd the Kings Deroy on it, & seaz'd vpon it for the Companies vse, & there was no man that did, or durst gaine say them for doing the same.

The fifteenth day they hired workmen & labourers to measure the Ground, & to square out the foundation of the House, & likewise for the Wall, which was one hundred Conets square, which is fifty yards, euery Conet being halfe a yard, or a foote & a halfe: & it behoued vs to make haste, for the time of the great Raines was at hand.

The sixteenth day they laid the foundation of the Walls, being nine foote thicke, much haste was made, & many workmen about it; but this our first worke was but labour lost & cast away, for it came to nothing.

For on the eighteenth day the Raines began with such force & violence, that it beate downe all our work to the ground, & wash'd it away, as if there had not bene any thing done, this Storme continued without ceasing, (day and night) more or lesse three weekes compleat.

The sixteenth day of Iune Master Ralph Cartwright tooke his journey for Ballazary, &

two English men with him, who were Edward Peteford & William Withal, & from thence he was minded to trauaile further into the countrey of Bengalla; & the eighth of Iuly following wee receiued a letter from Master Cartwright, concerning his proceedings & troublesome passage; for he found not the Countrey according as was reported, by reason of the time of the great raines that fell, yet he was safely arriued in Pipely.

The three & twentieth day of Iuly in the Morning, we had newes that there was an English Ship arriued at Hassarpoore, & had shot of three pieces of Ordnance, & stayed all night, she having not a boat to come from her, she weighed Anchor, & set saile for Ballazary.

The 25. of August in the morning Master Thomas Colley dyed of a violent Feuer at Harharra-poore.

The seuenth day of September I receiued Letters from Master Cartwright from Ballazary, & withall he sent me the name of the Ship, to wit, the good Ship Swan, & Master Edward Austin (or Ostin) commander.

The nineteenth day of September there came two Merchants from Ballazary to Harharra-poore, the one of them his name was Master Robert Littler, the other Master John Powille, Purser of the Ship Swan.

The fourth day of October our Merchant Master Robert Littler, tooke a iourney for Iaggernat, & he returned the sixteenth day to the Factory at Harharra-poore.

A briefe Relation of the great City of Iaggarnat.

The fifth day of Nouember I was sent about the Companies businesse to the great city of Iaggarnat, & I trauiled this day to a Towne called Madew, & I lodged all night in a Pagod, or Pogoda.

The sixth day I William Bruton trauiled eight course, which is thirty two Miles English, & came to a Towne named Amudpoore, where I found met together, of men, women & children, more than 3000.; & all of them were Trauellers & Raungers of the Countrey, hauing no residence, but are called Ashmen; (because they doe cast Ashes vpon themselves) also they are called Fuckeires, which are religious names given to them for their supposed holinesse, but indeed they are very Rogues, such as our Gipsies be here in England, when they see their time & opportunity to put Roguery & Villany in practice: at this Towne I made no great stay, for I had a good charge about me of the Companies.

The seuenth day of Nouember in the Morning about two of the Clocke, I hasted from Amudpoore, ouer a passage, & so for Iaggarnat, which was tenne course betweene, that is forty Miles English, so about the houre of foure in the afternoone, I drew neare to this great City of Iaggarnat, to which I passed ouer a great stone Causey, on either side whereof was a very goodly Tanke to wash in, this Causey was about halfe a mile in length; then as I came to the West end of this City, I entred into a very faire place for Scituation, furnished with exceeding store of pleasant Trees & Groues & on either side of the way Tankes of water & Pagodoes in the midst of them. From thence I passed vp into the High-streete, where I was entertained by a Brammine, (which is one of their Religious Men or Idolatrous Priests) but let his Religion be what it would, into his House I went, & there I lodged all the time of my stay there.

The eighth day of Nouember in the morning after I had gone about the affaires that I was sent to doe, I went to view the City in some part, but especially that mighty Pagodo or Pagod, the mirrour of all wickednesse & Idolatry: Vnto this Pagod, or house of Sathan (as it may rightly be called) doe belong 9000. Brammines or Priests, which doe dayly offer Sacrifices vnto their great God Iaggarnat, from which Idoll the City is so called; & when he is but named, then all the people in the Towne & Countrey doe bow & bend their knees to the ground, as the Moabites did to their Idoll Baal-Peor. Here they doe also offer their Children to this Idoll, & make them to passe through the Fire; & also they haue an abominable custome to cause or make them passe through the water as Sacrifices vnto the said vngodly God.

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This Idoll is in shape like a great Serpent, with seven Heads, & on the cheekes of each Head it hath the forme of a Wing vpon each cheek, which wings doe open & shut, & flappe, as it is carried in a stately Chariot, & the Idoll in the midd'st of it: and one of the Moguls sitting behinde it in the Chariot vpon a conuenient place with a Canopy to keepe the Sunne from iniuring of it.

When I (with horreur) beheld these strange things I called to mind the 13. Chap. of the Revel. & 1. Verse, & likewise the 16. & 17. Verses of the said Chapter, in which places there is a beast, & such Idolatrous worship mentioned, & those sayings in that Text are herein truly accomplished in the 16th. Verse: for the Brammines are all marked in the fore-head, & likewise all that come to worship the Idoll, are marked also in their fore-heads; but those that doe buy & sell, are all marked in the left shoulder; & all such as doe dare or presume to buy & sell, (not being marked) are most seuerely & grievously punished.

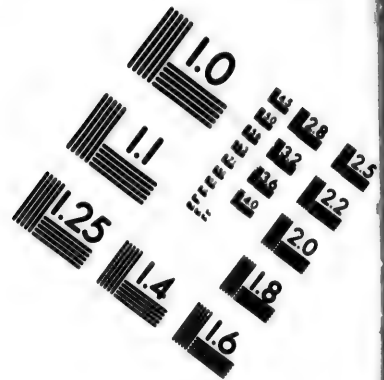
They haue builded a great Chariot that goeth on 16. Wheelles of a side, & euery wheele is five foote in height, & the Chariot itself is about thirty foot high. In this Chariot (on their great Festiuall dayes at night) they doe place their wicked God Iaggarnat, & all the Brammines (being in number 9000.) doe then attend this great Idoll, besides of Ashmen & Fuckeirs some thousands, (or more than a good many). The Chariot is most richly adorned with most rich & costly Ornaments, & the aforesaid wheelles are placed very compleat in a round circuite so artificially, that euery wheele doth doe his proper office without any impediment: For the Chariot is aloft, & in the Center betwixt the Wheelles; they haue also more than 2000. lights with them: And this Chariot with the Idoll is also drawne with the greatest & best men of the Towne, & they are so eager & greedy to draw it, that whoso-euer by shouldering, crowding, shouing, heauing, thrusting, or any violent way can but come to lay a hand vpon the Ropes, they thinke themselues blessed & happy. And when it is going along the City, there are many that will offer themselues a Sacrifice to this Idoll, & desperately lye downe on the ground, that the Chariott-wheelles may runne ouer them, whereby they are killed outright; some get broken armes, some broken legges, so that many of them are so destroyed, & by this meanes they thinke to merit Heauen.

There is also another Chariot which hath but 12. wheelles, & that is for an Idoll or a Denill of an inferiour ranke or lower degree: & hee doth not goe abroad or in progresse, but when the Brammines doe please. This Pagodo is scituated by the sea-side, & is to be seen into the Sea at the least 10. or 12. leagues; (for the Ayre & Skye is clear & pure in those parts, that it may be seene farre). It is inclosed with a wall of Stone, much about 22. foot in height, & the inclosure is foure-square, & euery square is 150. Geometricall paces; so the foure squares in the totall are 600. paces or yards about: it standeth due East, West, North & South; & euery square hath a great gate for the entrance into it, but the South & West-gates are barr'd vp till the Festiuall times, & none commonly vsed but the North & East-gates, but especially the North-gate; for it hath all its prospect into the high or chiefe street of this City.

Now in some other parts of this Countrey the people doe adore & worship other creatures for their Gods: some worship the Celestiall, as the Sunne, Moone & Starres: some againe Terrestriall, & they of the Mountaines, Vallies & Woods: some Aquaticall, & those of the Seas, Riuers, & Fountaines: some running after a beast like an Oxe, the Dog, & the Cat, some after the Hawke, some after the sheepe, & some so foolish, that they doted vpon the very hearbs & flowers in their Gardens. For indeed they haue very rare flowers for colour, such as I neuer saw in England, or else-where. Some of this Nation haue erected to themselues a God, in the likenesse of Iupiter, & doe chaine him by the legge in their Pagod, to the intent that hee might not leaue them, nor forsake them; & keepe continuall watch & Guard night & day, lest any of their Enemies should come & intice him away by bribery, & so to preuaile with him to come forth of it, & by that meanes their City come to ruine & destruction: so much for their Idolatry.

This City of Bengalla is very great & populous, it hath many Merchants in it, & yeeldeth very rich commodities, as good Cloath in abundance, Sugars, Silkes, Taffataes, Stuffs, Waxe,





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Gumlacke, Butter, Oyle, Rice & Wheate, with many other good commodities vendable. It is likewise famous for its multitude of Rhinoceroes, it hath a beast much like vnto a Vnicorne, & because it hath but one Horne, some doe beleue & take it for the Vnicornes horne for the vertue it hath in it. This City was once free from Taxations, till Ehebar the great Mogull caused it to be vnited to his Empire. The chiefest Cities which ioyne nearest to it, are Catigan, & Satagan on the bankes of Ganges Eastward: It was once the Seate of the great Bengalian King Malchiram, as Mr. Purchase relates in his Pilgrimage. This City lyes Westward toward Pega, & neere to Cosmin & Aracam, two famous Cities for Traffick & Scituation; lying vpon the Riuer, & within some few Leagues of the Gulfe call'd the Bengallian gulfe, which is a very dangerous one; for at some certaine times of the yeere it is very hazardable for vessells to passe without shipwrack: There be many other Lakes & Riuers which I could mention, but for breuity sake I omit them. But there is no strong drinke suffered to be drank within the City, except a Stranger doe bring it in priuately, & so it is not knowne: & thus much shall suffice for the impious Religion of Iaggarnat & the stately Court of Malcandy.

The most of these people haue no Learning, but doe all things by memory: They weare commonly long haire, & are very strict in their time of Fasting; but afterwards, when the Ceremony is ouer, then they freely commit all kind of wickednesse againe. In some places they haue their Edicts or Lawes written, & in other places vnwritten: They know what belongs to Bonds or bills & they lend without Witnesses, or any sealing of Writings, euen vpon their owne Words: & hee that is found to deny his promise, hath the tops of his fingers cut off. Their habit is various & different, some of them doe goe in linnen or woollen, some are cloathed with beasts skins, or Birds feathers, others goe naked, & doe couer only their secret parts: Their bodies are for the most part blacke, which is not accidentall, but naturally arising from the quality of the seed they are begotten: Most of them are of a large stature; they haue many wiues which they purchase & buy of their Parents: some they keepe to be their Vassals to doe their drudgery; others, which are handsomer, for issue sake & pleasure.

Here are greater store of Beasts than in any other part of the Indies; as Oxen, Camells, Lyons, Dogges, Elephants: they haue Dogges which are as fierce as Lyons, with which they usually hunt & pursue those wild beasts as we doe our bucks, for their delight & pleasure. They ride on goodly horses booted & spurr'd; so likewise doe their Women.

These people are notable ingenious men; let it be in what Art or Science soeuer, & will imitate any workmanship that shall be brought before them: for the most part of them hate idlenesse, & those that doe not study in some Art or other, are counted droanes, & stand for Cyphers, & dead men amongst the best & chiefest sort of people: They haue a custome, that alwayes before dinner they do call their children & young people in their houses together, & doe examine how they had spent their time from the sunne-rising, & if they could not giue a good account of it, they were not to be admitted to the Table; & so euery day, & if they did not the next time improue themselves in some knowledge of laudable things, they are most severely punished and chastised.

These barbarous & idolatrous people, although they be so ignorant in the true worship of God cannot endure a perjured person, nor a common swearer, nor a common drunkard, but will punish them very severely by stripes, or else by forfeiture of their Commodities: A perjured person, say they, is an arch enemy to their God & them: & it is so hatefull, that if it be committed by their Father, Brother or kindred, they doe presently condemn him, according to the nature of the offence: for though they loue the periury, by reason of the benefit that commeth vnto them by it, yet they hate the person euen vnto death: for, say they, hee which was sometimes periured in their behalfe, may vndoe what he hath done, & speake the truth when time serues: They instance a story of Soleman the great Turke, who loathed & abhorred the Traitor that betrayed Rhodes vnto him, & in stead of his daughter, whom he expected to be giuen him in marriage for a reward, he caused him to be slayed and salted, & told him in derision, that it was not fit for a Christian to marry with a Turk, unless he put off his old skin: likewise they instance Charles the fourth, who rewarded the souldiers

diers (that betrayed their Lord & Master Krantius) with counterfeit Coyne; and being desired to deliuer them current money, answered, that counterfeit coyne was the proper wages for counterfeit seruice: Thus a lyar or periured person amongst these Idolatrous people they will not beleue, though he had spoken or sworne the truth: for he that hath been once false, is euer to be suspected in the same kinde of falshood: wherefore iust & vpriight dealing is aptly compared to a glasse, which being once broken, can neuer be repaired; or to opportunity, which once omitted, can neuer be recouered. And so I conclude this relation, wishing all men to preferre knowledge & honesty before wealth & riches; the one soone sadeth, the other abideth for euer: for amongst all the goods of this life, onely wisdom is immortall.

FINIS.

THE
FARDLE OF FACIONS
CONTAINING
THE AUNCIENTE MANERS, CUSTOMES AND LAWES,
OF THE
PEOPLES ENHABITING THE TWO PARTES OF THE EARTH,
CALLED
AFFRICKE AND ASIE.

Printed at London:
BY IHOE KINGSTONE, AND HENRY SUTTON.

1555.

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TO THE
 RIGHTE HONOURABLE
THE ERLE OF ARUNDEL,

KNIGHT OF THE ORDRE.

AND

LORDE STEWARDE OF THE QUIENES MAIESTIES MOST
 HONOURABLE HOUSEHOLDE.

Aftr what time the barrein traueiles of longe seruice, had driuē me to thinke libertie the best rewarde of my simple life, right honorable Erle and that I had determined to leaue wrastlyng with fortune, and to giue my self wholie to liue vpon my studie, and the labours of my hand: I thought it moste fitting with the dutie that I owe to God and manne, to bestowe my time (if I could) as well to the profite of other, as of myself. Not coueting to make of my floudde, a nother mānes ebbe (the Cancre of all commune wealthes) but rather to sette other a flote, where I my self strake on groūd. Tournig me therefore, to the searche of wisdomē and vertue, for whose sake either we tosse, or oughte to tosse so many papers and tongues: although I founde aboute myself, verie litle of that Threasure, yet remembred I that a fewē yerēs paste, at the instance of a good Citezein, (who might at those daies, by auctoritie commaunde me) I had begonne to translate, a litle booke named in the Latine, *Omnium gentium mores*, gathered longe sence by one Iohannes Boemus, a manne as it appereth, of good iudgemente and diligence. But so corrupted in the Printing, that after I had wraستهd a space, with sondrie Printes, I rather determined to lose my labour of the quartre translacion, then to be shamed with the haulf. And throwing it a side, entended no further to wearie my self therewithall, at the leaste vntill I mighte finde a booke of a better impressiō. In searching whereof at this my retourne to my studie, although I found not at the full that, that I sought for: yet vndrestanding emong the booke sellers (as one talke bringes in another) that men of good learning and eloquēce, bothe in the Frenche and Italien tonge, had not thought skorne to bestowe their time aboute the translacion therof, and that the Emperours Maiestie that now is, vouchedsaulfe to receiue the presentacion therof, at the Frenche translatours hande, as well appereth in his booke: it kindled me againe, vpon regard of mine owne profite, and other mennes moe, to bring that to some good pointē, that earst I had begonne. For (thought I) seing the booke hath in it, much pleasant varietie of thinges, and yet more profite in the pitthe: if it faile to bee otherwise rewarded, yet shal it thankefully of the good be regarded. Wherefore setting vpon it a fresshe, where the booke is deuided according to thaunciente deuision of the earth into thre partes, Affrique, Asie, and Europe: hauing brought to an ende the two firste partes, I found no persone in mine opiniō so fitte as your honour, to present them vnto. For seing the whole processe ronnetth vpon gouernaunce and Lawes, for thadministracion of commune wealthes, in peace and in warre, of aunciente times tofore our greate graundfathers daies: to whom mighte I better presente it, then to a Lorde of verie nobilitie and wisdomē, that hath bene highe Mareshalle

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in the fiele abrode, deputie of the locke and keie of this realme, and a counsaillour at home, of thre worthie princes. Exercised so many waies in the waues of a sickle Commune wealthe: troubled sometime, but neuer disapointed of honourable successe. To your good Lordeshippe then I yelde & committe, the firste fruites of my libertie, the firste croppe of my labours, this firste daie of the Newe yere: beseching the same in as good parte to receiue it, as I humblie offre it, and at your pleasure to vnfolde the Fardle, and conside the stuffe. Whiche euer the farder in, shall sieme I truste the more pleasaunte and fruitesfulle. And to conclude, if I shall vndrestāde, that your honour delighteth in this, it shal be a cause sufficiente, to make me go in hande with Europe, that yet remaineth untouched. Almighty God giue vnto your Lordeshippe prosperous fortune, in sounde honour and healthe.

Your Lordshippes moste humblie at commaundement,
WILLIAM WATREMAN.

THE

THE
P R E F A C E

OF THE AUTHOUR.

I HAVE sought out at times, as laisure hath serued me, Good reader, the maners and faciōs the Lawes, Customes and Rites, of all suche peoples, as semed notable, and worthy to be put in remembrāce, together with the situatiō & descriptiō of their habitatiōs: which the father of Stories Herodotus the Grecke, Diodorus, the Siciliane, Berosus, Strabo, Solinus, Trogus Pompeius, Ptolomeus, Plinius, Cornelius the still, Dionysius the Afriane, Pöponius Mela, Cæsar, Iosephus, and certein of the later writers, as Vincentius, and Aeneas Siluius (whiche afteward made Pope, had to name Pius the seconde) Anthonie Sabellicus, Ihon Nauclerus, Ambrose Calepine, Nicholas Perotte, in his cornu copiæ, and many other famous writers eche one for their parte, as it were skatered, & by piece meale, set furth to posteritie. Those I saie haue I sought out, gathered together, and acording to the ordre of the storie and tyme, digested into this litle packe. Not for the hongre of gaine, or the ticklyng desire of the peoples vaine brute, and vnskilfulle commendacion: but partly moued with the oportunitie of my laisure, & the wondrefull profite and pleasure, that I conceiued in this kinde of studie my self, and partly that other also delightyng in stories, might with litle labour, finde easely when thei would, the somme of thynges compiled in one Booke, that thei ware wonte with tediousnes to sieke in many. And I haue shocked them vp together, as well those of aunciente tyme, as of later yeres, the lewde, as well as the vertuous indifferentlie, that vsing thē as present examples, and paternes of life, thou maiest with all thine endeour folowe the vertuous and godlic, & with asmuche warenes eschewe the vicious & vngodly. Yea, that thou maiest further, my (reader) learne to discerne, how men haue in these daies amended the rude simplicitie of the first worlde, frō Adam to the floud and many yeres after, when men liued skateryng on the earthe, without knowlege of Money, or what coigne ment, or Merchauntes trade: no maner of exchaūge, but one good tourne for another. When no man claimed aught for his seueralle, but lande and water ware as cōmune to al, as Ayer and Skie. Whē thei gaped not for honour, ne hunted after riches, but eche man contented with a litle, passed his daies in the wilde fiede, vnder the open heauen, the couerte of some shadowie Tree, or slendre houelle, with suche companion or companiōs as siemed them good, their diere babes and children aboute them. Sounde without carcke and in rest full quietnesse, eatyng the fructes of the fiede, and the milke of the cattle, and drinking the waters of the cristalline springes. Firat clad with the softe barcke of trees, or the faire broade leaues, & in processe with rawe felle and hide full vnworkemanly patched together. Not then enuironed with walles, ne pente vp with rampers, and diches of deapthe, but walking at free skope emōg the wanderyng beastes of the fiede, and where the night came vpon them, there takyng their lodgyng without feare

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of murtherer or thief. Mery at the fulle, as without knowledge of the euilles & afre ensued as & worlde waxed elder, through diuers desires, and contrarie endeouours of menne. Who in processe for the insufficiencie of the fruites of the earthe, (whiche she tho gaue vntilled) and for default of other thynges, ganne falle at disquiete and debate among themselves, and to auoid the inuasion of beastes, and menne of straunge borders, (whom by themselves they could not repelle) gathered into companies, with commune aide to withstande suche encursions and violence of wrong. And so ioynnyng in confederacie, planted themselves together in a plotte, assigned their boundes, framed vp cotages, one by anothers chieque, diked in theselues, chose officers and gouernours, and deuised lawes, that they also among themselves might liue in quiete. So beginnyng a rough paterne of townes and of Cities, that afre were laboured to more curious finesse.

AND now were they not contented, with the commodities of the fieldes and cattle alone, but by diuers inuencions of handicraftes and sciēces, and by sondrie labours of this life, they sought how to winne. Now gan they ttempte the sease with many deuices, to transplante their progenie and ofspring into places vnenhabited, and to enioye the commodities of eche others cuntry, by mutuall traffique. Now came the Oxe to the yoke, the Horse to the draught, the Metalle to the stāpe, the Apparell to handsomnes, the Speache to more finesse, the Behauiour of menne to a more calmenesse, the Fare more deintie, the Buildyng more gorgeous, thenhabitours ouer all became milder and wittier, shaking of (euen of their owne accorde) the bruteshe outrages and stearne dealinges, & shamefully mought be spoken of. Nowe refrained they from sleayng one of a nother, fro eatyng of ech others flesh, from rape and open defiling of mother, sister, and daughter indifferētly, and from many like abhominacions to nature and honestie. They now marieng reason, with strength: and pollicie, with might: where the earthe was before forgrowen with bushes and wooddes, stuffed with many noisome beastes, drowned with meares, and with marshe, vnfitte to be inhabited, waast and vnhandsome in euery condition: by wittie diligence, and labour, ridde it from encombrance, planed the roughes, digged vp trees by the rootes, dried away the superfluous waters, brought all into leauelle, banished barreinesse, and vncouered the face of the earth, that it might fully be sene, conuerted the champeine to tillage, the plaines to pasture, the valley to meadow, the hilles they shadowed with wooddes and with Vines. Then thruste they in cultr and share, and with wide woundes of the earthe, wan wine and corne plenteously of the ground, that afore scarcely gaue them Akornes and Crabbes. Then inhabited they more thicke, and spred themselves ouer all, and buylte euery where. Of Townes, they made cities, and of villages, Townes, Castles vpon the rockes, and in the valles made they the temples of the goddes. The goldē graueled springes, they encurbed with Marble, & with trees right pleasauntly shadowed them aboute. From them they deriued into cities and Townes, the pure freshe waters, a great distaunce of, by conduite of pipes and troughes, and suche other conueyaunce. Where nature had hidden the waters, out of sighte, they sancke wellles of greate deapth, to supplie their lackes. Riuers, and maigne floudes, whiche afore with vnbrideled violence, oftymes ouerflowed the neighboured aboute, to the destruction of their cattle, their houses, and themselves: they restrained with banquettes, and kept them in a course. And to the ende they might not onely be vadable, but passed also with drie foote, they deuised meanes with piles of Timbre, and arches of stone, maulgre the rage of their violent streames, to grounde bridges vpon them. Yea, the rockes of the sea whiche for the daungier of the accesse, thoughte themselves exempte from the dinte of their hande, when they perceiued by experience, they were noyous to sailers, with vnspeakeable labour did they ouerthrowe & breake into gobettes. Hewed out hauens on euery strond, enlarged crieques, opened rodes, and digged out herborowes, where their shippes mighte ride saulfe fro the storme. Finally they so laboured, beautified, and perfected the earthe, that at this daie compared with the former naturalle forgrowen wastenesse, it might well sieme not to be that, but rather the Paradise of pleasure, out of the whiche, the first paterne of mankind (Adam and Eue) for the transgression of Goddes precept, were driuen.

MEN also inuented and founde many wittie sciences, and artes, many wondrefull workes, whiche

whiche when by practice of lettres, thei had committed to bookes, and laied vp for posteritie, their successeurs so wondered at their wisdomes, and so reuerenced their loue and endeouours (whiche thei spied to be meant toward them, and the wealth of those that shuld folow of thē) that thei thought thē not blessed enough, with the estate of men mortalle, but so aduanced their fame, and wondered at their worthinesse, that thei wan them the honour and name of Goddes immortal.

THO gan the Prince of the worlde, when men so gan to delight in thadourning of the worlde, to sowe vpō the good siede, the pestilente Dernell, that as thei multiplied in nombre, so iniquitie might encrease, to disturbe and confounde this blessed state.

FIRST, therefore when he had with all kinde of wickednes belimed y world, he put into their heades, a curious searche of the highest knowledge, and suche as dependeth vpon destenie of thynges. And so practised his pageautes, by obscure and doubtfully attempted Respōcions, and voices of spirites, that after he had fettred the worlde in the trauers of his toies, and launced into their hartes a blinde supersticion, and feare: he trained it whole to a wicked worship of many goddes and Goddesses, that when he ones had wiped cleane out of mynde the knowlege and honour of one God cuerlastyng, he might practise vpon manne, some notable mischief. Then sette he vp pilgrimages to deuilles, foreshewers of thynges, that gaue aduertisemente and answers to demaundes in sondrie wise. In the Isle of Delphos one, in Euboea another, at Nasamone a thirde, and among the Dodonians, the famous okes, whose bowes by the blastes of the winde resounded to the eare, a maner of aduertisemente of deuillish delusion. To the whiche Idolles and Images of deuelles he stirred vp men to do the honour (Helas) due onely to God. As to Saturne in Italie, to Iupiter in Candie, to Iuno in Samos, to Bacchus in India, & at Thebes: to Iris, and Osiris in Egipte: in old Troie to Vesta: aboute Tritona in Aphrique to Pallas, in Germanie and Fraunce to Mercurie, vnder the name of Theuthe: to Minerva at Athens and Himetto, to Apollo in Delphos, Rhodes, Chio, Patara, Troade and Tymbra. To Diane in Delos and in Scythia, to Venus in Paphos, Cyprus, Gnydon, and Cithera. To Mars in Thracia, to Priapus in Lampsacho of Hellespontus, to Vulcane in Lypara and Lēnos, and in diuers other places to sondrie other, whose remembraunce was then moste freshe in the memorie of their people, for the benefaictes and merueilous inuencions bestowed among them.

AFTERWARD, also when Iesus Christe the verie sonne of the almightie father, shewyng himself in the fleshe of our mortalitie, was conuersaunte in the worlde, pointyng to the same, as with his finge, the waie to immortalitie, & endelesse blessednesse, and bothe with woorde and example, exhorted and allured them to vprightnes of life, to the glorie of his father, sendyng his disciples and scolers into the vniuersall worlde, to condemne Superstition and all errour of wickednes, with the moste healthsome woorde: to plante true Religion, and geue newe preceptes, and directions of the life, and had now set the matier in suche forwardnesse and poincte, that the Gospell beyng generally of all nacions receiued, there lacked but continuance to perfecte felicitie: The deuell eftesones retournyng to his naturall malice, desirous to repoesse that, that constrainedly he forsooke, betrappynge again the curious conceipte of man, some he reuersed into their former abuses and errours, and some with newe Heresies he so corrupted, snarled, and blynded, that it had bene muche better for them, neuer almoste to haue knowen the waie of truthe, then after their entraunce, so rashely and maliciously to haue forsaken it.

AT this daie in Asia the lesse, the Armenians, Arabians, Persians, Siriās, Assirians and Meades: in Aphrique, the Egipcians, Numidians, Libiens, and Moores. In Europe, the whole coutrie of Grecia, Misia, Thracia, & all Turquie throwyng awaie Christe, are become the folowers and worshippers of Mahomet and his erronious doctrine. The people of Scythia, whom we now cal Tartares (a greate people and wide spread) parte of them worshippe the Idolle of their Emperour Kamme, parte the Sonne, the Moone, and other Starres, and part according to the Apostles doctrine, one onely God. The people of Inde, & Ethiope, vnder the gouernaunce of Presbiter Ithō perseauer in Christiane godlinesse, howbeit after a sort, muche different frō ours.

The sincere and true faith of Christ, wherewith in time it pleased God to illumine the worlde, remaineth in Germanie, Italy, Fraunce, Spaine, Englande, Scotland, Ireland, Denmarke, Liwon, Pruse, Pole, Hungarie, and the Isles of Rhodes, Sicilie, Corsica, Sardinia, with a fewe other. This bytter ennemie of mankind hauyng thus with his subtilties, inueiled our mindes, and disceuered the christia vniõ, by diuersitie of maners and facions of belief, hath brought to passe thorough this damnable wyckednes of Sacrifices, and Rites, that whilest euery people (vndoubtedly with religious entent) endeuour them selues to the worshippe of God, and echone taketh vpõ him to be the true and best worshipper of him, and whilest echone thinke them selues to treade the streight pathe of euerlastyng blessednes, and contēdeth with eigre mode and bitter dispute, that all other erre and be ledde farre a wrie: and whilest euery man strugglethe and striueth to spread and enlarge his owne secte, and to ouerthrowe others, thei doe so hate and enuie, so persecute and annoy echone an other, that at this daie a man cannot safely trauaill from one countrey to another: yea, thei that would aduenture saufely or vnsaufely, be almost euery where holdē out. Wherof me thinkes I see it is like to come to passe, that whilest one people scant knoweth the name of another, (and yet almost neighbours) all that shall this daie be written or reported of them, shalbe compted and refused as lyes. And yeat this maner of knowledge and experience, is of it self so pleasant, so profitable & so praise worthy, that sundrie (as it is well knowen) for the onely loue and desire thereof, leauyng their natie countrey, their father, their mother, their wiues and their children, yea, throwyng at their heles their sauftie and welfare, haue with greate troubles, vexations, and turmoilynges taken vpon them for experience sake, to cutte through the wallowyng seas, and many thousande miles, to estrange themselves fro their home, yea, and those men not in this age alone, but euen from the firste hatchyng of the worlde haue been reputed and sounde of moste wisdomes, authoritie, and good facion, sonest chosen with all mennes consent, bothe in peace & warre, to administre the cōmune wealth as maisters and counsaillours, Iudges and Capitaines. Suche ware thancient sages of Grece and of Italy, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Antisthenes, Aristippus, Zeno, & Pythagoras, who through their wisdomes and estimacion for trauailes wan them greate nombres of folowers, and brought furthe in ordre the sectes named Socratici, Academici, Peripatēci, Cynici, Cyrenaici, Stoici, and Pythagorici, echone chosyng name to glorie in his maister. Suche ware the prudente lawemakers of famous memorie, Minois and Rhadamanthus emōg the Cretenses, Orpheus among the Thraciens, Draco and Solon emōg the Athenienses, Licurgus among the Lacedemoniās, Moses emōg the Iewes, and Zamolxis among the Scythians, & many other in other stedes whiche dreamed not their knowledge in the benchehole at home, but learned of the men in the worlde moste wise, the Chaldeies, the Brachmanni, the Gymnosophites & the priestes of Egipte, with whō thei had for a space bene cōuersant. Like glorie, by like trauaill happened to the worthies of the worlde, as to Iupiter of Crete (reported fīue times to haue surueied the whole worlde) and to his twoo sonnes Dionisius (otherwise called Bacchus) and Hercules the mightie. Likewise to Theseus and Iason, and the rest of that voiage. To the vnlucky sailer Vlisses, and to the banished Eneas, to Cyrus, Xerxes, and Alexander the Greate, to Hanniballe and Mithridate, kyng of Pontus, reported able to speake fiftie sōdrie languages, to Antiochus, the greate and innumerable Princes of Roome, bothe of the Scipioes, Marii, and Lentuli. To Pompeius the greate, to Iulius Cesar, Octauian, and Augustus, to the Constantines, Charles, Conrades, Hērickes, and Frederickes. Whiche all by their exploictes vpon straunge nations, haue gotten their immortal and euerlastyng renoume. Wherefore, seyng there is in the knowledge of peoples, & of their maners and facions, so greate pleasure and profite, and euery man cannot, yea, fewe men will, go traueile the countries themselves: me thinkes gentill reader, thou oughtest with muche thanke to receyue at my hande these bookes of the maners and facions of peoples most notable and famous, togyther with the places whiche thei enhabite: And with no lesse cherefulness to embrace them, then if beyng ledde on my hande from countrey to countrey, I should poynt the at eye, how euery people liueth, and where they haue dwelte, and at this daye doe. Let it not moue the,

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let it not withdrawe thee, if any cankered reprehendour of other mens doynge shall saie vnto the: It is a thyng hath bene written of, many yeares agone, and that by a thousand sondry menne, and yet he but borowyng their woordes, bryngeth it foorthe for a mayden booke, and nameth it his owne. For if thou well considre my trade, thou shalt fynd, that I haue not only brought thee other mennes olde store, but opened thee also the treasury of myne owne witte and bokes, not euery where to be found, and like a liberall feaster haue set before thee much of myne owne, and many thynges newe. Farewell and thankfully take that, that with labour is brought thee.

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THE
FARDLE OF FACIONS
CONTAINING
THE AUNCIENTE MANERS, CUSTOMES AND LAWES,
OF THE
PEOPLES ENHABITING THE TWO PARTES OF THE EARTH,
CALLED
AFFRICKE AND ASIE.

AFFRIKE.

¶ The first Chapter.

¶ The true opinion of the deuine, concernyng the beginnyng of man.

WHen God had in. V. daies made perfecte the heauens and the earth, and the furniture of bothe: whiche the Latines for the goodlinesse and beautie thereof, call Mundus, and we (I knowe not for what reason) haue named the worlde: the sixth daie, to the entent there mighte be one to enioye, and be Lorde ouer all, he made the moste notable creature Man. One that of all earthly creatures alone, is endowed with a mynde, and spirit from aboue. And he gaue him to name, Adam: accordyng to the colour of the molde he was made of. Then drawyng out of his side the woman, whilst he slept, to thende he should not be alone, knitte her vnto hym, as an vnseparable compaignion, and therwith placed them in the moste pleasant plot of the earth, fostered to flourish with the moisture of floudes on euery parte. The place for the fresshe grienesse and merie shewe, the Greques name Paradisos. There lyued they a whyle a moste blessed life without bleamishe of wo, the earth of the own accord bringing forth all thing. But when they ones had transgressed the precepte, they were banysshed that enhabitaunce of pleasure and driuen to shift the world. And fro thenceforth the graciousnes of the earth was also abated, & the francke fertilitie therof so withdrawen, that labour and swette, now wan lesse a greate deale, then ydle loking on before tyme had done. Shortly crepte in sickenes, and diseases, and the broyling heate and the nipping cold began to asaille their bodies. Their first sonne was Cayin, and the seconde Abell, and then many other. And as the world grewe into yeares, and the earth began to waxe thicke peopled, loke as the nombre did encrease, so vices grew on, and their lyuing decaying euer into
WOORS.

woors. For gillelesse dealyng, wrong came in place, for deuoutenesse, cōtempte of the Goddes, and so farre outraged their wickednes, that God skarely fyndyng one iuste Noha on the earth (whom he saued, with his housholde, to repayre the losse of mankind and replenysse the worlde) sente a floude vniuersall, whiche couering all vnder water, killed all fleshe that bare lyfe vppon earth, excepte a fewe beastes, birdes, and wormes that were preserved in the misticall arke. In the ende of fiue Monethes afre the floude began, the Arque touched on the mouteines of Armenia. And within foure Monethes afre, Noas and all his beyng restored to the earth, with Goddes furtheraunce in shorte space repeopled the worlde. And to thende the same myghte euery wheare again be enhabited, he dispersed his yssue and kyndredes into sondrie coastes. After Berosus opynion he sent Cham otherwyse, named Cameses and Chanesenuus with his ofspring, into Egipte. Into Lybia and Cirene, Triton. And into the whole residewe of Affrike the ancient Iapetus called Attalus Priscus, Ganges he sent into Easte Asia with certeine of the sonnes of Comerus Gallus. And into Arabia the fertile, one Sabus, sirnamed Thurifer.ouer Arabia the Waaste he made Arabus gouernour, and Petreius ouer Petrea. He gaue vnto Canaan, all that lyeth frō Damasco to the outemost bordre of Palestine. In Europe he made Tuisco king of Sarmatia, from the floude of Tanais vnto the Rhene. And there were ioyned vnto him all the sonnes of Istrus, and Mesa, with their brethren, fro the mounteyne of Adula to Mesemberia pontica. Archadius and Emathius gouerned the Tirianes, Comerus Gallus, had Italie and Fraunce, Samothes, Briteigne and Normandie, and Iubal, Spayne. That spiedie and vnripe puttyng forthe of the children from their progenitours, before they had throughly learned and enured them selues with their facions and maners, was the cause of all the diuersitie that after ensued. For Cham, b. the reason of his naughty demeanour towarde his father, beyng constraigned to departe with his wyfe and hys chyl dren, planted him selfe in that parte of Arabia, that after was called by his name. And lefte no trade of religion to his posteritie, because he none had learned of his father. Wherof it came to passe, that when in processe of tyme they ware encreased to to many for that londe: beyng sent out as it ware, swarme afre swarme into other habitations and skatered at length into sondry partes of the worlde (for this banysshed progeny grewe aboute measure) some fel into errours wherout thei could neuer vnswarle themselues. The tongue gan to altre & the knowledge of the true God and all godlie worshippe vanished out of mind. Inso muche that some liued so wildely (as afre thou shalt here) that it ware harde to discerne a difference betwixte them and the beastes of the felde. Thei that flieted into Egipt, wonderyng at the beautie and course of the Sonne, & the Moone, as though there had been in them a power deuine, began to worship them as Goddes: callyng the lesse, Isis and the bigger Osiris. To Iupiter also thei Sacrificed, & did honour as to þ principall of life. To Vulcan for fire, to Pallas, as Lady of the skie, to Ceres as gouerneresse of the arth, and to sondry other for other sondry considerations. Neyther staied that darkenesse of iniquitie in Egipte alone, but where so euer the progeny of Cham stepte in from the begynnyng, there fell true godlines, all oute of minde and abodage to the deuell entred his place. And there neuer was countrie, mother of moe swarmes of people, then that part of Arabia, that he, and his, chase to be theirs. So greate a mischief did the vntymely banishment of one manne, bring to the whole. Cōtrarily the progenie of Iapheth, and Sem, brought vp to full yeres vndre their elders, and rightly enstructed: contentyng thē selues with a litle circuite, straiend not so wide as this brother had doen. Whereby it chaunced that the zeale of the truthe, (I meane of good liuyng and true worshippe of one onely God) remained as hidden in one onely people, vntill the tyme of Messias.

¶ The seconde Chapitre.

¶ The false opinion of the Philosophre concernyng the begynnyng of man.

BVt the aunciente Philosophers, whiche without knowledge of God, and his truthe, many yeres ago, wrate vpon the natures of thinges, and thistories of times had another opinion of the originall of man. For certain of them, belieued the worlde euer to haue been, and that euer

euere it should be, and man together with it to haue had no beginning. Certaine did holde that it had a beginning, and an ende it should haue, and a time to haue been, when man was not. For saie thei, the begynner of thynges visible, wrapped vp bothe heauen and earth at one instant, together in one paterne, and so a distinction growyng on betwixte these meynthe bodies, the worlde to haue begon in suche ordre as we see. The aire by nature to be cōtinually mouyng, and the moste fire parte of thesame, for the lightnesse thereof, moste highe to haue climbed. So that sonne and Moone, and the planetes all, participatyng of the nature of that lighter substance: moue so muche the faster, in how muche thei are of the more subtile parte. But that whiche was mixed with waterie moisture, to haue rested in the place, for the heauinesse therof, and of the watery partes, the sea to haue comen: and the matier more compacte to haue passed into a clamminesse firste, and so into earth. This earth then brought by the heate of the sonne into a more fastenesse. And after by the same power puffed and swollen in the vppermoste parte, there gathered manye humours in sondry places, which drawing to ripenesse enclosed them selues in slymes and in filmes, as in the marresses of Egypt, and other stondyng waters we often se happen. And seyng the heate of thaier sokyngly warmth the cold ground and heate meint with moisture is apt to engendre: it came to passe by the gentle moisture of the night aire, and the comforting heate of the daie sonne, that those humours so riped, drawyng vp to the rinde of theearth, as though their tyme of childbirthe ware come, brake out of their filmes, and deliuered vpon the earth all maner of liuyng thinges. Emōg whiche those that had in the moste heate, became foules into the aire: those that ware of nature more earthie, became wormes and beastes of sondrie kindes: and where watersurmounted, thei drew to the elemente of their kinde, and had to name fishes. But afterwarde the earth beyng more parched by the heate of the Sonne, and the drouthe of the windes, ceased to bring furthe any mo greate beastes: and those that ware already brought furthe, (saie thei) mainteined, and encreased by mutuall engendrure, the varietie, and nombre. And they are of opinion that in the same wise, men ware engendred in the beginning. And as nature putte them forth emong other beastes, so liued they at the first an vnknown lyfe wyldely emong them, vpon the fruites, and the herbes of the fieldes. But the beastes afte a while waxing noysome vnto them, they ware forced in commune for echeothers saultie to drawe into companies to resiste their anyoauce, one helping another, and to sieke places to make their abiding in. And where at the firste their speache was confuse, by litle and litle they sayed it drew to a distinctenesse, and perfeight difference: in sorte that they ware able to gyue name to all thinges. But for that they ware diuersely sparkled in diuers partes of the worlde, they holde also that their speache was as diuers and different. And herof to haue afsteward risen the diuersitie of lettres. And as they firste assembled into bandes, so euery bande to haue broughte forthe his nacion. But these men at the firste voide of all helpe and experience of liuyng, ware bittrely pinched with hongre and colde, before thei could learne to reserue the superfluous plenty of the Somer, to supply the lacke of Winters barreinesse, whose bitter blastes, and hōgrie pinynges, consumed many of them. Whiche thing whē by experience dere bought, thei had learned: thei soughte bothe for Caues to defende them fro colde, and began to houre fruites. Then happe fōud out fire, and reason gaue rule of profite, and disprofite, and necessitie toke in hand to sette witte to schoole. Who gatheryng knowledge, and perceiuyng hymself to haue a helpe of his sences, more skilfull then he thought, set hande a woorke, and practised connyng, to supplie all defaultes, whiche tōgue and lettres did enlarge and distribute abroad.

THEI that had this opinion of the originall of manne, and ascribed not the same to the prouidence of God, affirmed the Ethiopiens to haue bene the firste of all menne. For thei coniectured that the ground of that countrie lyng nighest the heates of the Sonne muste nedes first of all other waxe warme. And the earth at that tyme beyng but clammye and softe, through the attemperance of that moysture and heate, man there first to haue bene fourmed, and there to haue gladlier inhabited (as natiue and naturall vnto him) then in any other place, whē all places ware as yet straunge, and vnknown, whiche afte men soughte.

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Beginnyng

Beginnyng therfore at them, after I haue shewed how the worlde is deuided into thre partes (as also this treatise of myne) and haue spoken a litle of Aphrique, I wyll shewe the situacion of Aethiope, and the maners of that people, and so forthe of al other regions and peoples, with suche diligence as we can.

¶ The thirde Chapitre.

¶ The deuision and limites of the Earthe.

Those that haue bene before our daies, (as Orosius writeth) are of opinion, that the circuite of the earth, bordered about with the Ocean Sea: disroundyng hym self, shooteth out thre corner wise, and is also deuided into thre scuerall partes, Afrike, Asie, and Europe. Afrike is parted from Asie with the floude of Nilus, whiche comyng fro the Southe, ronnethe through Ethiopie into Egipte, where gently sheadyng hymself ouer his bancques, he leaueth in the countrie a merueilous fertilitie, and passeth into the middle earth sea, with seuen armes. From Europe it is seporate with the middle earth sea, whiche beginnyng fro the Ocean aforesaied: at the Isle of Gades, and the pileurs of Hercules, passeth not tenne miles ouer. But further entryng in, semeth to haue shooued of the maigne lande on bothe sides, & so to haue won a more largenesse. Asie is deuided from Europe, with Tanais the floude, whiche comyng fro the North, ronnethe into the marshe of Meotis almoste midwaie, and there sincking himself, leaueth the marshe and Pontus Euxinus, for the rest of the bounde. And to retourne to Afrike again, the same hauyng Nilus as I saied on the Easte, and on all other partes, bounded with the sea, is shorter then Europe, but broader toward the Ocean, where it riseth into mountaigne. And shoryng toward the Weste, by litle and litle waxeth more streighte, and cometh at thende to a narowe pointe. Asmuch as is inhabited therof, is a plentuous soile, but the great parte of it lieth waste, void of inhabitants, either to whote for menne to abide, or full of noisome and venemous vermine, and beastes, or elles so whelmed in sande & grauell, that there is nothing but mere barrennesse. The sea that lieth on the Northe parte, is called Libicum, that on the Southe Aethiopicum, and the other on the West Atlanticum.

AT the first the whole was possest by fower sondrie peoples. Of the whiche, twaine (as Herodotus writeth) ware founde there, tyme out of minde, and the other twaine ware aliens and incommes. The two of continuance, ware the Pœnj, and Ethiopes, whiche dwelte, the one at the Northe of the lande, the other at the South. The Aliens, the Phœnices, the Grekes, the old Ethiopians, and the Aegipcians, if it be true that thei report of theselues. At the beginnyng thei ware sterne, and vnruely, and bruteshely liued, with herbes and with fleshe of wilde beastes, without lawe or rule, or faciō of life, roilyng and rowmyng vpon heade, heather and thether without place of abode, where night came vpon them, there laiyng their bodies to reste. Aftrewarde (as thei saie) Hercules passyng the seas out of Spaine, into Libie (a countrie on the Northe shore of Afrike) and bringyng an ouerplus of people thence with hym, somewhat better facioned and manered then thei, trained them to muche more humanitie. And of ȝ trouges thei came ouer in, made themselves cotages, and began to plante in plompes one by another. But of these thinges we shall speake here afre more at large.

Afrike is not in euery place a like inhabited. For toward the Southe it lieth for the moste part waste, and vnpeopled, for the broilyng heate of that quare. But the part that lieth ouer against Europe, is verie well inhabited. The frutefulnessse of the soile is excedyng, and to muche merueillous: as in some places bringyng the siede with a hundred folde encrease. It is straunge to beleue, that is saied of the goodnesse of the soile of the Moores. The stocke of their vines to be more then two menne can ladome, and their clousters of Grapes to be a cubite long. The coronettes of their Pasnepes, and Gardein Thistles (whiche we calle Hortichokes) as also of their Fenelle, to be twelue Cubites compasse. Thei haue Cannes like vnto those of India, whiche may contain in the cōpasse of the knot, or iointe, the measure of ij. bushelles. Ther be sene also Sparagi, of no lesse notable bigguenesse. Toward
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the mounte Atlas trees bee founde of a wondrefull heighth, smothe, and without knaggne or knotte, vp to the hard toppe, hauyng leaues like the Cypres, but of all other the moste noble Citrus, wherof the Romaines made greate deintie. Affrike hath also many sondrie beastes, and Dragonnes that lye in awaite for the beastes, and when thei see time, so be wrappe and wreathe them aboute, that takyng fro them the vse of their ioynctes, thei wearie them and kille them. There are Elephantes, Lyons, Bugles, Pardales, Roes, and Apes, in some places beyonde nombre. There are also Chamelopardales and Rhizes, like vnto Bulles. Herodote writeth, that there be founde Asses with hornes, Hienas Porpētines, wilde Rambes, a beast engendered of the Hiene and the Woulfe named Thoas, Pantheres, Storckes, Oistruthes, and many kindes of serpentes, as Cerastes, and Aspides, against whom nature hath matched the Ichneumon (a verie little beast) as a mortall enemye.

¶ The. iiij. Chapitre.

¶ Of Ethiope, and the auncient maners of that nation. Cap. iiii.

Two countreies there ware of that name Ouerlanders, and Netherlanders. The one per-
taynyng to Aphrique, the other to Asie. The one whiche at this daie is called Inde, hath
on the east the redde sea, and the sea named Barbaricum, on the northe it toucheth vpon
Egypte, and vpon that Libie that standeth on the vtter border of Affrike toward the sea. On
the west it is bounded with the other Libie that stādeth more into the mayne londe. The
residue that runneth toward the south, ioyneth vpon the netherland Ethiope, whiche lyeth
more southerly, and is muche greater. It is thought that these Ethiopes toke name of
Ethiopus Vulcanes sonne, that (as Plinie saith) was gouernour there. Or els of the Greke
wordes aythoo and ops, whereof the former signifieth to broyle, or to bourne vp with heate,
and the other, in the eye or sight. Whiche sheweth in effecte, that the countreie lyeng in the eye
of the Sonne, it must nedes be of heate almost importable. As in diede it lyeth in the full course
of the sonne, and is in continuall heate. Toward the weast it is hilly, in the middes grauell
and sande, and on the easte waste and deserte. There be in it dyuers peoples of sondry
phisonomy and shape, monstrous and of hugly shewe. They are thought (as I saied) to
haue bene the fyrst of all men, and those whiche of all other maye truelyest be called an
homeborne people. Neuer vnder the bondage of any: but euer a free nacion. The first
waie of worshippyng God (say thei) was deuised and taught amonge them: with the maners
and ceremonies there to appertinent. They had two kyndes of letters, one, whiche ware
known onely to their priestes for matters of Religion, whiche they called misticall, and
another for the vse of the people hidden frō none. Yeat ware not their Letters facioned
to ioine together in sillables like ours, but Ziphres, and shapes of men and of beastes, of
heades, and of armes, and artificers tooles, whiche signified in sondrie wise echone accordyng
to his propertie. As by the picture of an hauke swiftenes and spiede, by the shape of a cro-
codile displeasure or misfortune, by the figure of an eye, good watche or regarde, and so
forthe of other. Among their priestes, loke whome they sawe startle aboute as haulfe wood,
him did they iudge of all other mooste holy, and making him their king, they fall downe
and worship him, as thoughe there ware in him a Godhead, or as thoughe at the least he
ware by goddes prouidence giuen them. This king for al that, must be gouerned by the
lawe, and is bounde to all thinges after thordre of the contry. He his selfe maye neither
punishe or guerdon any manne. But loke vpon whome he wyl haue execucion done, he
sendeth the minister appoynted for the purpose, to the person with a token of deathe: whiche
when he hath shewed, the officier retourneth, and the persone what soeuer he be, incontinent
fordoeth him self. So greatly ware they giuen to thee honour of their kynges, suche a fer-
uencie had they toward them, that if it fortuneth the king through any mishap, to be maymed
or hurte in any parte of his bodye, as many as ware toward him, namely of householders,
voluntarily woulde giue them selues the lyke hurt, thincking it an vnsitting thing the kyng
to lacke an eye or the vse of a legge, and his frindes neither to halt, ne yet to lacke parte of
their

their sight. They say it is the maner also, that when the king dieth, his friendes should wilfully dispatche them selues and die with hym, for this comte they glorious and a testimony of very frendship. The moste part of them, for that they lye so vnder the Sonne, go naked: couering their priuities with shiepes tayles. But a fewee of them are clad with the rawe felles of beastes. Some make them brieches of the heares of their heades vp to the waeste. They are comonly brieders and grasiers in commune together. Their shepe be of very small body, and of a harde & roughe coate. Their dogges also are neuer a whitte bigger, but thei are fierce and hardie. They haue good store of gromel and barly, wherof they vse to make drinke. All other graine and fruites thei lacke, excepte it be dates whiche also are very skante. Some of them lyue with herbes and the tender rootes of cannes or Riedes. Other eate fleshe, milke, and chese. Meroe, was in time past the heade cite of the kyngdome, whiche stonde in an Isle of the same name facioned like a shielde, stretching it selfe thre thousand furlong alongest by Nilus. Aboute that Islande do the cattle masters dwelle, and are muche giuen to hunting, and those that be occupied with tilthe of the grounde haue also mines of gold. Herodotus writeth that thethiopians named Macrobij, do more esteime latten then thei do golde whiche thei put to nothyng that thei cōpt of any price. In so muche that the Ambassadors of Cambises, when thei came thether, found the prisoners in the gaole fettered and tied with Chaines of golde. Some of them sowe a kinde of graine called Sesamus, and other the delicate Lothō. Thei haue greate plenty of Hebenum, a woode muche like Guaiacum, and of Siliquastrum. Thei hunte Elephantes and kyll them to eate. There be Lions, Rhinocerotes, Basiliskes, Pardales, and Dragones, whiche I said enwrappe thelephautes, and sucke them to death, for their bloude. There be found the precious stones called the Iacinte, and the Prasne. There is also cinamome gathered. Thei occupie bowes of woode seasoned in the fire, of foure cubites lōg. Women be also trayned to the warres, and haue for the moste parte a ring of latton hanging through the lippe. Certaine of them worshippe the Sonne at his vprieste, and curse him moste bittrely at his doune gate. Diuers of the throwe their dead into Riuer, other cofer them vp in earthen cofres, some enclose them in glasse, and kepe them in their houses a yeare, and in the meane season worship them deuoutly, and offre vnto them the first of all their encrease. In the naming of a newe king, they giue ther voice chiefly to him that is moste goodly of stature, moste conning in brieding of cattle, and of strengthe and substance passing the reast. The lawe hath bene, that the priestes of Memphis shoulde haue the auctoritie to sende the Kinge the token of deathe, & to set vp another in the place of the deade, whome they thoughte good. They haue an opinion that ther are two Goddes, one immortall, by whome all thinges haue their beginning, and continuance vnder his gouernement, and another mortall, and he is vncertaine. Their king, and him that best deserueth of the city next vnto him, they honour as Goddes. This was the state of Ethiope from the beginning, and many yeares sence.

BVT at this daye as myne Authour Sabellicus saierth he learned of those that are inhabitants in the contrey: The king of Ethiope (whome we commonly calle Pretoianes or Presbiter Ihon) is a man of suche power, that he is reported to haue vndre him thre skore and two other kinges. If the heade Bysshoppes of the Realme lesire to do, or to haue aughte done, al is referred vnto him. Of him be giuen al benefices and spiritual promotions, which prerogatiue the Pope hath giuen, to the maiestie of kinges. Yet is he him selfe no priest, ne hath any maner of ordres. There is of Archebisschoppes (that is to say of superiour and head bisschoppes) a great nombre, whiche haue euery one vndre them at the least twenty other. The Princes, Dukes, Earles, and head Bisschoppes, and suche other of like dignitie, when they come abrode, haue a crosse, & a basine of golde filled ful of earthe caried before them: that thome maye put them in remembrance that earth into earth must againe be resolued, and sother renewe the memory of Christes suffering. Their priestes to haue yssue, mary one wyfe, but she ones beyng dead, it is vnlawfull to mary another. The temples & churches ther, are muche larger, much richer, and more gorgeous then ours, for the moste part voulded frō the floore to the toppe. They haue many ordres of deuout men, moche like

like to our ordres of Religious: as the ordre of S. Anthony, Dominique, Calaguritani, Augustines, and Machareanes, whiche are bound to no colour but weare some suche one as Tharchebysshoppe shall allowe. Next vnto the supreame and souereigne GOD, and Mary the virgin his mother, they haue moste in honour Thomas sirnamed Didimus. This King, of all other the worthiest, whome they call Gias (a name giuen him of his mightinesse and power) is of the bloud of Daud, continued from one generation to another (as they are perswaded) by so many yeres of successiō. And he is not as the moste of the Ethiopians are, blacke, but white. Garama the chiefe citie, and as we terme it the chābre of the king, stondeth not by building of masonrie, & carpentrie as ours, but stricted with tentes and pavilions placed in good ordre, of veluet and saten, embrauded with silkes and purples of many diuers sortes. By an auncient ordre of the realme, the king liueth euer in presence and sighte of his people, and neuer soourneth within the walles aboue two daies. Either for that they iudge it an vncomely thing, and a token of delicate slouthfulness, or elles for that some lawe doth forbid it. His army in the warres is ten hundred thousande men, siue hundred Elephantes, and horses, and Cameles, a wonderfull nomber, and this is but a meane preparacion. Ther are througheout the whole nacion certeine houses and stockes, that are p̄cionaries at armes, whose issue is as it ware branded with the marcke of the crosse, & skinne beyng pretelyslyt. Thei vse in the warres, Bowe, Pique, Habregeon, and helmette. Their highest dignitie is priesthode, & next, thordre of the Sages, whiche thei cal Balsamates, and Tāquates. They attribute moche also to the giltelesse and vprighte dealing man, whiche vertue they estieme as the firste staie: toclimbe to & dignitie of the sages. The nobilitie hath the thirde place of dignitie, and the p̄cionaries aforesaid, the fourth. Whē the iudges haue giuen sentence of life, or of deathe, the sentence is brought to the headborough of the Citie (whom we call the Mayour) and they Licomegia: he supplieth the place of the King. Lawes written thei occupy none, but iudge accordyng to reason and cōscience. If any man be conuict of adulterie he forfeiteth the fourtieth parte of his goodes, but thadulteresse is punished at home, according to the discretion of the partie offended. The men giue dowrie to those whom thei marry withal, but not to those & thei purchase besides. Their womens attire is of Golde, (whereof that country hathie plentie) of pearle, and of Sarsenette. Bothe men and women are apparelled in long garmentes downe to the foote, sliued, and close rounde about of al maner of colours, sauig only blacke for that in that contry is proper for morning. They bewaile their dead. xl. daies space. In banquettes of honour, in the place of our fruite (which the latine calleth the seconde boorde) they serue in rawe flesshe very finely minced and spiced, whervpō the gestes fiede very licouricely. They haue no maner of wollen webbe, but are eyther cladde in sarsenettes, or in linnen. One maner of speache serueth not througheout the whole contry, but sondry & diuerse, aswel in phrase as in namig of thinges. Thei haue twice in the yere haruest, and twice in the yere somer. These Ethiopians or Indianes excepted, al the reste of the people of Libia Westward, are worshippers of Mahomet, and liue afre the same sorte in maner, that & Barbariens do in Egipte at this present, and are called Maures, or Moores, as I thincke of their outleapes and wilde rowming. For that people was no lesse noysome to Lybie in those cursed tymes (when so greate mutacion of thinges happened, when peoples ware so chaunged, suche alteration of seruice, and religion broughte in, and so many newe names giuen vnto contries) then the Sarasens ware.

¶ The. v. Chapter.

¶ Of Aegipte, and the auncient maners of that people.

Aegipte is a Countrie liyng in Affrike, or as some hold opiniō, borderyng thervpō, so named of Aegiptus, Danaus brother, where afore it was called Aeria. This Aegipte (as Plinie recordeth in his fueth boke) toucheth on the East, vppon the redde Sea, and the land of Palestine. On the West fronteth vpon Cirene, and the residue of Afrike. On the South it stretcheth to Aethiope: And on the Northe is ended with the sea, to whom it giueth name.

The

The notable Cities of that Countrie, ware in tyme past, Thebes, Abydos, Alexandrie, Babilon, and Memphis, at this daie called Damiate, alias Chairus or Alkair, and the seate of the Soldā, a cite of notable largenesse. In Aegipt as Plato affirmeth, it was neuer sene rain. But Nilus supplying that defaulte, yerely aboute sainte Barnabies tide, with his ouerflowynges maketh the soile fertile. It is nombred of the moste parte of writers, among the Islandes: For that Nilus so parteth hymself aboute it, that he facioneth it triangle wise.

The Aegiptians firste of all other, deuised the names of the twelue Goddes, builte vp Altares, and Images, erected Chappelles, and Temples, and graued in stone the similitude of many sondrie beastes. All whiche their doynge, dooe manifestly make, that thei came of the Aethiopes, who (as Diodore the Sicilian saith) ware the firste inuentours of all these. Their women in old tyme, had all the trade of occupyng, and brokage abrode, and reuelled at the Tauerne, and kepte lustie chiere: And the men satte at home spinnyng, and woorkyng of Lace, and suche other thynges as women are wonte. The men bare their burdeins on the heade, the women on the shulder. In the easemente of vrine, the men rowked doune, the women stode vprighte. The easemente of ordure thei vsed at home, but commonly feasted abrode in the stretes. No woman tooke ordres, either of God, or Goddesse. Their maner of ordres, is not to make seuerally for euery Goddesse and God, a seuerall priest, but al at a shuffe, in generall for all. Emong the whiche, one is an heade, whose sonne enheriteth his rounge by succession. The men children, euen of a custome of that people, did with good wil kepe their fathers and mothers, but the women children (yf they refused it) ware compelled. The moste part of men in solempne burialles, shaue their heades and let theyr beardes growe, but The giptians shaue their beardes and let their heades grow. They wrought their doughe with their fiete, and their claye with their handes. As the Greciens do beleue, this people, and their ofspring, are they that vsed circumcision. Thei ordre their writyng frō their right hande towarde their left, contrary to vs. It was the maner emonge them, that the menne should weare two garmentes at ones, the women but one. As the Aethiopes had, so learned they of them, two maner of lettres: the one seuerall to the priestes thother vsed in commune. Their priestes, euery thirde daye shaue their bodies, that there might be none occasiō of filthynesse whē they shold minstre, or sacrifice. Thei did weare garmentes of linnen, euer cleane wasshed, and white: and shoes of a certeine kinde of russhes, named Papyrus, whiche afre became stuffe, to geue name to our paper. They neither sette beane their selues, ne ate them where soeuer they grewe: ne the priest may not loke vpon a beane, for that it is iudged an vncleane puls. They are wasshed euery daye in colde water thrise, and euery nighte twice. The heades of their sacrifices (for that they vsed to curse them with many terrible woordes) did they not eat, but either the priestes solde them to such strangiers as had trade emonge them, or if there ware no suche ready in time, they threwe them in to Nilus.

All the Egiptians offer in sacrifice, neither cowe, ne cowe calfe, because they are hallowēd to Isis their goddesse, but bulles, and bulle calues, or oxen, and stieres. For their meate they vse, moche a kynde of pancake made of rye meale. For lacke of grapes they vse wyne made of Barly. They liue also with fisse, either dried in the Sonne and so eaten rawe, or elles kept in pikle. They fiede also vpō birdes, and foules, firste salted, and then eaten rawe. Quaille, and mallard, are not but for the richer sorte. At all solempne suppers, when a nombor is gathered, and the tables withdrawn, some one of the company carieth aboute in an open case, the image of death, caruen out of wodde, or drawē with the pencille as niere to the vine as is possible, of a cubite, or two cubites long at the moste. Who shewyng it aboute to euery of the gestes, saith, loke here: drinke, and be mery, for afre thy death, suche shalt thou be. The yonger yf they miete their auncient, or better, vpon the waye, giue them place, going somewhat aside: or yf the aunciente fortune to come in place where they are sitting, they arise out of their seate, wherin they agre with the Lacedemoniēs. Whē they miete in the waye, they do reuerence to eche other, bowing their bodies, and letting fal their handes on their knees. They weare longe garmentes of lynnē, hemmed about the skirtes beneth, whiche they call Casiliras: ouer the which they throwe on another white

white garment also. Wollen apparelle thei neither weare to the churche, ne bewry any man in.

Nowe for asmoche as they afore time that euer excelled in anye kinde of learning, or durste take vpon them to prescribe lawe, and rule of life vnto other, as Orpheus, Homere, Museus, Melampode, Dedalus, Licurgus, Solon, Plato, Pithagoras, Samolxis, Eudoxus, Democritus, Inopides, and Moses the Hebrue, with manye other, whose names the Egiptians glorie to be cronicled with them: trauelled first to the Egiptians, to learne emögest them bothe wisdome, and politique ordre (wherein at those daies they passed all other) me thinketh it pleasaunte and necessarie also, to stande somewhat vpon their maners, ceremonies and Lawes, that it may be knowne what they, & sondry moe haue borrowed of thē, and translated vnto other. For (as Philip Bercolde writeth in his commentary vpon Apuleius booke, entituled the Goldē Asse) the moste parte of the deuices that we vse in our Christian religion, were borrowed out of the maner of Thegiptians. As surplus and rocher, and suche linnen garments: shauen crownes, tournings at the altare, our masse solempnities, our organes, our knielinges, crouchinges, praiers, and other of that kinde. The kinges of Egipte (saith Diodore the Sicilian in his seconde booke) liued not at rousers as other kinges doe, as though he lusteth were lawe, but bothe in their monie collections, and daily fare and apparell, folowed the bridle of the lawe. They had neither slaue that was homeborne, ne slaue that was forein bought, appointed to attende or awaite vpon them. But the sonnes of those that were priestes of honour, bothe aboue thage of twenty yeres, & also singularly learned. That the king hauing these attendant for the body both by daie and by night, restrained by the reuerence of the company about hym might commit nothing that was vicious, or dishonourable. For men of power are selome euil, where they lacke ministres for their vnlawfull lustes. There were appointed houres, bothe of the daie and the night, in the whiche the kinge mighte lawfully doe, what the Lawe did permit. In the morning, assone as he was ready, it behoued him to peruse al lettres, supplicacions, and billes: that knowing what was to be donē, he might giue aunswer in tyme: that all thinges might rightlie, and ordrely be done. These being dispatched, whē he had washed his bodie emög the Pieres of y Realme, he put on some robe of estate, and Sacrificed to the goddes. The maner was, that the Primate, or head of the spiritualty (the beastes appoincted for the sacrifices being brought harde to the altare, and the Kyng standing by) should with a loude voyce, in the hearing of the people, wysshe to the king (that bare him selfe iustely towarde his subiectes) prosperous healthe, and good fortune in all. And should further particularly recite the vertues of the king, his deuoutnes and reuerence towarde God, and clemency towarde men. Commende him as chaste, iuste, and vpright: of noble and great courage, sothfaste, liberal, and one that well bridede al his desires. Punisshing thoffendour vnder his desertes, and rewarding the well doer about his merites. Making a processe of these, and such other like: in the ende with the rehearsalle of the contrary vices, he cursed the wicked & euil. Then absolving the King of his offences, he laied all the faulte vpon the ministres, and attendauntes, y should at any time moue the king to any thing vnright, or vnlawfull. These thinges beinge done, he preached vnto the King the blessednes of the life, led accordyng to the pleasure of the goddes, and exhorted him thervnto: as also to frame his maners & doinges vnto vertue, & not to giue eare to that, that leude mē should counsaile him, but to followe those thynges that led vnto honour and vertue. In thende, when the King had sacrificed a bulle, the priest declared certain preceptes and examples of excellent, & moste worthy men: written in their holy scripture. To thende that the Kynge admonished by the example of them, might ordre his gouernaunce iustlye, and godly, and not geue hym selfe to couetous cloinyng, and hourdyng of trespere. He neither satte to iudge, ne toke his vacacion, ne walked abroad, ne washed at home, ne laye with his Quiene, ne finally did any maner of thing, but vpō the prescripte of the lawe.

Their fare was but simple, nothing but veale, and goose, and their wine by measure appoincted. So that thone should nether ouerlade the bealy, ne the other the heade. To conclude, their whole life so bounde vpon temperaunce, that it might be thoughte rather

to haue bene prescribed them by a discrete Phisicen to preserue helthe, then by a politique Lawyer. It seemeth wondrefull that the Egiptians might not rule their owne priuate life, but by the Lawes. But it seemeth more wonderfull that their King had no liberty of him selfe, either to sitte in iudgement, to make collections of money, or to punishe any man, vpon wilfulnes, stoute stomacke, angre, displeasure, or anye vniuste cause: But to be holden vnder lawe as a commune subiecte, and yet not to be agreued therewith, but to thincke them selues moste blessed in obeyeng & folowyng the lawe, and other in folowing their lustes most vnhappy. As being led by them into many daungiers, and damages. For suche oftentimes, euen when they know them selues to do euill, either ouercome with malice, and hatred, or some other mischiefe of the minde, are not able to witholde them selues from the euille. But they which by wisdom and discrecion, gouerne their liues, offende in fewe thinges. The kinges vsing suche an equitie, and vprightnes towardes their subdites, are so tendred againe of them, that not onely the priestes, but all the Egiptians in generall, haue more care for the health and the welfare of the King, then for their wiues, their childrens, or any other princes.

He that to his death continueth in this goodnesse, him being dead, do they in general lamente. They teare their clothes, they shut vp $\bar{y}$ churche dores, they haunte no place of wonte cōmune cōcourse, they omytte all solempne holy daies: and girding them selues vnder the pappes with brode Ribbond of Sarsenet, two or thre hundred on a company, men and women together, renewe euery daye twise, thre skore & .xii. daies together, the buriall bewailing, casting dirte on their heades, and singing in rithme the vertue of the Kinge. They absteyne from al fleshe of beastes, all meates $\bar{y}$ touche fire, all wine and all preparation of seruice at the table. They bathe not, thei smel of no swietes, they goe to no beddes, they pleasure not in women: but as folkes that had buried their beste beloued childe, all that cōtinuance of time they lamente. During these seuentie and two daies (hauyng prepared all thinges necessarie for the funerall pompe: the laste daye of all, the bodie beyng enbaulmed and cofred, is sette before the entrie of the Toombe. Thereafre the custome, one redeth an abridgemente of all the thinges done by the king in his life. And if there be any man disposed to accuse the deade, libertie is giuen him. The priestes are present, & euer giue praise to his well doinges, as they be recited. Ther stondeth also rounde about the Toombe a multitude of the communes, which with their voices allowe asmuche as is trew, and crie out vpon that, that is false, with vehemēt gainsaienges. Wherby it hath happened, that sondry kynges by the repugnynge of the people haue lien vntoombed: and haue lacked the honoure of bewrialle, that the good are wonte to haue. That feare, hath driuen the kynges of Aegipte, to liue iustly, and vprightly, lesse the people afre their deathes, might shewe them suche dishonour, and beare them perpetuall hatred. This was the maner specially, of the auncient kynges there.

The whole realme of Egipte was diuided into Shieres: and to euery Shiere was appointed a Presidente, whiche had the gouernaūce of the whole Shiere. The reuenewes of the realme were diuided into .iii. partes: whereof the companie of the priestes had the first parte, whiche ware in greate estimacion among them, bothe for the administracion of Goddes Seruice, and also for the good learnyng, wherein thei brought vp many. And this porcion was giuen them, partly for the administracion of the Sacrifices, & partly for the vae and commoditie of their priuate life. For thei neither thincke it mete, that any parte of the honour of the Goddes should bee omitted, or that thei, whiche are Ministres of the commune counsaill and profecte, should be destitute of necessary commodities of the life. For these menne are alwaie in matters of weighte, called vpon by the nobles, for their wisdom and counsaill: And to shewe (as thei can by their cōyng in the Planettes, and Starres, and by the maner of their Sacrifices) the happe of thinges to come. Thei also declare vnto thē, the stories of men of olde tyme, regested in their holy Scripture, to the ende that accordyng to thē the kynges maie learne what shall profighte, or disprofighte. For the maner is not among them, as it is among the Grecians, that one manne, or one woman, shoulde attende vpon the sacrifices and Ceremonies alone: but thei are many at ones aboute the honour of their Goddes,

Goddess, and teache the same ordre to their children. This sorte of menne is priuileged, and exempte from all maner of charges, and hath next vnto the kyng, the second place of dignitie and honour.

The second porcion cometh to the king to maintein his owne state, and the charges of the warres: and to shewe liberalitie to men of prowesse according to their worthinesse. So that the Communes are neither burdoned with taxes nor tributes.

The thirde parte do the pencionaries of the warres receiue, and suche other as vpō occasions are moustred to the warres: that vpon the regard of the stipende, thei maie haue the better good wille and courage, to hasarde their bodies in battaile. Their communalitie is deuided into thre sortes of people. Husbände men, Brieders of cattle, and men of occupaciō. The Husbandmen buyeng for a litle money a piece of grounde of the Priestes, the king, or the warriour: al daies of their life, euen from their childhode, continually applie that care. Whereby it cometh to passe, that bothe for the skoolyng that thei haue therein at their fathers handes, and the continuall practisyng fro their youthe, that thei passe all other in Husbandrie.

The Brieders, afre like maner, learnyng the trade of their fathers, occupie their whole life therabout. We see also that all maner of Sciences haue bene muche bettred, yea, brought to the toppes of perfection, among the Egiptians. For the crafter men there, not medlyng with any commune matiers that mighte hindre theim, emploie them selues onely to suche sciences as the lawe doeth permit them, or their father hath taught thē. So that thei neither disdaine to be taughte, nor the hatred of eche other, ne any thing elles withdraweth them frō their crafte.

Their Iudgements and Sentences of lawe, are not giuen there at aduētūre, but vpon reason: for thei surely thought that all thinges well done, muste nides be profitable to mannes life. To punishe the offendours, and to helpe the oppressed, thoughte thei the best waie to auoide mischiefes. But to buye of the punishemēte for money or fauour, that thought thei to be the very confusion of the commune welfare. Wherefore thei chase out of the chief cities (as Heliopole, Memphis, and Thebes) the worthiest men, to be as Lordes chief Iustice, or Presidentes of Iudgemētes, so that their Iustice benche did sieme to giue place, neither to the Areopagites of the Athenienses, ne yet to the Senate of the Lacedemonians that many a daie after theim were instituted. Afre what tyme these chief Iustices were assembled (thirtie in nōbre) thei chase out one that was Chauncellour of the whole: and when he failed, the citie appoincted another in his place. All these had their liuynges of the kyng: but the Chauncellour more honorably then the rest. He bare alwaie about his necke a tablette, hangyng on a chaine of golde, and sette full of sundrie precious stones, whiche thei called Veritie and Truthe. The courte beyng set and begunne, and the tablet of Truthe by the Chauncellour laied furthe, & theight bookes of their lawes (for so many had thei) brought furth into the middes among them: it was the maner for the plaintife to putte into writyng the whole circumstance of his case, and the maner of the wrong doone vnto him, or how muche he esteemed himself to be endamaged thereby. And a time was giuen to the defendant to write answer again to euery poinct, and either to deny that he did it, or elles to alledge that he rightfully did it, or elles to abate the estimate of the damage or wrōg. Then had thei another daie appointed, to saie finally for thē selues. At the whiche daie whē the parties on bothe sides ware herd, and the iudges had conferred their opinions, the Chauncellour of the Iudges gaue sentence by pointyng with the tablet of Veritie, toward the parte y semed to be true. This was y maner of their iudgemētes.

And forasmuche as we are fallen into mencion of their iudgements, it shall not be vn-syttlyng with myne enterprise, to write also the aunciente Lawes of the Egiptians, that it maie be known how muche they passe, bothe in ordre of thynges, and profite.

Fyrst to be periured was headyng: for they thought it a double offence. One in regarde of cōsciēce not kept toward God, and an other in gyuyng occasion to destroy credite among men, whiche is the chiefest bonde of their felowship. If any wayfaryng man shuld espy a man sette vppon with thieues, or otherwyse to be wronged, and dyd not to his power succour & ayde hym, he was gyltie of death. If he ware not able to succour and to reskeue

hym, then was he bounde to vtter the thienes, and to prosecute the matter to enditement. And he that so dyd not, was punished with a certayne nombre of stripes, and was kept three days without meate. He that shuld accuse any mā wrongfully, if he fortunēd afterward to be broughte into iudgement, he suffered the punishment ordeyned for false accusers. All the Egyptians were compelled to brynge every man their names to the chiefe Iustices, and the facultie or science wherby they liued. In the which behalfe if any man lyed, or lyued with vnlauffull meanes, he felle into penaltie of death. If any man willyngly had slaine any man free or bond, the lawes condemned hym to die, not regardyng the state of the man, but the malicious pourpose of the diede. Wherby they made men afraide to doe mischief, and death beyng executed for the death of a bondman, the free myght goe in more sauftie. For the fathers that slewe their chyldren, there was no punishment of death appoynted, but an iniunction that they shoulde stande thre daies and thre nyghtes together at the graue of the deade, accompanied with a common warde of the people to see the thyng done. Neyther dyd it sieme them iuste, that he that gaue life to the childe, should lose his life for the chिल्des death, but rather be put to continual sorowe, and to be pyned with the repentance of the diede, that other myght ther by be withdrawn from the like wyckednes. But for the chyld that kyllēd either father or mother, they deuised this kynd of synguler torment. They thruste hym through with riedes sharpned for the nones, in euery ioynt all ouer his body, and caused hym quicke to be throwen vpon a heape of Thornes, and so to bee burned. Iudgyng that there could not be a greater wickednes emeng men, then to take awaie the life, from one that had giuen life vnto hym. If any woman with child ware condemned to dye, thei abode the tyme of her deliuerance notwithstanding: for that thei iudged it farre from all equitie, that the gilteles should dye together with the giltye. Or that ii. should be punished, where but one had offended. Who so had in bataille or warre, withdrawn hymself from his bande, forsaken his place in the arraie, or not obeyed his capitaine: was not condemned to dye, but suffred for his punishment a notable reproche emōg the whole armie. As estiemed but a villaine, vntill with his forwardnes and wel doying, he could weare into estimacion again, & at length be restored to his former estate. And that lawe so grewe into mennes stomacques that thei thought suche kind of reproche, of all punishmentes the woorste, & more greuous then death. Who so had disclosed any secrete to the ennemie, the Lawe commaunded his tongue to be cutte out of his heade. And who so clipped the coigne or countrefacted it, or chaunged the stāpe or diminished the weight: or in lettres and writinges, shoulde adde any thing, by entrelinyng, or otherwise: or should guelde out any thyng, or bryng a forged euidence, Obligation or Bille, bothe his handes ware cutte of. That suche parte of the bodie as had offended, mighte for euer beare the punishment therof: and the residue takyng warnyng by his ensample, might shonne the like.

There ware also sharpe punishmentes constitute, in offences concernyng women. For he that had deflowred a free woman, had his membres cutte of, because in one offence, he had cōmitted thre no smalle wickednesses. That is to saie, wrong, made the woman an whore, and brought in a doubt the lafulnes of her issue. But thei that ware taken in adulterie, bothe partes byeng agreed, the mā was whipped with a thousande stripes by tale: and the woman had her nose cut of, wherwith beside ſ shame she had, the whole beautie of her face was disgraced, and disfigured.

The Lawes that apperteigned to the trade and occupieng of men, one with another: ware made (as thei saie) by one Bocchorides. It is commaunded in them, that if money haue bene lent any manne without writyng, vppon credite of his worde: if the borrowē deny it, he should be put to his othe, to the whiche the creditour muste stande. For thei so muche estiemed an othe, that thei thoughte no man so wicked, as wilfully to abuse it. And again, because he that was noted to sweare very oftē, lost vtterly his credite, and name: many menne affirme, that for the regard of their honesties, it happened very seldome, that any man came to his othe. Their Lawe maker also, iudgyng that vertue was the engēdrer of credite, thoughte it good by good ordres to accustome men to good huyng and honestie, vpon

upon feare to sieme vnworthie of all reputaciō. He thought it also to be against conscience, that he that without an othe had borrowed, should not nowe for his own, be beleued with an othe. The forfeet for non paiement of the lone, mought not bee aboue the double of the somme that was borrowed. And paiement was made onely of the gooddes of the borrower, the body was not arrestable. For the Lawemaker thought it conueniente, that onely the gooddes should bee subdite to the debte, and the bodies (whose seruice was required bothe in peace and in warre) subiecte to the citie. It was not thoughte to bee iustice, that the manne of warre, whiche hasardeth his bodie for the sautie of his countrie, should for an enterest of lone, bee throwen into prisone. The whiche lawe, Solon siemeth to haue traslated to the Athenienses, vndre the name of the lawe Sisarea, decreyng that the body of no citezein, should for any maner of enterest be emprisoned.

Thegiptians also for thieues, had this lawe alone, and no people els. The lawe commanded that as many as would steale, should entre their names with the chief Prieste: and what so euer was stollen, incontinente to cary the same vnto hym. Likewise, he that was robbed was bounde to entre with the saied Chiefe Priest, the daie, time and houre, when he was robbed. By this meanes the thefte being easely founde out, he that was robbed, loste the fourth part and receiued the residue, the whiche fourth was giuen to the thiefe. For the Lawe maker (seing it was impossible vtterly to be withoute thieues) thought it moche better by this meanes that men bare the losse of a piece then to be spoiled of the whole.

The ordre of Mariage among the Egiptians is not vnfourne, for the priest might marry but one onely wife. All other haue as many as they wille, according to their substaunce. Ther is no child among them, though it be borne of a bought woman slaue, that is compted illegitimate. For they onely compte the father to be the authour of his kynde, and the mother onely but to geue place and nourishemēt to the childe. When their childre be borne they bring them vp with so litle coste, as a man would skantly belieue. They fiede them with the rootes of mererushes, and other rootes, rosted in the embries, and with marshes Caubois, and colewortes which partly they seathe, and partly they roste, and parte giue them rawe. They go for the moste parte withoute hoson or shoes, all naked, the country is so temperate. All the coste that the Parentes bestowe on their children til they be of age to shift for themselves, surmounteth not the somme of a noble.

The priestes bring vp the childre, both in the doctrine of their holye scriptures, and also in the other kindes of learning necessary for the commune life, and chiefly in Geometry and Arithmetique. As for the roughe exercises of wrasteling, ronning, daunsing, playeng at weapons, throwyng y barre or suche like, thei train not their youth in, supposyng that the daily exercise of suche, shoulde be to roughe, and daungerous for them, and that they should be an empeiryng of strēgth. Musique they doe not onely compte vnprofitable, but also hurteful: as making mens courages altogether womanlyke. When they are sicke, they heale themselves, eyther with fasting or vomiting: & that eyther euery eche other daye, or euery third daye, or fourth. For they are of opinion that all diseases growe of superfluite of meate, and that kinde of cure therfore to be beste, that riddeth the grounde of the griefe. Men goyng to the warres, or traueillyng the countrie, are healed of free cost. For the Phisicēns & Chirurgiens, haue a stipende allowed them of ordenary at the charge of the communes.

In curing, they are bounde to folowe the preceptes of the auncient and allowed writers, registred in their holy scripture. Yf a man folowing the prescripte of the scriptures can not so heale y sicke, he is not blamed for that: But yf he fortune to heale him by any other meanes then is in the scripture appointed, he dieth for it. For the lawe giuer thoughte that it was harde to finde a better waye of curyng, then that y which of suche antiquitie was by longe practise founde oute and allowed, and deliuered vnto them by suche a continuance. The Egiptians do worship aboue measure certeine beastes, not onely whilest they be onliue, but also when they are dead. As the Catte, the Icnemon the dogge, the hauke, the woulfe, the Cocodrille, and many other like. They are not onely not ashamed to professe the worship of these openly, but setting them selues out in the honouring of them to

the uttermoste: they compe it asmuch praise and glory to them selues, as yf they bestowed the like on the Goddes. And they go about on processio with the propre Images of them, from cite, to cite, and from place, to place; holding them vp and shewing them a farre of vnto other, which fall on their knees, and euery one worship them. When any one of them dieth, they couer it with Sarcenet, and houlng, and crieng, and beating of their breastes they all to bestrawe the carckesse with salte. And after they haue enbalmèd it with the licour of the Cedre and other fragraunt oyntmentes, and oyles, to preserue it the longer: thei bewrye it in holy sepulture. If a man haue slayne any of these beastes willingly: he is condemned to death. But yf he haue slaine a catte or a snyte, willingly or vnwillingly: the people ronnethe vpon him vpon heapes, and withoute all ordre of lustice or lawe, in moste miserable wise torment him to death. Vpon feare of the which daungier who soeuer espieth one of those lyeng dead: standing a farre, he howleth and crieth professing that he is not giltye of y death. These beastes with great attendaunce and chardge are kept vp aboute the cloistres of the Temple, by men of no meane reputation: whiche fiede them with floure and otemeale, and diuers deinties, sopped and stieped in milke. And they set euery daie before them goose, bothe soddè and roasted. And before those that delight al in raw meate they sette birdes and rawe foules. Finally as I said they kieke them all with great diligence and coste. They lament their death asmoche as the death of their owne children, & bury them more sumptuously then their substance doth stretch. In so moche that Ptolomeus Lagus reigning in Egypt, when there chaunced a cowe to die in Memphis, for very age: he that had taken charge of the keypyng of her, bestowed vpon the buriall of her (beside a greate some of mony that was giuen him for the keping) fiftie talentes of siluer, that he borrowed of Ptolome. Peraduenture these thynges will seme vnto some men to wondreful: but he wil wondre asmoche yf he cōsidre what communely is done emonge euery of the Egyprians in the funeralle of their deade.

When any man is departed his lyfe, all his niere friendes and kindesfolke, throwing dirte vpo their heades, go wieping and wailing rounde about the cite vntle the Corps be buried. And in the meane season they neyther bathe, ne drinke wine, or eate any meate, but that that is most base & vile, ne weare any apparell that is gorgeous or faire. They haue thre sortes of Sepulchres, Sumptuous, meane, and basse. In the firste sorte they bestowe a talent of siluer. Aboute the seconde, twenty Markes, and aboute the thirde litle or nothing. There be certaine Pheretters, whose facultie it is to sette forth the burialles, whiche learne it of their fathers and teache it their childrē. These when a funeral happeneth, make vnto him that is doer for the deade, an estimate of the exequies in writing, whiche the doer may at his pleasure enlarge or make lesse. When thei are ones fallen at appoynte, the bodye is deliuered to the Pheretrer to bee enterred accordyng to the rate that they agreed vpon. Then the bodie beyng laied forth, commeth the Pheretrers chiefe cutter, and he appointeth his vndrecutter a place on the side haulte of the paunche, wher to make incision, and how large. Then he with a sharpe stone (whiche of the country fro whence it cometh, they call Ethiopicus) openeth the left side as farre as the lawe permitteth. And streight with all spiede ronnethe his waye fro the company standing by, which curse him and reulle him and throwe many stones afre him. For they thincke there yet remaineth a certeine hatred due vnto him that woudeth the body of their frinde. Those that are the seasoners and embalmers of the body (whome they calle poulderers) they haue in greate honour and estimacion, for that they haue familiarite with the priestes, and entre the temples together with them. The bodye nowe comen to their handes, one emong all (the reste standing by) vnaceth the entrailes, and draweth them out at the foresaid incision, all sauing the kidneis, and the harte. These entrailes are taken by another at his hande, and washed in wine of the country Phenicea, wherin are enfused many soote odours and drugges. Then enointe they the whole bodye ouer, firste with Cedre, and then with other oyncetes. xxx. daies & aboue. Then do thei ceare it ouer with Mirrhe & Cinamome and suche other thinges as wil not onely preserue it to cōtinuance, but also make it soote smelling. The Corps thus being trimmed, is deliuered to y kindesfolke of y deade, euery parte of

of it kepte so whole (not an heare of his browes or eye liddes being hurte) *¶* it rather lieth like one being in sleepe then like a dead corpse. Before *¶* body be enterred, *¶* kindesfolke of the deade signifie to the iudges, and the friendes of this passed, *¶* day of *¶* burial. Whiche (according to the maner then vsed) thei terme the deades passaige ouer the mere. The maner wherof is this.

The iudges, aboue. xl. in number, sittinge on the farther side of the mere, on a cōpassed benche wheling haulfe rōude and *¶* people standing about them: The body is put into a litle boate made for the nones, and drawen ouer to the iudges by a chorde. The body then standing before the iudges in the sight of the people, before it be cofred, if ther be any manne that haue aught to saye against the dead, he is permitted by the lawe. Yf any be proued to haue liued euyll, the iudges geue sentence that the bodye shall not be buried. And who so is founde vniustelye to haue accused, suffreth greate punyshemente therfore. When no manne wyll accuse, or he that accused is knowen to haue slaunderously done it, the kinsfolke endyng their mourning: tourne them selues now to the prayse of *¶* dead, nothing afre the maner of the Grecians, for that the Egiptians thinke themselves all to be gentlemen alike. But beginnyng at his childehode, in the whiche thei rehearse his bringing vp, nourtering and scholyng, thei passe to his mannes age, their commending his godlines, his iustice, his temperaunce, & the residewe of his vertues. And calling vpon the vndre earthe, goddes, they beseeche them to place him emonge the godlye and good. To the which wordes all the whole multitude crieth Amen: shewtyng oute, and magnifieng the glorie of the deade, as thoughe they shoulde be with the vnder earth goddes, among *¶* blessed for euer. This done euery man burieth his dead, some in Sepulchres made for the purpose, and other that haue no suche preparacion, in their strongest wall at home in their house, setting vp *¶* cofre ther tabernacle wyse. But they that for some offence, or debte of enterest, or suche like, are denied their bewriall, are sette vp at home without any cofre, vntle their successours growyng to abilite canne discharge their debtes and offēces, and honourably bewrie them.

There is a maner among them, sometyme to borowe money vpon their parētes corpses, deliueying the bodies to the creditours in pledge. And who so redemeth them not, ronnethe into vtter infamie, and is at his death, denied his bewriall. A manne (not altogether causeles) mighte merueile, that thei could not be contente to constitute lawes for the framying of the maners of those that are onliue, but also put ordre for the exequies, and Hearses of the deade. But the cause why thei bent them selues so muche hervnto, was for that thei thought ther was no better waie possible, to driue men to honestie of life. The Grekes, which haue set furthe so many thynges in fained tales, and fables of Poetes (farre aboue credite) concerning the rewarde of the good, and punishment of the euill: could not with all their deuices, drawe men to vertue, and withdrawe them from vices. But rather cōtrariwise, haue with them that be leudely disposed: broughte all together in contempte and derision. But among the Egiptians, the punyshemente due vnto the wicked and lewde, and the praise of the godlie and good, not heard by tales of a tubbe, but sene daiely at the eye: putteth both partes in remēbraunce what behoueth in this life, & what fame and opinion thei shall leane of them selues, to their posteritie. And hervppon it riseth, that euery man gladly among thē, ensueth good ordre of life. And to make an ende of Thegiptiās, me siemeth those Lawes are of very righte to be compted the beste, whiche regarde not so muche to make the people riche, as to aduance them to honestie and wisdomē, where riches of necessitie must folowe.

¶ The. vj. Chapitre.

¶ Of the Penoi, and thother peoples of Aphrique.

OF the Penois there are many and sondrie naciōs. Adrimachidæ lieng toward Egipte, are like of maners to Thegiptiās, but their apparell is like to the other Penois. Their wiues haue vpon eche legge, a houpe of Latton. Thei delight in long heare, and looke what lyce
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it fortuneth any of them to take aboute them: thei bite them, and throwe them awaie, the whiche proprietie, thei onely of all the Poeni haue. As also to present their maidens that are vpon mariage, to the kyng, whiche choosyng among them the maiden that liketh hym beste, sicketh in her lappe, that afre can neuer bee founde. The Nasamones (a greate and a terrible nacion, spoilers of suche Shippes as fortune to bee throwen vpon the Sandes in the streightes) towardes Sommer, leauyng their cattle vpon the Sea coaste, goe doune into the plaine countrie to gather Dates, whiche are there very faire, and in greate plentie. Thei gather the boughes with the fruicte, not yet perfectly ripe, and laie them a Sonnyng to ripe. Afterward thei stiepe them in Milke, and make soupinges and potages of them. It is the maner among them, for euery man to haue many wiues: and the felowship of their wiues, that other vse in secrete: thei vse in open sighte, in maner afre the facion that the Massagetes vse. It is also the maner of the Nasamones, when any mā marieth his first wife, to sende her about to euery one of the ghestes, to offer hym her body. And asmany as receiue her into armes, and shewe her the curtesie she comes for, must giue her some gifte, whiche she hath borne with her, home to her house. Their maner of takyng an othe, & foresheuyng of thinges to come, is thus.

Thei sweare by the menne that ware (by reporte) the best and moste iustemen among thē, layeng their handes on their Graues, or Tumbes. But for the fore knowledge of thynges, thei come to the Graues of their kyndreade, and there when thei haue praied their stinte, laye them doune vpon them to slepe: and loke what thei dreame, that doe thei followe. Where in cōfirmyng of our promise, we vse to strike hādes (as we calle it) thei vse to drincke one to another: or elles if thei lacke liquour, to take duste fro the earth, and one to licke parte of that to another. The Garamantes shonne the felowship and the sighte of all other peoples: and neither vse any kinde of weapon, or armour, ne yet dare defende them selues against other that vsed them. They dwell somewhat aboute the Nasamones, more vp londe. Aboute the sea coaste towardes the weste, ther bordereth vpon them the Maces: whiche shaue their heades in the crowne, and clyppe them rounde by the sides. The Gnidanes (nexte neighbours to the Maces) when they giue battayle to the ostruthes, their brieding vnder the grounde, are armed with rawe felles of beastes. Their women ware pretty wealtes of leather, euery one a greate manye whiche (as it is sayde) they begge of suche menne as haue lien with them. So that the moe she hath, the more she is esteemed, as a deinty derling beloued of many. The Machlies dwelling aboute the mershe of Tritonides, vse to shaue their foreparte of their heade, and the Anses their hindre parte. The maydens of the Anses, at the yerely feastes of Minerua, in the honoure of the goddesses their country womā: deuiding them selues into two companies, vse to giue battaile, one parte to another with staues, and with stones: sayeng that thei obserue the maner of their country in the honour of her that we calle Minerua. And the maiden that departeth the battayle without wounde, thei holde her for no maide. But before ther battayle be fought, they determine that what maydē so euer beareth her selfe mooste valeaunte in the felde, all the other maydens with commune consente shall garnishe her, and arme her, both with the armour of Grecia, and the helmet of Corinthe. And shal sette her in a chariot, & carye her rounde about the mershe. The same menne vsen their women as indifferētly commune, as kyen to the bulle. The children remaine with the women vntil they be of some strengthe. Ones in a quartre the men do assemble wholly together, & then looke with whome the childe fantasieth mooste to abide, him do they compe for his father.

There is a people named Atlantes, of the mounte Athlas, by the whiche they dwell. These giue no names one to another as other peoples do, but echeman is namelesse. When the sonne passeth ouer their heades, they curse him, and reuyle him with all wordes of mischiefe: for that he is so broiling hote, that he destroieth bothe them and ther countrey.

They eate of no kinde of beaste, neither dreame in their sleepe. The Aphres (whiche are all brieders of catteile) liue with flesshe and milke, and yet absteine they fro cowes milke, and all cowe fleshe, according to the maner of the Egyptians, and therefore kepe they none vp. The women of Cyrene thincke it not lawfull to strike a cowe, for Isis sake that is honoured

honoured in Egypt, to whome also they appointe fasting, and feastfull daies, and obserue them solemnly. But the womē of Barcea abstaine bothe frō cowe fleshe and sowe flesh. When their children are iiii. yeare olde they vse to cauterise them on the coron vaine (and some on the temples also) with a medecine for that purpose, made of woolle as it is plucked fro the shiepe: because thei should not at any time be troubled with rheumes or poses, and by that meanes they say they liue in very good health. Thei sacrifice after this maner. When in the name of their firste frutes they haue cutte of the eare of the beaste, they throwe it ouer the house. That done, they wring the necke on the one side. Of all the goddes they offre sacrifice to no more but Sonne & Mone. All the Aphres burye their deade as the Grecians doe, sauing the Nasamones, which bury them as though they were sitting: wayting well when any man lieth in drawing on, to set him on his taile, leaste he should giue vp the ghoste lieng vpright. Their houses are made of wickers, and withes, wrought aboute trees, moch like vnto those that we calle frākencēce trees, and in suche sorte that they may tourne them rounde euery waye. The Maries, shaue the lefte side of their heade, and lette the heare growe on the right. They die their bodie in redde, and vaunte that they come of the Troians. The women of the Zabiques (which are the next-neighbours to the Maries) driue the cartes in the warres, in the which the men fight. There are a people called Zigantes, wher beside the great plentye of hony that they gather fro the Bies, they haue also certeine men that are makers of honye. They all die them selues with red, and eate apes fleshe, wherof thei that dwel in the mounteines haue great plentye. These al being of the part called Libye, liue for the moste parte a wilde lyfe abroad in the fieldes like beastes, making no household prouision of meate, ne wearing any maner of appareil but gotes felles. The gentlemē, and men of honour among thē, haue neither cities nor townes, but Turrettes builte vpon the waters side, in the which they laye vp the ouerplus of that that they occupy. They sweare their people euery yere to obeye their Prince, and that they that obey in diede, shoulde loue together as felowes and companions: but that the disobediente shoulde be persued like felons and traitours. Their armour and weapō, are bothe according to the nature of the country and contrimen: for wher thei of themselves are very quicke, and deliure of bodye, and the country champaine, and playne, they neither vse swearde, dagger, ne harnais, but onely cary thre lauelines in their hande, and a nombre of piked and chosen stones, in a case of stiffe leather hāging aboute them. With these they vse bothe to fight and to skirmishe. In his coming towards the ennemy, he throweth his stone, fetching his ronne, and maketh lightlye a narowe mysse, though it be a good waye of: suche continuall practise they haue of it. They kieve neither lawe ne faith.

The Troglodites (whiche are also named of the Grecians pastours, for their fieding and brieding of catteille) a people of Ethiope, do lyue in companies, & haue their heade ouer them, whome they call Tiraunte. But not meaninge in him so much tirāy in diede, as some time some of our gouernours vndre a fayrer name do execute. None of them hathe any seuerall wife, and therefore no seuerall children, but bothe those in commune, the tiraunte excepted: Who hathe but one wyfe onely. To the which yf any manne do but approche or drawe nighe: he is condemned in a certeine nombre of cattail to be paid to the Tiraunte. From ȝ beginning of Iuly vntle about midde August (at ȝ which time thei haue great plenty of raine) thei nourishe them selues with milke, and bloude, sodden a litle together. The pasture vplod being, dried away with the heate of the Sonne: They sieke downe to the marshe, & lowe groundes, for the whiche onely they be often at debate. When their cattail waxeth olde or sicke, they kyll them, and eate them, & altogether liue vpon such. They do not giue the childe the name of the father, but name him afre a bull, a rambe or an ewe. And those call thei father (the beastes I meane of the masle kinde) and thother of the femel kynde, they call mother, because ther daily fode is giuen by them. The people called Idiote, vse for their drinke the iuyce of a whinne named Paliurus. But the men of worship and gentlemen vse the iuce of a certeine floure they haue emonge them, whiche maketh drinke moche like the worst of ȝ Renishe muste. And because thei cary great

droues

droues of catteile with them, they chaunge their soile often. Their bodies are all naked, sauving their priuities, whiche they hide with felles of beastes. All the Troglodites are circucised afre the maner of the Egiptians, sauving only the Claudians: which they so terme of claudicacion or limping. They onely, dwellinge from their childehode within the country of the Hesternes, are not touched with rasour or knife. The Troglodites that are called Magaures, carye for theyr armour and weapon, a rounde buckler of a rawe oxo hide, and a clubbe shodde with yron. Other haue bowes, & lauelines. As for graues or places of buriall, they passe not. For they binde the heade, and the fiete of the dead together with witthes of Paliurus, & then setting it vp vpon some hilly place, haue a good sporte to all to bethwacke it with stones, vntle they lie heaped ouer the corps. Thē laye they a goates horne on the toppe and departe, biddinge sorrowe go plaie him. They warre one with another, not as the Grieques vpon rancour and Ambicon, but onely for foode sake. In their skirmishes, firste they go to it with stones, as afore ye haue hearde, vntle it fortune some nombre to be hurte. Then occupieng the bowe (wherin they are very sure handed) thei kille one another vpon hepes. Those battayles are attoned by the women of mooste auncient age. For when they be ones comen into the middle emonge them (as they maye do withoute harme, for that is compted abhominacion in any wise to hurte one of them) the battaille sodenly ceaseth. They that are now so fiebled with age, that they can no longer folowe the heard: winding the tayle of an oxo aboute their throte choke vp & die. But he that differreth to rydde him'selfe in this sorte: It is laweful for another (afre a warninge) to doe it. And it is there compted a friendly benefaict. Men also diseased of feures, or anye other incurable malady, they doe in lyke maner dispatche: iudginge it of all griefes the wooste, for that manne to liue, that canne nowe nothinge doe, why he shoulde desyre to lyue. Herodote writeth, that the Troglodites myne them selues caues in the grounde, wherin to dwell. Men not troubled with anye desire of riches, but rather giuing them selues to wilfull pouretie. They glory in nothing but in one litle stone, wherin appere thre skore sondry colours: which we therfore calle Exacanthalus. They eate sondry kindes of venemous vermyne. And speake any distincte worde they can not, but sieme rather to busse or thurre betwene the tiethe, then to speake.

There is another people dwelling in that Ethiope that lyeth aboute Egipte, called Ryzophagi, whiche bestowe muche time in digging vp of the rootes of Riedes growing niere aboute them, and in wassing and clensing of the same, whiche afterward they bruse betwixt stones till thei become clāmie, & so make swiete cakes of thē, muche facioned like a brick a hande broade. Those bake thei by the Sonne, and so eate them. And this kinde of meate onely, serueth them all their life tyme plentifully and enough, and neuer waxeth fulsome vnto theim. Thei neuer haue warre one with another, but with Lions, whiche comyng out of the deserte there, partly for shadowe, and partly for to praeie vpon smaller beastes, doe oftymes wourie diuers of the Aethiopes, comyng out of the Fennes. In so muche that that nation had long sences bene vtirely destroyed by the Lions, excepte nature of purpose, had shewed thē her aide. For toward the dogge daies, there come into that coaste, infinite swarmes of Gnattes, without any drifte of winde to enforce them. The men then flieng to the fennes, are not harmed by thē. But thei driue the Lions with their stingyng and terrible buszyng, cleane out of that quartre. Next vpon these, bordre the Ilophagi and Spermatophagi, the one liuyng by suche fruite as falleth from the trees, in Sommer, and the residew of the yere by suche herbes as thei picke vp in the shadowed groundes. The other, the Ilophagi, siekyng to the plaines with their wiues and their children, climbe trees, and gather, eate, and cary home: the tendre croppes and budde of the boughes. And thei haue by continuall practise, suche a nimblenes in climbyng, that (a wondrefull thyng to be spoken) thei wille leape from bough to bough, and tree to tree like Cattes or Squirelles, and by reason of their slendrenes and lightenes, wille mounte vp on braunches and twigges, without daunger or hurte. For though thei fiete slippe, yet hange theifaste by the handes: and if thei bothe fail e them, yet falle thei so light, that thei be harmelesse.

These

These folkes go naked, and hold their wiues and childrē in commune. Among them selues they fighte for their places without weapon: but against foreiners with stauces. And wheare they ouercome, there chalenge thei Lordshippe. Thei communely dye for hongre, when their sight faileth them: whiche was their onely instrumente to finde their foode. The residewe of the cuntrye there aboute, do those Aethiopians holde, which are named Cynecy, not very many in nombre, but muche differing in life from the rest. For their Cuntrye beyng wooddie, and wilde, fulle of thicquettes, and skante of watre, thei are forced by night, for feare of wilde beastes, to slepe in trees: and toward the mornynge, all weaponed together, to drawe doune to the waters, wher thei shroude them selues into couert, and so abide close till the heate of the daie. At the whiche tyme the Bugles, Pardales, and other greate beastes, what for the heate, and what for thriste, flocke toguether to the watres. Assone as thei haue druncken, and haue well laden their beallies with watre, the Ethiopes startynge out vpō them with stakes, sharpened and hardened in the fire, and with stones, and with arrowes, and suche like weapon, at this aduantage, slea them vpon heapes, and deuide the carkesses by compaignies to be eaten. And sometye it happeneth that thei them selues are slaine by some beast of force, howbeit very seldome. For thei euer by their pollicies and traines, doe more damage to the beastes, then the beastes can doe vnto them. If at any time thei lacke the bodies of the beastes, then take thei the rawe hides of suche as thei lateliest before had slaine, and clensyng them cleane fro the heare, thei sokynglie laie them to a softe fire, and when thei be thoroughly hette, deuide them emong the compaignie, whiche very griedely fille them selues of them.

They exercise their children whilest thei be boies, to throw the darte at a sette marke, and he that hirteth not the marke receiueh no meate. By the whiche maner of trainyng, hōgre so worketh in the boies, that thei become excellent darters.

The Acridophagie (a people borderyng vpon the deaserte) are somewhat lower of stature then the residewe, leane, & exceeding blacke. In the Spring time, the Weste, and South-west winde, bringeth vnto them out of the Deaserte, an houghe nombre of Locustes, whiche are of verie greate bodie, and of wynges very filthily coloured. The Ethiopians well accustomed with their maner of flighte & trade, gather together into a lōg slade betwixte two hilles, a great deale of rubbeshe and mullocke, from places nighe hande, apte for fryng, and all the grasse and wiedes there aboute. And laieng it ready in heapes aforehande, a long the slade, whē thei see the Locustes come with the winde like cloudes in the aire, thei set al on fire, and so swelte them in the passing ouer, that thei bee skante full out of the slade, but thei fall to the grounde in suche plentie, that thei be to all the Acridophagi, a sufficient victuall. For thei poudre them with salte (wherof the cuntrye hath plētie) and so continually from yere to yere, liue by none other foode. For thei neither haue any kinde of cattaille, ne fische can haue, beyng so farre fro the sea. And this maner of meate siemeth to them, verie pleasaunte and fine.

Of bodie thei are very lighte, swifte of foote, and shorte liued, as not passyng xl. yeres, he that liueth lōgest. Their ende is not more incredible, then it is miserable. For whē thei drawe into age, their briedeth a kinde of winghed lice in their bodies, of diuers colours, and very horrible, and filthie to beholde: whiche firste eate out their bealies, and thē their brest, and so the whole body in a litle space. He that hath this disease, first as thoughte he had on hym some tickelyng ytche, all to beskratcheth his bodie with suche pleasure, as is also mingled with some smart. And within a litle while afre, when the lyce beginne to craule, and the bodie beginneth to mattre, enraged with the bittrenes and grief of the disease, he teareth and mangleth his whole bodie with his nailes, putting furth in the meane while many a greuous grone. Then gussbeth there out of hym, suche aboundaunce of lice, that a manne would thinke they had bene bared in his body: & that the barel now broken, the swarme plomped out. And by this meanes, whether through the enfetious aire, or the corrupcion of their fieding, thei make a miserable ende.

Vpon the Southe border of Affrike, dwell there menne called of the Grekes Cynnamic, & of their neighbours Sauluages: Bearded, and that with aboundaunce of heare. Thei kieve for the

sauegarde of their liues, greate compaignies of wilde Mastiues: for that from midde Iune, till midde Winter, there entreth into their countrie, an innumerable sorte of Kine of Inde. Whether thei flie thether to saue them selues from other beatse, or come to sieke pasture, or by some instincte of nature vnknown to manne, it is vncertaine. Against these, when the menne of their owne force, are not able to resist: thei defende theselues by the helpe of their dogges, and take many of them. Whereof thei eate parte whilest thei are freshe, and parte reserue thei in pouldre, for their astre niede. Thei eate also many other kindes of beastes, whiche thei hunt with their dogges.

The laste of all the Affriens Southewarde, are the Ichthiophagi. A people bordering vpon the Troglodites, in the Goulfe called Sinus Arabicus: whiche vnder the shape of man, liue the life of beastes. Thei goe naked all their life time, and make cöpte of their wiues and their children in commune. Thei knowe none other kindes of pleasure, or displeasure, but like vnto beastes, suche as thei fiele: neither haue thei any respecte to vertue, or vice, or any discernyng betwixte goode or badde. Thei haue litle Cabanes not farre from the Sea, vpon the cliues sides: where nature hath made greate carfes, diepe into the grounde, and hollowe Guttres, and Crieques into the maigne lande, bowting and compassyng in and out, to & fro, many sondrie waies. Whose entringes thenhabitautes vse to stoppe vp with great heapes of calion and stones, whereby the crieques serue them now in the steade of nettes. For when the sea floweth (which happeneth there twice in the daye, aboute the houres of thre, and of nyne) the water swelleth so highe, that it ouerfloweth into the maygne shore, and filleth those crieques with the sea. And the fische folowing the tide, and dispersinge them selues abrode in y maigne londe to seeke their foode: at the ebbe when the water withdraweth, retiring together with it alway to the dieper places, and at laste remaining in these gutters & crieques, they are stopped in with the stone heapes, and at the lowe water lye drie. Then come the enhabitautes with wyfe and children, take them, and laye them oute vpon the rocques against the midday sonne, wher, with y broiling heate of the same, they be within a while skorched and parched. Then do they remoue them, and with a litle beating separate the fysshe fro the bones. Then put they the fische into the hollowes of the rocques, and beate it to pomois, minglinge therewith the siede of the whynne Paliurus. And so facion it into lumpes muche like a bricke, but somewhat longer. And when they haue taken them againe a litle by the sonne, they sitte them downe together, and eate by the bealy.

Of this haue thei alway in store, accordinge to the plenty that Neptune gyueth them. But when by the reasö of tempest the sea ouerfloweth these places aboue his naturall course, and tarieth longer then his wonte, so that they can not haue this benefight of fisshing, and their store is all spent: they gather a kynde of great shelle fysshe, whose shelles they grate open with stones, and eate the fische rawe, in taste muche like to an oyster. If it fortune this ouerflowing by the reason of the winde, to continue longe, and their shellefysshe to fayle them: then haue they recours to the fysshbones (which they do of purpose reserue together in heapes) and when thei haue gnabeled of the softest and gristely partes with their tiethe, of those that are newest and beste, they beate the harder with stones into pieces, and eate thē. Thei eate as I haue said in the wilde field together abrode, reioicing with a semblaunte of merinesse, & a maner of singyng full vtuned. That done they falle vpon their women, euen as they come to hande withoute any choyse: vtterly voide of care, by reason they are alwaye sure of meate in good plentye.

Thus foure daies euer continual, busied with this bealy bownsing chiere, the v. daie thei flocke together to go drincke, al on a droue, not vnlike to a heard of kiene to the waters, shouting as they go with an Yrishe whobub. And when they haue dronke till their bealies stonde a strutte, so that they are skāt able to retourne: euerye bodie layes him downe dronckardelike to reste his water bolne bealy, and that daye eateth nothing. The next daye agayne they fall to their fyshing: And so passe they their lyfe continually.

Thei seldome falle into any diseases, for that they are alway of so vniforme diete. Neuerthelessse they are shorter lyued thē we are. Their nature not corrupted by any perswasion taken

taken of other, compteth the satisfieng of hōgre, the greatest pleasure in the world. As for other extraordinary pleasures, they seke them not. This is the maner of liuing propre vnto them that lye within the bosome of the sayde Arabique sea. But the maner of them that dwell without the bosome, is moche more merueilous. For thei neuer drinke ne neuer are moued with any passion of the mynde. These beyng as it ware by fortune throwen oute into the desertes, farre from the partes miete to be enhabited, giue them selues altogether to fyshing, which they eate haulfe rawe. Not for to auoyde thirste (for they desire no moyste thynges) but rather of a nature sauuage and wilde, contented with such victualle as commeth to hande. They cōpte it a principal blessednes to be withoute those thinges what so euer they be, that bringe sorowe or grieve to their hauers. Thei are reported to be of such patience, that thoughe a manne strike them with a naked sweard, thei wil not shonne him, or flye from him. Beate them, or do theim wronge, and they onely wil looke vpon you, neither shewing token of wrathe, nor countenance of pitie. Thei haue no maner of speache among them: But onely shewe by signes of the hande, and nodding with the heade, what they lacke, and what they would haue. These people with a whole consent, are mayntayners of peace towarde all men, straunger and other. The whiche maner althoughe it be wondrefull, they haue kept time oute of mynde. Whether throughe longe continuance of custome, or driuen by necessitie, or elles of nature: I cannot saye. They dwell not as the other Ichthiophagi doe, all in one maner of cabanes, but sondry in diuers. Some haue their dennes, and their cabanes in them opening to the North: to the ende they might by that meanes be the better shadowed fro the sonne, and haue the colder ayre. For those that are open toward the Southe, by the reason of the greate heate of the sonne, caste forth the suche a breathe, fornais like, that a manne can not come niere them. They that open towarde the Northe, builde them preaty Cabanes of the ribbes of whales (whiche in those seas they plentifully find) compassing them aboute by the sides, accordyng to their naturall bendinge, and fasteninge them together at bothe endes with some maner of tyenge. Those do they couer with the woose and the wieses of the sea tempered together. And in these they shroude them selues fro the sonne: nature by necessitie deuising a way how to helpe and defende her selfe.

Thus haue ye hearde the lyfe of the Ichthiophagi, and now remaineth there for Aprique onely the Amazones to be spoken of, which menne saye in the olde tyme dwelte in Libye. A kinde of warlike women, of greate force, and hardinesse, nothing lyke in lyfe vnto our women. The mauer amonge them was to appointe to their maidens a certain space of yeres to be trayned, and exercysed in the feictes of warre. Those beyng expired, they were ioyned to menne for yssues sake. The women bare all the rule of the commune wealth. The women were princes, lordes, and officers, capiteines, and chiefeines of the warres. The menne had noughte to doe, but the drudgery at home, and as the women woulde appointe them. The children assone as thei ware borne, ware deliuered to the men to nouryshe vp with milke, and suche other thinges as their tendrenes required. If it ware a boye, they eyther brake the right arme assone as it was borne, that it mighte neuer be fytted for the warres, or slue it, or sente it oute of the countrie. If a wenche, they streighte ceared y pappes, that thei might not growe to hindre them in the warres. Therefore the Grecians called theim Amazones, as ye woulde saie, pappeslesse. The opinion is, that thei dwelt in the llonde named Hespera, which lieth in the marsshe, named (of a riuer that ronnethe into it) Tritonis, ioyning vpon Ethiope, and the mounte Atlas, the greatest of all that lande. This llonde is very large and greate, hauyng plentie of diuers sortes of fructes, whereby the enhabitautes liue. Thei haue many flockes of shiepe, and goates, and other smalle catteile, whose milke and flesshe they eate. They haue no maner of graine, ne knowe what to doe therewith.

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OF ASIE,

THE SECONDE PARTE.

¶ The first Chapitre.

¶ Of Asie and the peoples moste famous therein.

ASIE, the seconde part of the thre wherin to we haue said that the whole erth is diuided: tooke name as some hold opinion, of the doughter of Oceanus, and Tethis, named Asia, the wife of Iaphetus, and the mother of Prometheus. Or as other affirme, of Asius, the sonne of Maneye the Lidian. And it stretcheth it self from the South, bowtyng by the Easte into the Northe: hauyng on the West parte the two floudes, Nilus and Tanais, and the whole Sea Euxinum, and parte of the middle earth sea. Vpon the other thre quarters, it is lysted in with the Ocean, whiche where he cometh by Easte Asie, is called Eous (as ye would saie toward the dawning) by the South, Indicus (of the cuntry named India) and afre the name of the stoure Scithiane, vpon the Northe Scythicus. The greates mounteine Taurus ronnyng East and West, and in a maner equally partyng the lande in twaine: leaueth one parte on the Northe side, called by the Grekes the outer Asie: and another on the South, named the inner Asie. This mounteine in many places is soude thre hundred lxxv. miles broade: and of length equalle with the whole cuntry. About a fise hundred thre skore and thre miles. From the coast of the Rhodes, vnto the farthest part of Inde, and Scithia Eastwarde. And it is deuided into many sondrie partes, in sondrie wise named, whereof some are larger, some lesse. This Asie is of suche a sise, as aucthorus holde opinion, that Affrike and Europe ioyned together: are scante able to matche it in greatnes. It is of a temperate heate and a fertile soile, and therefore full of all kindes of beaste, foule, and worme, & it hath in it many countries and Seignouries.

On the other side of the redde Sea, ouer against Egipte in Affrike: lieth the tripartite region, named Arabia, whose partes are, Petrea: boundyng West and Northe vpon Siria: and right at fronte before hym Eastwarde, Deserta: and Arabia Felix by Southe. Certain writers also adioyne to Arabia: Pancheia, and Sabea. It is iudged to haue the name of Arabus, the sonne of Apollo & Babilone.

The Arabiens beyng a greates people, and dwellyng very wide and brode: are in their liuyng very diuers, and as sondrie in religion. Thei vse to go with long heare vnrouned & forked cappes, somewhat mitre like, all afre one sorte, and their beardes partie shauē. Thei vse not as we doe, to learne faculties and sciences one of another by appreticehode, but looke what trade the father occupied, the same doeth the sonne generally applie himself to, and continue in. The mooste aunciente and eldest father that can be founde in the whole Cuntry, is made their Lorde and Kyng. Looke what possessions any one kindrede hath, the same be commune to all those of that bloude: Yea one wife serueth them all. Wherefore he that cometh firste into the house, laieth doune his falchiō before the dore, as a token that the place is occupied. The seniour of the stocke enioieth her alnight. Thus be thei all brethren and sistren one to another, throughout the whole people. Thei abstaine fro the embrasinges neither of sister ne mother, but all degrees are in that point as indifferent to them, as to beastes of the fieldes. Yet is adulterie death among them. And this is adulterie there: to abandon the body to one of another kindred. And who so is by suche an ouerthwarte begotten: is iudged a bastard, and otherwise not. Thei banquet not lightly together, vndre the nombre of thirtie persones. Alwaie foresene that, two of the same nombre at the leaste, be Musicens. Waiters haue thei none, but one kinsman to minister to another, and one to helpe another. Their townes and cities are walled, for

for thei liue quietly & in peace one with another. Thei haue no kinde of oyle, but that whiche is made of Sesama, but for all other thynges, thei are most blessed with plentie. Thei haue Shiepe greater than Kien, and verie white of woulle. Horses haue thei none, ne none desire, for that their Chamelles in al niedes serue the as well. Thei haue siluer and golde plentie, and diuerse kindes of spices, whiche other coutries haue not. Laton, Brasse, Iron, Purple, Safron, the precious rote costus, and all coruen woorkes, are brought into them by other. Thei bewrie their kyng in a donghille, for other thei wille skante take so muche laboure. There is no people that better kiepeth their promise and couenaunt, then thei doe, & thus thei behight it.

When thei wille make any solempne promise, couenaunte, or league, the two parties comyng together, bryng with them a thirde, who standyng in the middes betwixte them bothe, draweth blood of eche of them, in the palme of the hande, along vnder the rote of the fingres, with a sharpe stone: and then pluckyng from eche of their garmentes a litle iaggue, he enoynteth with that bloude seuen other stones, lieng ready betwixte them for that purpose. And whylest he so doeth, he calleth vpon the name of Dionisius and Vrania, whom thei accompte among the nombre of goddes, reuengers of faithlesse faithes. This done, he that was the sequester of the couenaunte, becometh suretie for the parties. And this maner of contracte, he that standeth moste at libertie, thinketh miete to be kepte.

Thei haue no firyng but broken endes & chippes of Myrrhe, whose smoke is so vnwholsome, that excepte thei withstode the malice therof with the perfume of Styrax, it would briede in them vncurable diseases. The Cinamome whiche groweth among them, none gather but the priestes. And not thei neither, before thei haue sacrificed vnto the goddes. And yet further thei obserue, that the gatheryng neither beginne before the Sonne risyng, ne continue afre the goyng doune. He that is lorde and gouernour among them, when the whole gather is brought together, deuideth out vnto euery man his heape with a lauelines ende, whiche thei haue ordinarily consecrate for that purpose. And emongest other, the Sonne also hath a heape deuided out for hym, whiche (if the deuision be iuste) he kindeleth immediatly with his owne beames, and brenneth into ashes. Some of the Arabiens that are pinched with penurie, without all regard of body, life, or helth, doe eate Snakes, and Addes, and suche like vermine, and therefore are called of the Grekes Ophyophagi.

The Arabiens named Nomades, occupie much Chamelles, bothe in warre and burden, and all maner cariage, farre and nighe. The floude that ronnethe alonge their bordes, hathe in it as it ware limall of golde in great plentie. Whiche they neuertheles for lacke of knowledge do neuer fine into masse.

Another people of Arabia named Deboe, are for the great parte shepemaisters, and brieders. Parte of the notwithstanding, occupie husbandrie, & tilthe. These haue suche plentie of gold, that oftentimes emög the cloddes in the fieldes thei finde litle peables of gold as bigge as akeornes, whiche thei vse to set finely with stones, and weare for owches aboute their necke & armes, with a very good grace. They sell their golde vnto their borderers for the thirde parte of Laton, or for the halfe parte of siluer. Partly for that they nothing estieme it, and specially for the desire of the thinges that foreiners haue. Nexte vnto them lie the Sabeis, whose riches chiefly consisteth in encence, Myrrhe and Cinamome, howbeit some holde opinion also that Baulme groweth in some places of their borders. Thei haue also many date trees very redolente of smelle, and the roote called Calamus.

There is in that contry a kinde of serpentes lurking in the rootes of trees, of haulfe a foote lengthe, whose bitinge is for the moste parte death. The plenty of swiete odours, and sauours in those quarters, doeth verely stuffe the smell. And to avoyde that incommoditie, they oftentimes vse the fume of a stincking göme, and gotes heare chopped together. Ther is no man that hath to do to giue sentēce vpon any case but the king. The mooste parte of the Sabeis apply husbandrie. The residewe gatheringe of spices and drugges. They sayle into Ethiope for trade of marchaundise, in barkes couered with leather. The refuse of their cinamome and Cassian they occupy for firyng. Their chiefe citie is called Saba,

Saba, and stondesth vpon a hyll. Their kynges succed by disceuse of bloude, not any one of the kindred certeine, but suche as the people haue in moste honour, to be good be he badde. The king neuer dare be sene oute of his Palace, for that there goeth an olde prophetic among them of a king that shoulde be stoned to deathe of the people. And every one feareth it shoulde lighte on him selfe. They that are about the king of the Sabeis: haue plate bothe of siluer and golde of all sortes, curiously wrought and entallied. Tables, fourmes, trestles of siluer, and all furniture of household sumptuous aboue measure. They haue also Galeris buylte vppon great pillours, whose coronettes are of golde and of siluer. Cielinges, voultinges, dores and gates couered with siluer and golde, and set with precious stones: garnishinges of yuorie, and other rare thinges whiche among men are of price. And in this bounteous magnificēce haue thei continued many yeres. For why the gredy compasse how to atteyne honoure with the vniuste rapine of other mennes goodes, that hath tomblod downe headeling so many commune wealthes, neuer had place among them. In riches equal vnto them, are the Garrei, whose implementes of household are all of golde and siluer, and of those and yuorie together, are their portalles, their cielinges, and ropes, made. The Nabatheens of all other Arabiens are the beste husbandes, and thriftiest sparsers. Their caste is wittye in winning of substaunce, but greater in kepinge it. He that appaireth the substaunce that was lefte him, is by a commune lawe punished: and contrariwise he that encreaseith it, muche praysed and honoured.

The Arabiens vse in their warres swerde, bowe, launce, slinge, and battle ax. The rable of helhoundes (whom we calle Sarasines) that pestilent murreine of mankinde, came of this people. And as it is to be thoughte, at this daye the great parte of Arabia is degenerate into that name. But thei that dwell towarde Egipte, kepe yet their olde name, & lyue by butin, like prickers of y bordre, wherein, the swiftenes of their camelles doeth them good seruice.

¶ The seconde Chapitre.

¶ Of Panchaia, and the maners of the Panqueis.

PAnchaia (a countrie of Arabia) is iudged of Diodore the Sicilian to be an islonde of xxv. miles brode. It hath in it thre noble cities Dalida, Hyracida, & Oceanida. The whole contrie (excepte a litle vaine of sandie grauelle) is fertile and plenteous: chiefly of wine and encence. Whiche groweth ther in suche aboundaunce, that it sufficeth the whole worlde for the francke fume offeringe. There groweth also good store of Myrrhe, and diuers other redolente thinges, whiche the Panqueis gather, and selle to the merchauntes of Arabia. At whose hande other buienge them againe, transporte them into Egipte, and Sirie. And fro thence they are spred abroad to al other peoples. The Pāqueis in their warres vse wagons afre the maner of menne in olde time.

Their commune wealth is deuided into thre sondry degrees. The firste place haue the priestes, to whome are ioyned the artificers. The seconde the housebād men. And the thirde the menne of warre: with whom the catteile maisters or brieders be coupled. The priestes are y heades, and chiefe of all the residewe, and haue auctoritie aswell in sentence of lawe, as to put ordre in al ciuile affaires: the sentence of deathe onely excepted.

The housebandemen, tille the grounde, and attende vpon the fruites, and bring all into the commune store. And thei that shalbe founde moste diligente in that laboure and occupation: are chosen by the priestes (but not aboue the nombre of ten at one time) to be iudges ouer the distribuciō of the fruites. Vpon consideracion that other by their aduancement might be stirred to like diligence. The catteile maisters, yf ther be any thing either apperteyning to the sacrifices, or commune affaires, touching nombre, or weight, do it with all diligence.

No man amonge the Panchais hath any thinge that he can call proprely his owne: his house, and his gardein excepted. For bothe the customes, & reuenewes, and all other profectes, are deliuered in to the priestes handes. Who acordinge as they finde necessarie and

and expediente, iustely distribute them. But they themselves are graunted double share. Their garments by the reason of the finesse of the wolfe of their shiepe, especially aboute other, are verie softe and gentle clothe. Bothe menne and women vse ther, to sette oute them selues with luelles of golde, as cheines, braselettes, eareringes, tablettes, owches, ringes, Annuletes, buttons, broches, and shoes embraudered, and spangled with golde, of diuers colours. The menne of warre serue onely for the defence of their countrye.

The priestes aboute all other, giue them selues vnto plesaunte life, fine, nette and sumptuous. Their garmētes are rochettes of fine linnen, and sometime of the deintiest wollen. Vpon their heades thei weare mitres embraudred, and garnished with golde. They vse a kinde of voided shoes (whiche aftrewarde the Gricques toke vp, and called sandalium) very finely made, and of sondry colours. And as the women weare, so do they, all maner of luelles sauing earinges. Their chiefe occupatiō is to attēde vpon goddes seruice, settinge forthe the worthie diedes of the goddes, with himpnes, and many kindes of commendacion. Yf thei be founde withoute the halowed grounde, it is lawfull for any manne to slea them. They saye that they came of the bloude of Iupiter Manasses, at suche time as he came firste into Panchaia, hauinge the whole worlde vndre his dominion. This cōtrie is full of golde, siluer, latton, tinne, and yron, of the whiche it is not lawfull to carie any one out of y realme. The giftes both of siluer & golde, whiche in greate nombre of longe time, haue bene offred to their goddes, are kepte in the temple: whose dores are by excellent workmanship garnished with golde, siluer and yuorie. The couche of their God is vi. cubites longe, and foure cubites brode, all of golde, gorgeous of worke, and goodly to beholde. And by that, is there sette a table of like sorte in cuerie pointe: for sise, stuffe, and gorgeoussnes. They haue but one temple, all of white stone, builte vpon pilours, grauen, and embossed, thre hundred and xxxviii. taylours yarde square, that is to saye, euen of lengthe and bredthe, euery waye so muche. And somewhat accordinge to the syse of the temple, it is sette full of highe ymages very precious: coruen and grauen. Rounde about the temple haue the priestes their habitation. And all the grounde aboute them xxv. myle compasse: is halowed to their goddes. The yerely rente of that grounde is bestowed vpon sacrifice.

¶ The iii. Chapitre.

¶ Of Assiria and Babilonia, and the maners of those peoples.

AS saieth saint Augustine, the cōtrie called Assiria, was so named of Assur, the sōne of Sem. And at this daie, to the ende that time might be founde an appairer of al thinges, with the losse of a sillabe is becomen Siria: Hauyng for his bounde, on the East, the cōtrie called Inde, and part of Media. On the West the floude Tygris, on the Southe Susiana, and on the Northe the maigne mountaigne Caucasus. It is a deintie to haue in Assiria a showre of raine: and therefore are thei constrained for the due moistyng of their lande, to tolle in the riuers by pollicie of trenching and damming: wherwith thei so plentifully thei grounde, that thei communely receiue two hundred busshelles for a busshell, and in some speciall veine, three hundred for one. Their blades of their Wheate and Barlie are fowre fingers brode. Their Sesamum, and Milium (Somer cornes) are in groweth like vnto trees. All the whiche thinges Herodotus the historian, thoughte he knoweth thē (as he writeth) to be vndoubtedly true, yet would he that men toke aduisement in the reportyng of them: for that thei mighte sieme vnto suche as neuer sawe the like, incredible. Thei haue a tree called Palma, that beareth a kinde of small Dates. This fruite thei siede muche vpon, and out of the bodie of the tree, thei draw at one time of the yere a liquor or sappe, wherof thei make bothe wine and hony. In their fresh waters thei vse boates facioned round like a buckler, which the Armenians that dwelle aboute them, do make of salowe wickers wrought one within another, and couered with rawe leather. The appareile of the Assyrians is a shirte downe to the foote, and ouer that a short garment of wollen, and last of al a faire white pleicted cassaque down to the foote agayne. Their shoes are not fastened

fastened on with lachettes, but lyke a pource close about the foote. Which also the Thebans dyde vse, and but they wayne, no moe. They suffre theyr heares to growe and couer them with pretty forked cappes somewhat mytrelyke. And when they goe abroade, they besprinkle them selues with fragraunt oyles, to be swete at the smelle. They haue euery man a rynge with a signet, and also a sceptre finely wrought: vpon whose toppe thei vse to sticke either an apple, or a rose, or a lillye, or some lyke thyng. For it is a dishonour to beare it bare.

Emongest all the lawes of that people I note this chiefly as worthie memorie. Whē their maidens came to be mariageable, thei ware frō yere to yere, brought forth into the Marquette, for suche as would buye them to be their wiues. And because there ware some so hard fauoured, that menne would not onely be loth to giue money for them, but some menne also for a litle money to take them: the fairest ware first solde, and with the prices of them brought into the commune Treasourie, ware the fowler bestowed. Herodote writeth that he heard by reaporte, that the Heneti (a people on the bordre of Italie towarde Illiria) ware wonte to vse this maner. Wherypon Sabellicus takyng an occasion, writeth in this maner. Whether there ware suche a maner vsed emong that people (saith he) or not, I haue litle more certaintie to laie for my self then Herodote had. But thus muche am I able to saie: that in Venice (a citie of famous worthines, and whose power is well knowne at this daie, to be greate, bothe by Sea and by lande) suche maner as I shall saie, was sometye vsed. There was in the Citie of Venice, a place dedicate, as ye would saie to our Ladie of Pietie. Before whose doores it happened a child or twaine, begotten by a skape (whiche either for shame or necessitie could finde no mother, or for the nombre of parteners, no one propre father) to bee laide. And when by the good Citezeins suche tendrenes had been shewed to two, or thre, as the mothers loked for, and manhode (to saie the truthe) doth require: the dore of pitie became so fruitfull a mother, that she had not now one or twoo in a yere, but three or fower in a quarter. Whiche thyng when the gouernours of the citie perceiued, thei toke ordre by commune consente, that frō thens forth suche women children onely, as should fortune so to bee offred to Pietie, should bee nourished at the commune charge of the citie, & none other. And for those acordingly, thei ordained a place where thei ware brought vp, hardly kepte in, and diuersly enstructed acording to their giftes of witte and capacitie, vntill thei ware mariage able. At the whiche tyme, she that had beautie and good qualities bothe, found those a sufficient dowrie to purchase her choyse of husbandes. And she that hadde but beautie alone, thoughte her qualities ware not so excellēte, yet for her honestie that beside forth was singuler in them all, founde that beautie and honestie could not be vnmarried. These therefore ware not permitted to euery mannes choise, but graunted to suche as ware thoughte menne worthie of suche women. If there ware any that lacked the grace of beautie, yet if she ware wittie, and endewed with qualities (together with her honestie) a small dowrie purchased her a husband in good time. But if there ware any in whō there happened neither commendation of beautie nor wit, but onely bare honestie: for her bestowyng was there a meane found, by waie of deuociō, as we terme it whē we signifie a respecte of holines in the diede.

Menne vnmarried beyng in daungier vpon Sea or on Lande, or beyng sore distressed with sickenes, makyng a vowe for the recouerie of healthe, where vnto thei holde them selues bounden in conscience (if it fortuneth them at that tyme to be deliuered) for satisfactiō of their vowe in that case not vprightly perfourmed, vsed to take for their wiues, suche of the simplest as other had left. So that in processe thei alwaie founde husbandes, and the commune wealthe a diminishyng of charge.

Another Lawe of the Babilonians there was, more worthie of memorie a greate deale, for that it imported more weight. And that was this. Thei had frō their beginnyng no Phisicē among them, but it was enacted by the consente of the Realme, that who so was diseased of any malady, should comon with other that had bene healed of the like afore. And acording to their counsaile, practise vpon himself. But he that vsed or attempted any other waie, to be punished for it. Other write that the sicke ware brought out into the Marquet place,

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where suche as had bene deliuered of the like grief afore: ware bounde by the lawe, to go fro person to persone, and shewe them by what meanes thei had bene remedied.

Thei bewrie their dead in Honie, and obserue the same maner of mourning that the Egip- tians do. If any man haue medled with his wife in the night, neither of them bothe toucheth any thyng the next mornynge, before thei be washed:

There was in Babilon a Temple dedicate to Venus, & it hath bene the maner in tyme paste, that when their came any straunger to visite this Temple, all the women of Babilon should come vnto him or them, with greate solempnitie and fresshly appareiled, euery one hauing a garlande on her heade, with some seueralle knowledge of distinction one frō an- other, and offre their seruice to the straungier. And looke whom he liked, he must laie doune in her lappe, suche sōme of money as pleased him. That done thei bothe withdrew them- selues fro the temple a greate distaunce, and laie together. That money was consecrate to Venus.

There ware certain kindredes among them, that liued with none other thyng but fishe dried against the Sonne, and brused in a Mortare, and so laied vp till niede ware. And then did thei mingle it, and kneade it with water into a maner of paste, and so baked it, & eate it. There ware thre sortes of menne that bare rule and office among them. The king, the nobles with the Seniors, and those that had serued in the warres and ware now exempte. Thei had also menne skilfull in the secretes of nature, whiche thei calle Magi, and Chaldei, suche as ware the priestes of Egipte, institute to attende vpon the seruice of their Goddes. These men all their life daies, liued in the loue of wisdom, & were connyng in the cours of the Sterres. And sometye by foretokenyng of birdes flight, and sometye by power of holy verses and nombres, tourned awaie the euilles fro menne, and benefited the with thynges that ware good. Thei could expounde Dreames, and declare the significacions of vncouth wondres. So that men ware certain of suche successe, as thei had foreshewed. Thei wente not into straūge scholes to learne their knowledge, as the Grecians doe, but learned the science of these thynges at their fathers hādes, as heirtage from one generacion to an- other, euen from their childhode at home in their houses. Whereby it came to passe that beyng sokingly learned, it was bothe the more groundedly learned, and also without tedi- ousnes. Thei had one vniforme and constaunt waie of teaching, and one constantnes of doc- trine, not waueryng and almoste contrary to it self, as the doctrine of the Greekes: where eche Philosopher almoste had his waie, and iudgemente, of the principles and causes of thynges. But these menne agre al in one, that the worlde is eternall and euerlastyng, with out begynnyng and without ende. And that the ordre of the whole, was disposed by the prouidence of the highest. The bodies aboue to haue their course, not at all aduentures and without rule, but by an inuiolable lawe of God, acordyng to his ordenaunce and will moste certain. Thei haue learned by long markyng and notyng of thynges tyme out of mynde, one afre another: how by the course of the Starres, to prognostique, that is to foreshewe vnto men, many thynges to come. Thei holde that of all other Sterres, the planetes are strongest of Influence, namely Saturnus. To the sonne thei attribute brightnes and vertue of life. Mars, Iupiter, Mercurie, and Venus, thei obserue moste (for that thei haue a course propre by themselves) as interpretours of the mindes of the goddes to foresignifie thynges vnto men. Which opinion is so grounded in them, that they haue called all those foure pla- netes, by the one name of Mercurius. as ye woulde saye commune currouers or messengers. Thei also do warne menne of many thynges, bothe hurtfull and auaileable: by the marking, and knowledge of winde and weather, of raine and droughte, of blasing sterres, of the eclipses of the Sonne and Mone, of earthquakes, and manye suche like.

Furthermore thei ymagine in the firmament other sterres, subiecte in influence vnto these former, wherof some are in the hauife heauen continually in our sighte, and some in the other hauife continually oute of our sight. And as the Egiprians haue feigned them selues xii. goddes, so likewyse haue thei. To euerie of the whiche they refferre one moneth, and one signe of the Zodiaque. Thei haue prophecied vnto kinges, many aduentures. As vnto Alexandre victory, when he made his exploicte towarde Darius. Likewise to Hircha-
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nour and Seleucus, and other the successours of Alexandre, prophesied thei many things: As also to the Romaines, which had most sure successe. Thei make compte also of. xxiiij. other starres: without, and beside the waie of the zodiaque, xii. towarde the North, and the residew towarde the Southe. Of the whiche, so many as appiere in sight, they iudge to apperteigne to the quicke, and the other to the dead. These troublesome mases haue thei broughte into the worlde more then enoughe, beside the accompte that thei make of their obseruacions, and deuinaciōs from their beginninge to Alexandres time: nombringe them thre thousande and fourty yeres (a shamefull lie) excepte thei will entreprete their yeres by the Mone, as the Egipcians doe, comptinge euery monethe for a yere.

¶ The iiii. Chapter.

¶ Of Iewry, and of the life, maners, and Lawes of the Iewes.

PALESTINA, whiche also is named Iudea, beinge a seueralle prouince of Siria, lieth betwixte Arabia Petrea, and the countrie Cælosiria. So bordering vpon the Egipcian sea on the West, and vpon the floude Iordan on the East, that the one with his waues wassheth his cliues, and the other sometime with his streame ouerfloweth his banckes.

The Bible, and Iosephus by ensample therof calleth this londe Cananea: a countrie renowned for manifolde substaunce. Fertile of soyle, well watered with riuers, and springes, and rich with precious balme. Lienge in the nauelle of the world, that it neither might be broyled with heate, ne frozen with colde. By the reason of the which mildenes of aier, it was iudged by the Israelites or Hebrues, (and rightlye so iudged) to be the country that God promised vnto Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, flowinge in aboundaunce of milke and honie. Vpon the hope of enioyinge of this londe, folowed they Moses oute of Egipte fortye yeres wandering in Campe. And before thei ware broughte into Cananea by Iosua, his substitute, ouercame with strong hande, one and thirty kinges.

This is the people that onely of all other may chalenge the honour of auncientie. This is the people alone y mighte haue glorified in the wisdome, and vnmedled puritie of Language, as beinge of all other the firste. This is the people that was mother of lettres, and sciences. Amonge these remained the knowledge of the onely and euerliuinge God, and the certaintie of the religion that was pleasaunte in his eies. Among these was the knowledge, and foreknowledge of al, sauinge that Helas, they knewe not the visitour of their wealth, and the ende of their wo, Iesus the sauoure of all that woulde knowe him, and sieke life in his deathe. But him whome thei knew not, when by reason thei should: him shal thei yet ones knowe in time when the father woulde.

The Israelites, the Hebrues or the Iewes (for all in effecte soundeth one people) liue afre the rule of the lawes, whiche Moses their worthy duke, and deuine chiefeine, declared vnto them. Without the whiche also or anye other written, thei liued holily, hundred of yeares before: atteinige to the trutthes hidden from other, by a singuler gifte aboue other. That Philosophre of Philosophers, and deuine of deuines, Moses the merueilous, waicenge in his insight, y no multitude assembled, coulde be gouerned to continuaunce without ordres of equitie, and lawes: when with rewardes to the good, and reuenge vpon the euill, he had sufficiently exhorted, and trained his people to the desire of vertue, and y hate of the contrarie: at the last beside the two tables receiued in the mounte Sinah, added ordres of discipline, and ciuile gouernaunce, full of all goodlines and equitie. Whiche Iosephus, the Iewe, (a manne of greate knowledge, and eloquence, aswel in the Hebrewe, his natural tōgue, as in the Grieke, amonge whome he liued in notable fame not a fewe yeres) hath gathered, and framed into one seuerall treatise. Out of the which, because I rather fansie, if I maye with like commoditie, to folowe the founteines of the first Authours, then the brokes of abredgers, which often bring with them much puddle: I haue here translated, and annexed to the ende of this booke, those ordres of the Iewes commune welthe, sēdyng the for the reste to the Bible. And yet notwithstanding, loke what I fōude in this Abredger, neither mencioned in the bible, nor in that treatise, the same thus ordrely foloweth.

The heathen writers, and the Christianes, do much differ concerninge the Iewes, and Moyses their chiefeite. For Cornelius the styll, in his firste booke of his yerely exploictes, called in Latine Annales, dothe not ascribe their departure oute of Egypte to the power and cōmaūdement of God: but vnto necessitie, & cōstrainte, with these wordes:

A great skuruines, and an yche saith he, beinge risen throughe oute Egypte, Bocchoris, the king sekyng remedye in the Temple of Iupiter Hammon, was willed by responcion to cense his kingdome: And to sende awaye that kinde of people whom the goddes hated (he meaneth the Iewes) into some other cōtre. The whiche when he had done, and they (as the poome of al skuruines, not knowing wher to become) laye cowering vndre hedges, and busshes, in places desert, and many of them dropped away for sorowe and disease: Moyses (whiche also was one of the outcastes saith he) counseiled them not to sitte ther, awaytinge afre the helpe of God or of man, whiche they ware not like to haue: but to folowe him as their capteine, and lodesman, and committe them selues vnto his gouernaunce. And that hervnto they all agreinge, at wilde aduentures, withoute knowing what they did, tooke their iorney. In the which they ware sore troubled, and harde bestadde, for lacke of water. In this distresse, whē they ware now ready to lye them downe, & die for thirst, Moyses espienge a great heard of wilde Chamelles comming fro their fiedinge, and going into woddie place ther beside, folowed them. And iudginge the place not to be without watre, for that he sawe it fresshe and grene, digged and founde plenty of watre. Wherwith when they had releued thē selues, they passed on. vi. daies iourney: and so exployted that the seuenth daye they had beaten out all the enhabitautes of the contry, where they builte their Citie, & their temple. Moyses then to the entent he might satle the peoples hartes towarde him for euer: deuised them newe ordres, and ceremonies cleane contrary to all other nacions. For (saith Cornelius) Looke what so euer is holy amonge vs, the same is amonge them the contrary. And what so euer to vs is vnlawfulle, that same is compted lawfull amonge them. The ymage of the beaste that shewed them the waye to the waters, and the ende of their wanderinge: did they set vp in their chambres, and offe vnto it a rambe, in the despight of Iupiter Hammon, whom we worship in the fourme of a Rambe. And because the Egyptians worshipped their goddesse Apis in the fourme of a cowe, therefore they vse to slea also in sacrifice a cowe. Swines flesshe they eate none, for that they holde opinion that this kynde of beaste, of it selfe beinge disposed to be skoruie, mighte be occasion againe to enfecte them of newe. The seuenth daye they make holy day. That is to say spende awaie in ydlenes and rest: for that on the seuenth daye, they founde reste of theyr wandering, and misery. And when they had caughte a sauour in this holye daye loytering: it came to passe in processe of tyme, that they made a longe holydaye also of the whole seuenth yere: But other holde opinion that they do obserue suche maner of holye daies, in the honour of Saturne the god of fasting and famine: with whose whippe they are lothe againe to be punished. Their breade is vnleauened. These ceremonies and deuises, by what meanes so euer they ware brought in amonge them, they do stiffely defende. As they are naturally giuen, to be stiffe in beliefe, and depe in loue with their owne although they towarde al other they be most hateful enemies. So that they neither will eate ne drinke with them: no nor lye in the chambre that a straunger of a nother nacion lyeth in. A people altogether giuen vnto leachery, and yet absteyning from the embrasings of the straunger. Emonge them selues they iudge nothinge vnlawfull. They deuised to roude of the foreskinne of their yarde (whiche we call circumcision) because they would haue a notable knowledge betwene thē, and other nacions. And the first lesson they teache vnto their children, is to despise the goddes. The soules of those y die in tormentes, or in warre, they iudge to be immortal. A continuall feare haue they, & a regard of heauen and helle. And where the Egyptians honour many similitudes and Images of beastes, and other creatures, whiche they make them selues: the Iewes onely doe honour with their spirite and minde, and conceiue in their vndrestandyng, but one onely Godheade. Iudging all other that worshipped the Images of creatures, or of manne: to be vngodlie and wicked. These and many other thinges doth Cornelius write, and Troguus also in his. xxxvi. booke.

There ware amonge the Iewes thre seueralle sectes, differing in life from the reast of the people.

people. The Phariseis, the Sadduceis, and the Esseis. The Phariseis vsed a certeine rough solempnesse of appareille, and a very skante fare: determining the Tradicions of Moyse, by certein ordinaunces and decrees, whiche thei themselues sette vp. Thei caried vpon their foreheades, and on their lefte armes, pretie billetes of Paper, facioned for the place, wherein ware written the tenne preceptes of f two Tables. And this did thei for that the Lorde saieih: And these shall thou haue (meanyng the commaundementes) as a remembraunce häging before thine eyes, and alwaie ready at thine hande. These ware called their Philacteries, of these two woordes Phylexi and Thorat, wherof the former signifieth to Kiepe, and the other, the Lawe. These menne also hauyng vpon their skirtes muche broder gardes then other, stacke them full of Thornes, whiche beatyng and prickyng them on the hieles as thei wente, might putte them in remembraunce of the cōmaundemētes of God. Thei attributed all thynges vnto God, and destenie, whiche thei call Emarmeni. Neuertheles thei graunted, that it laie muche in the free choise of manne: either to doe, or not to doe the thynges that are iust and godlie, but yet destenie to helpe in al cases. Whiche destenie thei thought to depende of the influence of the bodies aboue. Looke what their superiours and Elders had saied, or answered to any demaunde, thei neuer woulde contrarie it. Thei belieued that GOD should come to Iudge the worlde, and that all soules ware euerlastyng. And as for the soules of the good, thei helde opinion, that thei passed from one bodie to another, vntill the daie of the generall resurrection. But the soules of the wicked, to be plunged into euerlasting prison & dōgeō. The name of Pharisei was giuē vnto them for that thei ware disguised fro f cōmune maner of other, as ye would saie, Sequestred.

The Sadduceis denied that there was any destenie, but that God was the beholder of all, and that it laie in the choise of manne, to doe well or euill. And as for ioye or sorowe that the soule should suffre afre this life, thei denied. Neither belieued thei any resurrection: because thei thoughte the soule died with the bodie. Thei would not belieue that there ware any spirites, good or bad. Neither would thei receiue more of the Bible, then the fiue bookes of Moses. Thei ware sterne men, and vncompaignable: not so muche as ones kepyng felowshippe one with another. For the whiche sternesse, thei named theim selues Sadduceis, that is to saie iuste menne.

The Esseis ware in all pointes verie like vnto our cloisterers, abhorryng mariage and the companie of women. Not for that thei condemned Mariage, or the procreation of issue, but for that thei iudged a manne ought to be ware of the intemperauncie of women. And that no woman kept herself true to her husbāde. Oh shameful opinion, and muche better to be reported by the dead, then to be credited of the quicke, bee it neuer so true. Thei possessed all thynges in commune. As for checkes or reuilinges, was to thē muske and honie, and slouenly vndaftinesse, a greate comelinesse. So that thei ware alwaie in a white surcote, all was well. Thei had no certein abiding in any one citie: but Celles ouer all, where so euer thei became. Before the risyng of the Sonne, thei spake nothyng that touched any worldly affaire: but praied the sonne to rise. After whose vprijste thei laboured vntill eleuen of the clocke. And then, washyng firste their whole bodie in water: thei satte doune together to meate, in solempne silence euery manne. Swearing they compted forswear- yng. Thei admitted no manne to their secte, vndre a yere of probation. And afre what time thei had receiued him: yet had thei two yeres more to proue his maners and con- ditions. Suche as thei tooke with a faulte, thei draue fro their cōpaignie. Enioyned by the waie of penance, to go a grasing like a beast, vntill his dieng daie. When tenne ware sette in a companie together, no one of them spake without the consēte of the other nyne. Thei would not spitte within the precincte of the compaignie among them, ne yeat on their righte side. They kept the Sabboth with suche a precisenesse, that thei would not that daie, ease nature of the belie burden. And whē vpon other daies, nature forced them to that ease- mente, thei caried with them a litle spade of woode, wherewith in place moste secrete, thei vsed to digge a litle pit, to laie their bealie in. And in the time of doying, thei also vsed a very greate circumspection, that their clothes laie close to the grounde rounde aboute them, for offending (saied thei) of the Maiestie of God. Vpon whiche respecte, thei also couered

couered and bewried it, assone as thei had done that nature required. Thei ware of verie long life, by the reason of the vnfourme diete that thei vsed, alwaie afire one rate of fare : whiche was onely the fruite of their countrie Balme. Thei occupied no money. If any manne suffered for wel doying, or as wrögfually condemned, that thoughte thei the beste kinde of death. Thei helde opinion that all soules ware made in the beginnyng, and put in to bodies from tyme to tyme, as bodies did niede them. And for the good soules beyng ridde of their bodies againe, thei saied there was a place appointed beyond the Weast Occean, where thei take repose. But for the euill, thei appointed places toward the East, as more stormie colde & vnpleasante. Ther ware amöge them that prophecied thinges. Some of them gaue themselves to wedlocke : least if thei should be of the oppinion that men oughte to absteyne vttrely from women, mankind should fade, and in processe be extincte, yea vsd thei the compaignie of their wiues nothing at riote.

The lande of Siria (whereof we haue named Iewrie a parte) is at this daie enhabited of the Grekes, called Griphones, of the Iacobites, Nestorians, Sarracenes, and of two Christian nations, the Sirians and Marouines. The Siriäs vse to saie Masse, afre the maner of the Grekes : and for a space ware subiecte to the church of Rome.

The Marouines agre in opinion with the Iacobites. Their lettres and tongue are al one with the Arabique. These Christianes dwelle at the Mounte Libanus. The Sarracenes, whiche dwelle aboute Ierusalē (a people valeaüt in warre) delighte muche in housbandrie and tilthe. But contrary wise, thei that enhabite Siria, in that pointe are nothing worth. The Marouines are feawe in nombre, but of all other thei are the hardieste.

¶ The. v. Chapitre.

¶ Of Media, and the maners of the Medes.

MEDIA (a countrie of Asia) as Solinus writeth, toke the name of one Medus, the sonne of Medea & Egeus, kyng of Athenes. Of whō the people ware also called Medes. But Iosephus affirmeth that it was so named of Medius, the sōne of Iapheth. This countrie, as it is sene in Ptolomie, hath on the Northe, the sea named Hircanum, on the West Armenia, and Assiria, on the Southe Persie, and on theast Hircania and Parthia. Sauing that betwixte Parthia and it, there ronneth a mountaigne, that separateth their frontiers. The feactes that thei mooste exercise, are shootyng and ridyng. Wherein thei be righte experte, & almoste (for those quartres) without matche or felowe. It hathe bene there a longe continued and aunciente custome, to honour their kynges like goddes. The rounde cappe, whiche thei cal Tiara: and their long slieued garmentes, passed from them to the Persians, together with the Empire. It was a peculier maner vsed of the Kynges of the Medes, to haue many wiues. Which thyng was aftewarde also taken by of the communes: so that at lengthe it was thought vnmiete to haue feawer wiues then seuen. It was also a goodlie thyng for a woman to haue many husbendes: and to be without fiue at ones, was compted a miserable state. The Medes entre leagues and couenauntes, both afre the maner of the Grekes, and also with drawing bloud vpō some parte of the arme aboute the shouldre, one of another, whiche thei vse to licke eche of others body. All that parte of the cōtrey that lieth toward the Northe, is barrein and vnfructefulle. Wherefore thei vse to make store of their fruite, and to drie them, and so to worke them into a masse or lumpe for their foode. Of roasted Almondes thei make their breade: and their wine of the rootes of certein herbes. Thei cate great plentie of the fleshe of wilde beastes.

¶ The. vi. Chapitre.

¶ Of Parthia, and the maner of the Parthians.

A Certeine nombre of Outlawes and Banished menne, called Parthie, gaue name to this Countrie: Afre suche time as by train, and stealth thei had gotten it. On the Southe it hath Carmania, on the North Hircanum, on the Weast the Meades, and on the Easte the country

country of Arabia. The countrie is hilly, and full of woddess, and of a barreine soyle. And a people which in the time of the Assiriens, and Medes, ware scante knowen, and litle esteemed. In so moche that when y^e highe gouernaunce of the whole (whiche the Grekes call the Monarchie) was yelded into the hādes of the Persians: thei ware made a butin, as a nombre of raskalles without name. Laste of all thei ware slaues to the Macedonies. But afterward in processe of time, suche was the valeaūtenes of this people, and such successe had thei: that thei became lordes, not ouer their neighbours onely rounde aboute them, but also helde the Romaines (the conquerours of the worlde) suche tacke, that in sondrie warres they gaue them great ouerthrowes, and notablie endamaged their power. Plinie reherseth. xiiii. kingdomes of the Parthians. Trogus calleth them Emperours of the East part of the worlde. Asthough they, and the Romaines holding the Weste, had deuided the whole betwixte them.

Afre the decaye of the Monarchie of the Macedonians, this people was ruled by kinges. Whome generally by the name of the first king, thei termed Arsaces. Nexte vnto the kinges maiestie, the communalitie bare the swaye. Oute of whome they chase bothe their Capteignes for the warres, & their gouernours for the peace time. Their language is a speache mixte of the Scithians, & Medes. Their appareil at the firste, was afre their facion vnlike to all other. But when thei grewe vnto power, louse and large, & so thinne: that a man mighte see thorough it, afre the facion of the Medes. Their maner of weapon, & armour, was the same that the Scithians vsed. But their armies ware altogether almoste of slaues and bondemen, contrary to the maner of other peoples. And for that no manne hath authoritie amonge them to giue fredome vnto anye of this bonde ofspring: The nombre of them by continuāuce, came vnto a greate multitude. These do thei bringe vp, and make of as deerly, as thei do of their owne children: teachinge them to ride, to shote, to throwe the darte, and suche like feates, with great diligence, and handsomenes. Eche communerther, according to his substaunce, findeth a greate nombre of these to serue the kinge on horsebacke, in all warres. So that at what time Anthonie the Romaine made warre vpon the Parthians, wher thei mette him with fyftie thousande horsemen: there ware of the whole nombre but eyghte hundred fre borne. They are not skylfull to fighte it oute at hande stripes, ne yeat in the maner of besieging or assaulting: but all together afre the maner of skirmishe, as thei spie their aduantage. Thei vse no trompet for their warninges or onsets but a dromme: neither are thei able to endure longe in their fighte. For yf they ware so good in continuance, as thei be violente at a brunte: ther ware no multitude able to susteine their force. For the moste parte thei breake of, when the skirmishe is euen at the whottest. And within a while afre thei feigne a flight, wher with thei beginne againe a newe onsette. So when thou thinkest thy selfe mooste sure of the honour of the field, the arte thou at the point of the hardest hasarde. Their horsmen vse armour of mayle entrelaced with fethers: bothe for their owne defence, & the defence also of their horses. In times passed thei occupied no golde ne siluer, but only in their armour. Vpon regarde of chaunge in their luste, thei mary echeone many wiues, and yet punishe thei none offēce so greuously as adultery. For the auoyding whereof, thei doe not onely forbidde their women by generall restraunte from all feastes, and banckettinges of men: but also from the sighte of them. Some neuerthelesse do wrighte, amonge the whiche Strabo is one, that thei vse to giue their wiues sometime to their friendes, as in y^e waye of mariage, that thei maye so haue issue. Thei eate none other fleshe but suche as thei kille at the chace. Thei be euer on horsebacke, whether thei go to the fielde or the banket, to bye, to selle, to cōmune of aughte with their friende, or to do any thing that is to be done. Yea thei dispatche al commune and priuate affaires, sittinge on horsebacke. And this is to be vnderstonden of the fre borne: for the slaues are alwaies on foote. Their buriall for all menne (sauinge the kinge) is the dogges bealy, and the kytes. But when thei or suche like haue eaten of, the fleshe, the couer thei the bare bones with earth. Thei haue great regarde vnto their goddes, & the worship due vnto them. Thei are men of a proude nature, busie medlers, and sedicious, craftie, deceitfull, malaparte, and vnshamefaced: for thei holde opinion that it becometh

the man aswell to be sterne, as the woman to be milde. Thei be euer in some stirre, either with their neighbours, or elles amonge them selues. Men of fewe wordes, and readier to doe, then to saye. And therefore whether it go with them or against the, thei lappe it vp in scilence. Thei obey not their superiours for any reuerence, but for feare. Altogether giuen to lechery, and yet skante in fiedinge. No farther trewe of worde or promesse, then semeth them expediente for their owne behoue.

¶ The. vii. Chapter.

¶ Of Persia, and the maners and ordinaunces of the Persians.

PERSIA (a countrie of the Easte) was so called of Persius the Sonne of Jupiter and Danae. Of whome the chiefe cite of the kingedome also, was named Persepolis, whiche in Englishe soudeth Perseboroughe (or as we corruptly terme it) Perseburie, and the whole nacio Persiens. This countrie as Ptolemie writeth in his fueth booke, hath on the Northe, Media: on the West, Susiana: on the Easte, the two Carmanias: and on the South, an inshot of the Sea, called the Bosome of Parthia. The famous cities thereof, were Axiama Persepolis and Diospolis. By the name of Iupiter thei vnderstode the whole heauen. Thei chiefly honour the Sonne, whom thei calle Mitra. Thei worship also the Mone, the planet Venus, the fyre, the earthe, the water, and the windes. Thei neither haue altare nor temple, nor ymage, but celebrate their deuine seruike vndre the open heauen vpon some highe place for that purpose appoincted. In doinge sacrifice thei haue no farther respecte, but to take awaye the life from the beaste. As hauing opinion, that forasmuche as the goddess be spirites, thei delighte in nothinge but the spiritual parte, the soule. Before they slea it, thei set it aparte by them, with a corone vpon the heade, and heape vpon it many bittre baninges and curses. Some of the nacion notwithstandinge, when thei haue slaine the beaste: vse to lay parte of the offalle in the fire.

When thei sacrifice vnto the fire, they timbre vp drie stickes together, cleane without pille or barcke. And after what time thei haue powred on neates tallowe, and oyle, thei kindle it. Not blowing with blaste of blowesse or mouthe: but makeinge winde as it ware with a ventile, or trenchour, or suche like thinge. For yf any manne either blowe into it, or caste in any deade thing, or any durte, or puddle, it is deathe to the doer. The Persians beare suche reuerence to their floudes, that thei neither wasshe, pyss, nor throwe deade carcase into them. No not so moche as spitte into the: But very reuerentlie honour their water after this maner. Comminge to lake, mere, floude, ponde, or springe: thei trenche out a litle diche, and ther cut thei the throte of the sacryfice. Being well ware, that no droppe of blode sprinkle into the water by. As thoughe all water ware polluted and vnhalowed ouer all: yf that should happen. That done their Magi (that is to say men skylful in y secretes of nature) layeng the flesh vpon a heape of Myrtus, or Laurelle, and tymbryng smalle wandes about, sette fyre thereon & brenne yt. And pronouncyng certein curses, they myngle oyle, mylke, and hony together, and sprinkle into the fyre. But these cursinges make they not against the fyre ne water. But against the earthe, a greate whyle toguether: holding in their hande a boudele of smalle myrte wandes. Their kinges reigne by successiō of one kindred or stocke. To whom who so obeyeth not, hath his heade & armes striken of: and so wythout buriall is throwe out for karreine. Policritus sheweth that euery king of the Persians, buyldeth his howse vpō a greate hille: and ther houredeth vp all the threasure, tribute, & taxe that he receyueth of the people: to be a recorde after his deathe how good a husbonde he hath bene for y comune wealthe. Suche of the subiectes as dwelle vpon the sea coast, are taxed to paie money. But those that inhabite toward the mydde londe: suche comodities as the quartre beareth or hath wher they dwelle. As apothecary druggues, wolle, coulours, & suche like and cateille accordingly. He is not permitted any one cause, to putte any man to death. Neither is it lawfull for any other of the Persians to execute any thyng against any of his house or stock, that maie sieme in any wyse cruelle. Euery one of them marie many wiues: & holde many cōcubines also beside, for the increase of issue.

The

The king Proclaimeth rewarde vnto him, that within one yere begetteth most children. Five yere afre thei are begotten, thei come not in the fathers sight, by a certain ordenaunce vsed among them: but are broughte vp continually among the women. To the ende that if the childe fortune to dye in the time of his infancie, their fathers grief maie be the lesse. Thei vse not to marie but in one tyme of the yere: toward midde Marche. The bridegrome eateth to his supper, an apple of that countrey, or a litle of the maribone of a Chamel: and so without any farther banquetting goeth to bedde. From five yeres olde, to twentie and fowre, thei learne to ride, to throwe the Darte, to shoote, and chiefly to haue a tongue voide of all vntruthe. For their nourituryng and trainyng in good maners, thei haue appointed them Masters of greatesobrenes and vertue, that teache them dieties, and pretie songes, conteinyng either the praises of their Goddes, or of some worthy Princes. Whiche sometime thei sing, and sometyme recite without note: that so thei mighte learne to confourme their liues vnto theirs, whose praises thei sieme themselues to allowe. To this lesson assemble thei alwaie together, at the calle of a Trompette. And as thei growe into yeres, an accompt is required of the how well thei haue borne awaie the lessons of their childhode. Thei vse to ronne the race, & to course, bothe on horsebacke and on foote: at the leadyng of some noble mannes sonne, chosen for the nones. The field for the race, is at least thre mile and thre quarters longe. And to the ende that heate or colde should the lesse trouble them, thei vse to wade ouer brookes, and swimme ouer riuers, & so to rowme and to hunte the fieldes, and to eate & drinke in their armour, and wette clothes. The fruytes that thei eate are akeornes, wild Peares, and the fruitte of the Terebinthine tree. But their daiely foode afre their ronnyng, and other exercises of the bodie: is hard Bisquette, or a like crustie breade, Hortechocques, Gromelle sede, a litle roste fleshe or sodden, whether thei lust: and faire water their drincke. Their maner of Huntyng, is with the bowe, or the Darte on horsebacke. Thei are good also in the slynge. In the forenoone thei plante and graffe, digge vp settes, stubbe vp rootes, make their owne armour, or fisse and foule, with the Angle or nette. Their children are decked with garnishynges of golde. And their chief iuelle is the precious stone Piropus, whiche thei haue in suche price, that it maie come vpon no deade corps. And that honour giue thei also to the fire, for the reuerence thei beare there vnto. From twentie, till fuetie: thei folowe the warres. As for byeng and sellyng, or any kinde of Lawe prattle, thei vse not. Thei cary in their warres, a kinde of shieldes facioned like a losenge, a quiure with shaftes, & a curtillace. On their heades a copintancke, embatled aboute like a turrette, and a brestplate embossed, of skaled woorke. The princes and menne of honour did weare a treble Anaxirides, facioned muche like a coate armour, and a long coate doune to the knees, with hangyng slieues acordyng. The outside colours, but the lining white. In Somer thei weare purple, and in Wintre Medleis. The abillmentes of their heades, are muche like the frontlettes that their Magj doe weare. The comune people are double coated doune to the midde Leggue, and haue about their heade a greate rolle of Sendalle. Their beddes and their drinking vessell, are garnished with gold. Whē thei haue matier of moste importaunce to common of, thei debate and cōclude in the middes of their cuppes: thinkyng it muche surer that is so determined, then afre any other sobrer sorte. Acquaintaunce mietyng of equall degre, griete one another with a kisse. But the inferiour mietyng with his bettre, enclineth his bodie foreward with lowe reuerence. Thei bewrie their corpses in the grounde, cearyng them all ouer with waxe. Their Magicens thei leaue vnbewried, for the foules to dissipetche. The children there, by an ordenaunce no where elles vsed: doe carnally knowe their mothers. Thus haue ye heard what the maners of the Persians were sometyme.

Herodotus reherseth certeine other, their facions not vttrely vnworthe the tellynge. That thei compted it vilanie to laughe, or to spitte before the kyng. Thei thought it fondenes in the Grekes, worthie to be laughed at, to imagine goddes to be sprong vp of menne. What so cuer was dishoneste to be done, that thoughte thei not honest to be spokē. To be in debt was muche dishonour, but of all thinges moste vile for to lie. Thei vse not to bewrie their deade bodies, vntill thei haue bene torne with dogges, or with fowles. And the

parentes brought to niednesse, vse there to make cheuisaunce of their daughters bodies, whiche emong no nation elles was euer allowed. Howbeit some holde opinion, that it was also the propertie of the Babilonians. The Persians at this daie, beyng subdued of the Saracenes, and bewitched with Mahômetes brainsicke wickednesse, are cleane out of memorie. A people in those daies, whiche through their greate hardnesse and force, ware of long tyme Lordes of the Easte parte of the worlde. But now tumbled cleane from their aunciente renowne, and bewried in dishonour.

¶ The. viij. Chapitre.

¶ Of Ynde, and the vncouth trades and maners of life of the people therein.

YNde, a Countrey also of the Easte, and the cloyng vp of Asia toward that quartre: is saied to be of suche a maigne syse, that it maie be cōpared with the thirde parte of the whole earth. Pomponius writeth, that alogie the shore, it is fowrtie daies sailyng the nighte also comprised therein.

It tooke the name of the floude called Indus, whiche closeth vp the lande on the Weste side. Beginnynge at the Southe sea, it stretcheth to y Sonne risynge: And Northward to the moût Caucasus. There are in it many greate peoples: and Townes and Cities so thicke, that some haue reported them in nombre siue thousande. And to saie truth, it oughte not to sieme greatly straunge vnto folkes, though the cōtrie be reported to haue suche a nombre of Townes, or to be so populous: considering that of all other, the Yndians alone, neuer discharged them selues of any ouerplus of issue, as other haue done: but alwaie kepte their owne offsprynge at home in their owne countrey. Their principall floudes are Ganges, Indus, and Hypanis. But Ganges farre passeth in greatnes the other twaine. This lande by the benefite of the battling breathe of the gētle West wind, reapeth corne twice in the yere. And other Wintre hath it none, but the bitter blastes of Theasterly windes called Etesie. Thei lacke wine, and yet some men reporte, that in the quartre called Musica, there groweth a good wine grape. In the Southe parte thereof, groweth Nardus, Cinnamome, Peper and Calamus aromaticus: as doeth in Arabia and Aethiope. The woodde Ebenum (whiche some suppose to be our Guayacum) groweth there, and not elles where. Likewise of the Popiniaye and the Vnicorne. As for precious stones, Beralles, Prasnes, Diamantes, fire Carbuncles and Pearles of all sortes, be found there in greate plentie. Thei haue twoo Sommers, softe pimpelyng windes, a milde aier, a rancke soile, and abundaunce of watre. Diuerse of them therefore liue an hundred & thirtie yeres. Namely emong the Musicanes. And emong the Serites, yet somewhat longer.

All the Yndians generally, weare lōg heare: died either afre a bright ashe coulour, or elles an Orenge tawnie. Their chief ieuells, are of Pearle and precious stones. Their appareille is verie diuers: and in fewe, one like another. Some go in Mantles of Wollen, some of Linnen some naked, some onely brieded to couer the priuities, and some wrapped aboute with pilles, and lithe barckes of trees. Thei are all by nature blacke of hewe: eue so died in their mothers wōbe acording to the disposiciō of the fathers nature, whose siede also is blacke: as like wise in the Aethiopians. Talle men and strongly made. Thei are very spare fieders, namely when thei are in Campe. Neither delighte thei in muche preasse. Thei are as I saied, greate deckers and trimmers of them selues, haters of theft. Thei liue by lawe, but not written. Thei haue no knowledge of lettres, but administer altogether without booke. And for y thei are void of guile, and of very sobre diete: all thing prospereth well with thē. Thei drinke no wine, but when thei Sacrifie to their goddes. But their drinke is a bruage that thei make sometyme of Rize, sometyme of Barlie. Their meate for the mooste parte is soupynges made also of Rize.

In their lawes, bargaines, and couenauntes, their simplicitie and true meanyng well appeareth: for that thei neuer are muche contencious aboute thē. Thei haue no Lawes concerning pledges or thynges committed to another mannes kiepyng. No witnessynges, no handwritynges, no sealynges, ne suche like tokēs of trecherie and vntrust: but without all these,

these, thei truste and be trusted, thei belieue and are belieued, yea, thei oftentimes leaue their houses wide open without keper. Whiche truely are all greates signes of a iuste and vprighte dealing among them. But this peradventure can not seatle well with euery mannes fantasie: that thei should liue eche manne aparte by himself, and euery body to dine and to suppe when he lust, and not all at an howre determined. For in dede for the felowshippe and ciuilitie, the contrary is more allowable. Thei commēde and occupie muche as a commune exercise, to rubbe their bodies: specially with skrapers made for the nones. Afre whiche, thei smothe them selues again with Ebum, wherof I spake afore.

In their Toubes, and Bewrialles, very plaine and nothyng costlie: But in trimming and arraieng of their bodies, to, to, gaude glorious. For there aboute thei neither spare gold, ne precious stone ne any kinde of silke that thei haue. Thei delighte muche in garmentes of white Sarcenet. And for that thei sette muche by beautie, thei cary aboute with them phanelles to defende them frō the sonne, and leaue nothyng vndone, that maketh for the better grace of their faces. Thei sette asmuche by truthe alone, as by all other vertues together.

Age hath there no prerogatiue, except thei winne it with their wisdom, and knowledge. Thei haue many wiues, whiche thei vse to buye of their parentes for a yoke of Oxen. Some to serue them as their vndrelynges, and some for pleasure, and issue. Whiche maie neuertheless vse buttoke banqueting abrode (for any lawe or custome there is to restraine them) excepte their housebandes by fine force, can compelle them to kepe close.

No one among the Yndians either sacrificeth coroned, ne offreth odours, ne liquours. Thei wounde not their Sacrifice in no maner of wise: but smore hym by stopping the breath. Least thei should offere any mangled thing vnto God, but that that ware in euery parte whole. He that is conuicted of false witnessyng, hath his fingres cutte of by the toppe ioinctes. He that hath taken a limme from any manne, suffreth not onely the like losse, but loseth also his hande. But if any mā haue taken from an artificer, his hande, or his eye, it lieth hym vpon his heade.

The kyng hath a garde of bought women: who take chardge of his bodie, and haue the trimmyng and orderyng thereof, the residue of the armie, remainyng without the gates. If the Kyng fortune to be droncken, it is not onely lawfull for any one of these women to slea hym: but she shall also as in the waie of rewarde, be coupled in mariage to the nexte kyng. Whiche (as is saied) is one of his sonnes, that afore enioied the Croune. It is not lawfull for the kyng to slepe by daie tyme: and yet in the night tyme to auoide trecherie, he is forced euery houre to chaūge his chambre. When he is not in campe, he ofte tymes cometh abroad: bothe to giue sentence, and to heare matiers dependyng in question. And if it be time of daie to trimme his bodie: he bothe heareth the pleases, & is rubbed in the meane season with the skrapers afore mencioned, by thre of his women. He cometh furthe also to Sacrifices, and to hunting: Where he is accompaigned with a rabble of women, in as good ordre as ours were wonte to be vpon Hocke Mondaie. His waie is ranged with ropes, and his garde of menne abideth without. But if it fortune any to steale in, to the women (whiche is contrary to their ordre & duetie) he loseth his heade for it. There go afore hym Tabours and Belles. When he hunteth in places fensed aboute, two or thre armed women stande preste, for his aide, and defence. But when he hunteth in open place, he is caried vpon an Eliphante: & euen so sitting on his backe shooteth, or throweth the darte at his game. Some of his women ride vpon Horses, some vpon Elephanes. As likewise in the warres, where thei fight with all kinde of weapons skilfully.

Suche menne also as haue gathered thinges into writynges, recorde: that the Yndians worshippe as their goddes the father of raine Iupiter: Ganges their floude, and the familiar spiritus of their countrie. And when their kyng washeth his heade, thei make solempne feast, and sende his highnes greates giftes, eche mā enuyenge other, who maye shewe hym self moste riche, and magnificent.

The commune wealthe of the Yndians, was sometime deuided into seuen states or degrees. The Sages (whiche other calle Philosophers) ware of the first ordre, or state: the

whiche although they were in nombre fewer then any of the rest: yet were they in honour and dignitie aboute the kyng, farre above all other. These menne (priuiledged from all busines) neither be troubled with office, ne be at any mannes commaundemente: But receiue of the communes suche thinges as serue for the Sacrifices of their goddes, and are requisite for bewrialles. As though they were bothe well acquainted, and beloued in heauē, and knewe muche of the trade in helle. For this cause haue they bothe giftes and honour largely giuen them. And in very diede they do muche good among the people. For in the beginning of y^e yere, assembling together, they foreshewe of raine, of drouthe, of winde and of sicknesse: and of suche like thynges as maie to profite be foreknown. For aswell the kyng as the people, ones vndrestādyng their foresawes, and knowing the certētie of their iudgements by former experience: shone the euilles, and are preste to attende vpon that, that is good. But if any of their said Sages shall fortune to erre in his foresight: other punishment hath he none, then for euer after to holde his peace.

The seconde ordre is of housebande menne, whiche beyng more in nombre then any of the other states, and exempte fro the warres, and all other labour: bestowe their tyme onely in housebandrie. No enemy spoileth them, none troubleth them; but refraineth fro doing them any hurte or hinderance, vpon respect of the profight that redoundeth to the whole, through their traualles. So that they, hauyng libertie without all feare to followe their busines, are instrumētēs and meanes of a blessed plenteousnesse. They with their wiues and children, dwell alwaie in the countrie, without resortyng to the townes or citie. They paie rente to the Kyng (for all the whole Countrie is subiecte to their kyng) neither is it lawefull for any of the communes to occupie and possesse any grounde, without payyng rente. And the housebande men beside this rente, yelde vnto the Kynges maiestie, a fiftieth of their fructes yerely.

The thirde ordre standeth all by brieders and fieders, of all sortes, whiche like wise neither enhabite tounes ne villages: but with tentes, in the wilde fieldes. And these with hunting and foulyng in sondrie wise, so kēpe vnder the beastes and hurtfull foules: that wheare other wise the housebande menne should in siege tyme, and toward harveste, be muche acloyed and hyndered by the fowles, and them selues alwaie by the beastes, the countrie is quiete frō al suche annoyāce.

In the fourth ordre are Artificers, and handicraftsmen. Whiche are deuided, some into Smithes, some into Armourers, some for one purpose, some for another, as is expediente. These doe not onely liue rente free, but also haue a certaine of graine allowed them at the kynges allowaunce.

In the fiftieth ordre are the menne of warre, a greates nombre daiely exercised in armes, bothe on Horsebacke, on Elephantes, and on foote. And all their Elephantes, and horses miete for their warres, are found of the kynges allowaunce.

The sixteth ordre is of Surueiours or Maisters of reporte, whiche haue the ouersight of all thynges that are done in the realme, and the charge to bryng reaporte vnto the kyng.

In the seuenth place, are they that be Presidētes, and heades of the commune cōsailles, very fewe in nombre, but worthy mē for their nobilitie and wisdom. Out of these are chosen counsailours for the kynges Courtes, and officers to administre the commune wealth, and to determine cōtrouersies: yea, capitaines for the warres, and Princes of the realme.

The whole state of Ynde beyng deuided into these ordres or degrees: it is also ordeined, that a man shall not marie out of the ordre, wherein his callyng lieth, ne chaunge his trade. For neither maie the souldiour occupie housebandrie though he woulde: ne the artificers entremedle with the doctrine of the Sages.

There are also amonge the Yndians, persons of honour appointed to be as it were Tutours of straungiers, to see that no wronge be done them, to put ordre for their keepyng, and Phisicke, if any falle sicke. As also (if it fortune any of them to die) for the bewrieng of them, and to deliuer their goodes, and money to their nexte friendes.

All causes are broughte afore the iudges, who heare the parties, and punyshe the offenders diligently. Ther is no slauey amonge them. Yea, they haue a certaine ordinaunce, that none

none shalbe slaue or bonde amonge them, but all fre, and of equalle auctoritie and honour. For thei holde opinion that who so accustometh his selfe neither to be Lorde ouer other, ne to wröge any bodie: y man hath prepared him selfe saustie and ease what so euer shall happen hym by any aduenture. And a sonde thing ware it to make the lawes indifferente for all, and not to make the states of the men indifferente.

But because ther are in Inde manye sondrie contries, diuerse bothe in people and tongue (as in so large a thing muste nedes happen) ye shall vnderstonde that thei do not all alike vse suche trade as I haue described, but in some places somewhat worse.

Of those that lie towarde the Easte, some occupie brieding, and some do not. Other dwellinge in the mershe, and fennes vpon the riuers side: occupie fisshing, and liue by the same all rawe. And the better to worcke their feate, thei make them selues boates, of suche canes as growe ther, of a wonderfull biggenes. So, that so muche of the cane as is betwixte ioyncte and ioyncte, is a iuste proportion of timbre for one of their boates.

These of all the other Indians, are appareilled in matte, made of a certayne softe kinde of mere rushes. Which when thei haue gathered out of the floude, and sliced oute in maner of lace: they braude together muche like oure figge fraile, or suche like kinde of mattinge, & make them selues ierkins therof.

Those that be yet by Easte of them, are brieders of cataille: and liue altogether with rawe fleshe, and haue to name Padians. Whose condicions are sayde to be suche.

As often as it fortuneth any of their citezeins to be sicke, yf it be a manne: his nierest friendes, and those that are moste aboute him, kille him by and by, leaste (saye thei) his fleshe shoulde waxe worse. Yea, though he woulde dissemble the matier, and denie him self to be sicke, it boteth not. For withoute pardon, they kille him, and make a feaste with him. If it be a woman, looke how the menne did by the manne, so do the women by a woman. Likewise do thei with bothe sortes, when thei waxe coked for age, or become impotente: where through, what by the one meanes and the other, none of them die for age.

Ther is another sorte of the Indians that kille no liuinge thing, ne plante, nor sowe, nor builde house: but liue with herbes, and a certeine sede whiche groweth there of the owne accorde, muche like vnto gromelle, whiche thei gather with the cuppe or shelle that it groweth in, and so seeth it, and eate it. If any of these falle sicke, he wandereth forth into some deserte place, and ther laieth him downe: no manne taking hede either to hislieng or to his dienge.

All these Yndians that I nowe haue spoken of, in quenching of natures heate, vse their women as secretly as beastes do their females.

These Yndians haue a kinde of sages, that the Grieke calle Gimnosophistæ, whiche as the worde Sophista soundeth now, might merily be interpreted briechelesse bablers. But as Sophista did signifie then, naked Sages: or to giue one Grieke worde for a nother, naked Philosophres. These (as Petrarche writeth) haunte the outemoste borders, and shadowie partes of that countrie, wādering naked accordinge to their name, vp and downe, heather and theather, studienge, and searching the natures of thinges, the course of the heauens, and the secretes of knowledge. Thei continued sometime al the whole daye from the sonne rising, till his downe goinge: beholdinge the same with stedfaste eye, neuer tournig away the heade (although it be ther moste feruently hote) searching and spienge afre certaine secretes in the body thereof.

At another time thei passe the day likewyse, standing one while on one legge, another while on another in y broilinge sande of that contrie. Froste nor snowe, nor fire heate greued not them.

Amonge these, is ther a people called Brachmanes, whiche (as Didimus their king wrate vnto Alexandre when he wēt aboute to subdue them) liue a pure and simple life, led with no likerous lustes of other mennes vanities. This people lögeth for no more then nature requyareth naturallie. Thei are content with suche foode as commeth to hande, desirying no suche as other menne tourne the worlde almost vpside downe to haue, leauing no elemēt vnransaked to gette a gowbin for their glotinous gorge: but suche as the earth vnploughed,

or

or vndoluē, yeldeth of her self. And because thei acquainte not their table with surfet, in dede thei know not so many kindes of sicknesses, ne so many names of diseases as we doe: but thei better knowe what sounde healthe meaneth, and staid continuance of the same then euer we are like.

Thei haue no nede to craue one anothers helpe and reliefe, wher no manne maketh clayme by (thine) and by (myne) but euery manne taketh what he lusteth and lusteth no more then he nedeth. Enuie cannot dwell ther, ne none of her impes, wher all be equalle, and none aboute other, and all alike poore, maketh all alike riche. Thei haue no officers of iustice among them, because thei do nothing that ought to be punished. Ther can no lawe appiere, because none offēce appeareth.

The whole people hath one onely lawe, to do nothinge against lawe that nature prescribeth. To cherishe labour, to barre out ydlenes, and banishe colle couetyse. That lechery licke not away the vigour of their spirites, and strength: nor lacke throwe menne in desperate doompes. That euery manne hath enoughe, wher no manne couettes more. That neuer cōtent, is of all other the moste cruell restles plague. For whome she catcheth, she throweth a foote beneath beggery, whilst thei canne finde none ende of their scrattinge, but the more thei haue, the fellier gnaweth their longing.

Thei warme by the Sonne, the deawe is their moisture, y riuer is their drinke, the faire groude their bedde. Care breaketh not their sleape, Compassing of vanities wearieth not their minde. Pride hath no stroke ouer them, among whom ther is no diuersite. Neither is their any kinde of bonde knowen amonge them: but the bondage of the body to the minde whiche thei onely allowe to be iuste.

For the building of their houses, they sende not ouer sea for stone, thei burne no Calion to make lime to tempre their mortre, thei bake no bricke, nor digge no sande. But either make them caues in the earthe, or take suche as thei finde ready made in the sides of the mountaines and hilles. Ther dwel thei without feare of rage or ruine, of weather or of winde. He thincketh him self saufier fenced frō showres with his caue, then with a fewe tiles: and yet hath by it a double commoditie. A house while he liueth, & a graue ready made when he dyeth. Ther is no glittering apparell, no rattelinge in sylkes, no rusteling in veluettes, but a litle brieche of brawdred russes, or rather a couering of honeste shamefacednesse.

The women are not sette oute to allure, ne pinched in to please, ne garnished to gaze at. No heare died, no lockes outelaied, no face painted, no skinne slicked, no countrefeicte cōtenaunce, nor mynsing of passe. No poticary practise, no ynckhorne termes, nor pithlesse prattling. Finally no colours of hipocrisie, no meanes to set oute more beautie then nature hath giuē them. They ioyne not in engēdrure for likerous luste, but for the loue of yssewe and succession. Thei kepe no warres, but mainteine peace: not with force, but with peaceable behauour and maners. The father and the mother folowe not the childe to y bewrialle. Thei builde no tombes for the deade: more like vnto chirches then graues. Thei bewry not vp their ashes in pottes dashed full of pearle and precious stone. For why they estieme in these, neither the honour of the quicke, ne the pleasure of the deade: but rather the trouble and paine of bothe. Pestilence or other diseases (as I haue sayd) the Abrahmanes are not annoyed with, for thei enfecte not the ayer with any filthye doinges. But nature alway with them, keapeth accorde with the season: and euery elemente his tourne, with oute stoppe or barre. Their Phisicque is abstinence, which is able not only to cure the maladie already crepte in: but also to holde oute suche as otherwise mighte entre. Thei couette no sightes, nor shewes of misrule: no disguisinges nor entreludes. But when thei be disposed to haue the pleasure of the stage, thei entre into the regeste of their stories, & what thei finde theremoste fit to be laughed at, that do thei lamente & bewaile. Thei delighte not as many do, to heare olde wiues tales, and fantasies of Robin Hood: but in studious consideration of the wondreful workemanship of the world, & the perfect disposinge of thinges in suche ordre of course and degree. Thei crosse no sease for merchaundise, ne learne no colours of Rethoricque. Thei haue one kinde of plaine eloquence commune to them

them all: tongue, & harte agreeing in truthe. Thei haue neither moote halles, ne vniuersities, whose disagreeable doctrine more leaning to apishie arte, then natural reason and experience, neuer bringeth anye staye, or certeinte of thinges. One part of this people iudgeth mānes perfecteste blessednes to stande in honestie. And a nother in pleasure. Not in the tickelinges of the taile, or pamperinges of the bealy, more bittre then pleasaūte as thou maye vse them: but to lacke nothing that perfecte nature desireth, ne nothing to do that perfecte nature misliketh. Thei thincke it no honour to God, to slea for him an innocēte beast; yea thei say he accepteth not the sacrifice of men polluted with blood, but rather loueth a worship voide of all bloodshede. That is to saye, the humble entreatie of woordes, because that propriety only (to be entreated with woordes) is commune to God and to manne. With this therefore saye they he is pleased, because we somewhat resemble him self therein. And this was the life of y vnchristened Brahmanes, wher with we Christianes are so farre out of loue, that we are afraid leaste any man should beleue it to be true.

The Yndians called Catheis, haue eche man many wiues. And assone as any one husbāde fortuneth to die, his whole nūber of wiues assemble before the chiefest iudges of the cite, and there eche for her self, sheweth and alledgeth her welle deseruinges towarde her housebāde: how derely she loued him, howe muche she tendered & honoured him. And she that is by them iudgeth to haue borne her self beste in that behaulfe, and to haue bene diest to her husbāde: she in the beste maner and moste gorgeous that she can deuise, triumphing and reioysinge, getteth her vp vpon the funerale pyle wher her housebandes corpa lieth ready to be brente, and ther kissinge and enbrasinge the deade body, is burned together with her housebāde. So gladd is she to haue the victorie in the contencion of wiuely chastitie, and honeste behaiour toward her husbāde. And the other that lyue, thincke them selues dishonoured: and escape not without spotte of reproche as longe as thei liue. Their childrē in their infancie, are not nourished vp at the libertie and will of the parentes: but certeine ther are appointed to viewe the children: whiche yf thei spie vntowardnes in the infante, deformitie, or lacke of lymmes, commaunde it to be slayne.

Thei ioyne not mariages for nobilitie of birthe, or aboundaunce of substaunce, but for beaultie, and rather vpō regarde of frute, then of luste.

Certaine also amonge the Yndians haue this custome, that yf thei be of suche pouertie that thei be not able to marye oute their daughters: euen in the floure of her age thei bringe her, or them, furthe into the marcate with trompet & drōme, or suche other their noyses of warre: And their, afre the multitude is comen together, the maiden first vncovereth her self wholie vp to the harde shoulders, on the backe haulfe, to be sene starke naked, and afre that likewise on the bealy. Yf the multitude finde no faulte, but allowe her as worthy to please for her bodye, then marieth she to some one ther, whome she beste liketh. Megasthenes writeth that vpon diuerse mounteines in Ynde, are people with dogges heades, and lōge clawes, cladde in hydes of beastes, speakinge with no voyce like vnto manne, but barking onely, muche like vnto dogges, with mouthes roughe like a grater.

Thei that dwelle aboute the heade of Ganges, haue no nede of anye kinde of meate: for thei liue by the sauour of their frutes. And yf thei fortune to iorney, so that thei thincke to fayle of the sauour when thei would haue it, they cary with theim to smell to, at times as thei fainte. But if it fortune those to smelle any horrible stincke, it is as present deathe vnto theim, as poyson to vs. It is recorded in writyng, that certaine of those ware in Alexandres campe.

We rede also that there are in Inde mē with one eye and no mo. And certein so notably eared that thei hange downe to their hieles, with suche a largenesse that thei may lye in either of them as vpon a pallet: and so harde, that thei maye rende vp trees with them. Some other also hauing but one legge, but vpon the same such a foote, that when the sonne is hote, and he lacketh shadowe, lyenge downe vpon his backe, and holdinge vp his fote, he largely shadoweth his whole bodie.

It is rede that in Clesia certein women haue but ones childe in all their life time: and the children assone as thei are borne, immediatly to become horeheded. Againe, that there is another

another nacion, much lōger liued then we are, whiche in their youth are horeheard: and in their age, their heare waxeth blacke. They affirme also that ther is another sorte of women that conceiue at fyue yeres olde, and liue not aboue the age of. viii. yeres. Ther are also that lacke neckes, & haue their eyes in their shoulders. Ther are also beside these, certeine saluages with dogges heades, & sharke heared on their bodies, that make a very terrible charringe with their mouthes.

But in these and suche like tales of the Indians, and their countrie: for that a manne had nede of a redie beliefe that should take theim for trutthes, one had not niede to bee to large: considerynge specially that menne nowe a daies, will skante beleue the reporte of other mens writings, in the thinges that almost lye vndre their noses.

Ther is a place betwixt Gedrosia and the floude Yndus which is called Cathainus of the Cathaiens that enhabyte it. This people ware an ofspring of § Scithias, muche altered from their naturall condicions, and wonted maners, if that that Aitone the Arminiane writeth of them in his storie, be true.

Thei passe (saith he) all other men in quicke smelling. And thei saye of them selues, that though all other menne haue two instrumentes of sight, yet do none se with both two in dede, but thei: all other men in cōparison either to haue no sight, or elles as it ware but with one eye. Their wittnesse is greates, but their boastinge greater. The whole nacion of thē is perswaded, that thei muche passe all other men in knowledge, and the subtilties of sciences. Thei are all of colour shining white, smalle eyed, beardelesse by nature. Their lettres are afre the faciō of the Romaine, all in squares. Thei are diuersely ledde with fonde supersticions, some afre one sorte, and some afre another. But thei are all voyde of the true knowledge which is in Iesus Christe. Some worship the sonne, some § moone. Other, ymages of yoten metalle, manie of them an oxe. And thus to sondry suche other monsters, hath this people in sondry wyse deuided it selfe in supersticion. Thei haue no maner of written lawes, nor knowe not what we meane whē we speake of faithfulness or trustinesse. And wher (as I said afore) thei haue in al hādi worckes a passing subiltie of witte, yet in the knowledge of heauenly thinges, thei are altogether to learne: that is to saie, thei are vtterly ignorant. A cowardly people and very feareful of death. Yet exercise thei a maner of warre, but that thei handle rather by witte, and pollicie, then by strength and hardinesse. In their fighte thei vse a kinde of shaftes, and certaine other weapons of flight, vnknown to other countries.

Their money is a piece of square paper, with their Kynges Image vpon it. And because it cannot be durable: ordre is taken, that when it is soiled or dusked muche, with passyng from man to man, thei shall bring it to the coignyng house, and make exchaunge for newe. All their vtensiles and necessities of house, are of golde, siluer, and other metalles. Oile is so deintie among theim, that the kyng onely vseth it, as it ware for a precious ointement. Thus haue we treated of the Yndians, and now to their borderers, the Scithians.

¶ The. ix. Chapitre.

¶ Of Scithia and their sterne maners.

SCithia (a countrie lieng by North) is said of Herodotus, to take the name of Scitha Hercules sonne. Or as Berosus Iudgeth, of an other Scitha, borne of oure greates graundame Araxe, Noahes wife, that dwelt first in that countrie. This people in the beginnyng, pente within narowe boundes, so in processe by litle and litle, through their valeauntnes and force enlarged their limites: that thei became lordes of many cōtries aboute, and grewe into a great gouernaunce and renoume. Thei nestled first vpon the floude Araxis so fewe in nombre and so base: that no manne thought theim worthie the troublingng or talkyng of. But gettyng vnto them a certein king, hardie, of great courage, and notable experience in the warres: thei enlarged their land so, that thei made it stretche on the one parte (whiche is altogether Hille, and Mountaigne) vnto Caucasus, and ouer al the plain vnto the Ocean, & vnto the greates marshe of Meotis, and Tanais the floude. From whēce the countrie of Scithia now stretcheth

stretcheth all along toward the East. And because the mountaigne Imaus, ronnyng along as the countrie coasteth, deuides it in the middes into two haulues: the one haulfe is called Scythia within Imaus, and the other without (as ye would saie) on this side the Mounte, and beyonde. There neuer medled any power with them, that was able to conquere them: or muche to endamage them. Thei forced Darius, the Kyng of the Persians, with greate dishonour to fle the countrie. Thei slue Cirus with all his armie. Thei made an ende of Alexandre with al his power. The Romaines sente them threatens thei would warre with them, but thei proued in fine but wordes. Thei are a people not tameable with any toyle, bittre warriours, and of greate strength of bodie. At the first very rawe, and with out any ordinarie trade of life: neither knowyng what tillage meant, ne yet hauyng any houses or cotages to dwell in. But wandryng vp and doune the wilde fieldes and driuyng their catteille afore them, their wiues and their children ridyng in wagons by them. Thei obserued iustice, without constraint of lawe. Thei compted none offence more heinous, then thefte. As folke that had nothyng vndre locke nor keye, barre, nor bolte: but altogether in the open field. Thei nether occupied golde ne siluer. Their chief foode was milke and Hony. Against colde and other stormes, thei wrapped their bodies in felles, and hides of beastes, and Mice skinnes. Thei knewe not what Wollen meante, ne any facion of garmente.

This maner of life was in many of the Scythians, but not in all. A greate nombre of them, as thei muche differed in distaunce of place frō other, so differed thei also from other in maners: and vsed a certeine trade of liuyng among them selues, wherof we afteward will entreate, when we haue saied somewhat more of their facions in generall.

Many of the Scythians delight in māslaughter. And the firste man that he taketh in fight, his blood drincketh he: and offreth vnto his Kyng the heades of all those y he ther sleaeth. For when he hath so done, he is admitted to be partaker of the butine what so euer it be, whereof he should be otherwise partles. He cutteth of the heade afre this sorte. Firste, with his knife he maketh in it a gashe rōude aboute like a circle, vndre the eares: then taketh he it by the heare of the croune, & striketh it of. That done, he fleaeth it, and taweth the skinne betwixte his handes, vntill it become very souple and soft and kiepeth it for a handkercher. This wille he hange vpō the reine of his horse, and glorieth not a litle in it. And he that hath moste of suche hādkerchers, is compted the valeauntest manne. There are many also that sowe together these skinnes of menne, as other doe the skinnes of beastes, and weare them for their clothyng. Some of them flea the right hand of their enemies beyng slaine, so that the nailles also remain vpon the fingres, and make couers of them for their quiuers.

Many of thē flea the whole bodie, and stretche out the skinne vpō certaine stickes fitted for the nones, and so sprede thē vpon their Horse. Of the Skulles of the heades thus slaine, thei make measures to drinke in: coueryng them on the outside with rawe Neates leather, and gilding them on the inside, if he be of habilitie. And when any gheste of estimation commeth vnto them, thei offre thē to drinke in asmany as thei haue, and declare for a greate braggue of their valeauntesse, that so many thei haue slaine with their owne hande.

Ones euery yere, all the chief heades of the Scythians, kepe a solempne drinckynge. At the whiche the maner is, out of one of these Skulles, as out of a wassailing boule, to giue all those the wine that haue slaine an enemy. But he that hath done no suche notable acte, tasteth not therof, but sitteth aparte in a corner with out honour: which is iudged among thē a greate reproche. But thei that haue achieved many slaughters, thei drancke of two Goblettes together, which thei haue for that purpose.

The goddesses whom thei worshippe and doe Sacrifice vnto, are these: Firste and chiefly vnto Vesta, then to Iupiter, and the goddesses of the grounde: for that thei take her to be Iupiters wife. Nexte vnto Apollo and Venus, Mars and Hercules. Yet erecte thei no Chapelle, Altare, nor Image to any of these: but onely to Mars: to whom thei offre of euery hundred prisoners that thei take, one for a sacrifice. To the other thei offre bothe horses and other beastes, but specially horses. Swine thei so little esteeme, that thei neither offre

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them to any of their goddes ne vouchesauf to kiepe them in their Countrie. Looke whom the kyng punissheth with death, his children he also commaundeth to be slain, as many as be males, but the women are pardoned.

With whom the Scythians couenaüt or make League: after this maner thei doe it. Thei fille an earthen panne with wine, and of the parties that shall strike the League or couenaunte, thei drawe a quantitie of bloude, whiche thei mingle therwith. Then diepe thei into the panne their Curtilasse, their shaftes, their axe, and their darte. That done thei wishe vnto them selues many terrible curses and mischiefes, if thei holde not the league or couenaunte. And then drincke thei the wine. And not thei onely that strike the couenaütes, but also those that are moste honourable in their compaignie.

The bewriall of their kynges is afre this maner: where the Kyng dieth, those that are of his bloude, rounde his heare, cutte of one of his eares, slice his armes rounde aboute, all to begasshe his foreheade & his nose, & shoote him through the lifte hande, in thre or fowre places. Then laie thei the corps in a Carte, and cary it to the Gerrites, where the Sepulchres of all their Kynges are. And thei dwell vpö the floude Boristhenes, about the place wher it becometh first saileable. This people when thei haue receiued it, trenche out a square plotte in the ground very wide and large. And then rippe the bealy of the corps, and bowelle it cleane: clensyng it and drieng it from all filthe, and fille it vp with Siler Montanum, Francencense, Smallache siede, and Anise siede, beaten together in a Mortre. And when thei haue sowed it vp againe close, thei ceare the whole bodie, and conueighe the same in a Carte, to the nexte people vndre the gouernaüce of the Scithias, whiche with honour receiue it, and conueigh it vnto the nexte of their dominion: and so from one to another, vntle it haue passed rounde aboute, to as many peoples as are of their dominion, and be comen againe to the place of bewriall among the Gerrites, whether it is accompanied with a certain of all the peoples, to whom it hath comen, as thei gathered encrease from place to place. Thei, afre what tyme thei haue laied the corps, cophine and all, vpon a bedde of state, amid the square afore mentioned: sticke doune their iaelines and speares aboute him, and with stickes laied ouer from one to another, frame as it ware a Ciclyng whiche thei couer with a funerall palle. Then in the reste of the voide space, that yet remaines in the Cophine made for the nones: thei bewrie one of his dierst lemmans, a waityng manne, a Cooke, a Horsekeeper, a Lacquie, a Butler, and a Horse. Whiche thei al first strangle, and thruste in, together with a portion of all sortes of plate, and of euery suche thyng as appertained to his housholde, or body. And when the yere comes about, then do thei thus. Thei take of those that ware nerest aboute the Kyng (now there are none aboute the king, but thei be Scythians free borne, and suche as his self doth commaunde: for he maie be serued with no bought slaue) of those take thei fuetie and as many of his best horses. And whē thei haue strangled bothe the men and the horses, they bowell the Horses, stuffe their bealies againe with Chaffe, and sowe them vp close, and sette the menne vppon their backes. Then make thei a voute ouer roud about the bordre of the greate square, and so dispose these Horse menne enuiron the same, that thei sieme a farre of, a troupe of liuyng horsemen gardyng the kyng.

The communes haue also a maner of bewrialle afre a like sorte. When one of them dieth, his nexte neighbours and kindsfolke laie hym in a Carte, and cary hym aboute to euery of his frindes: whiche at the receipte of hym make a feaste, aswell to the kindsmen, as to all the residewe that accompaignie the corps. And when thei haue thus caried hym aboute by the space of fowretene daies, he is bewried. All the braine of his heade beyng first piked out, and the skulle rinsed with water cleane. Aboute the bodie thei sette vp three sparres of woodde slopyng, and restyng one vpon another at the toppes. Rounde about these sparres, thei straine cappyng woollen, packyng them as close as thei can. And within betwixt the sparres, as it ware in the midst over the deade, thei set a traie or shallowe trough, where in to thei caste a kinde of stones, that glistereth by fire light.

The menne among the Scithians, do not vse to washe the selues. But the women vse to powre water vpon their own bodies, and to rubbe themselues against some roughe stone: and

and then with a piece of a Cipresse, Ceadre, or Encence tree, to grate their whole bodie, vntill it be some what bollen or swollen. And then enoint thei bothe that and their face, with certaine medicines for the nones: whereby thei become the nexte daie of a very good smell, and (when the medicine is washed awaie) slicke and smothe.

Their commune othe, and the othe of charge in matiers of controuersie, or iudgemente, is by the kynges clothe of estate: by the whiche if a man shalbe tried to haue forsworne hymself (as their enchauntours haue a maner to trie with salowe roddes whether thei haue or not) by and by without respighte, he loseth his heade, and all his goodes, whiche tourne to the vse of them that haue proued him periured.

The Massagetes, a people of Scithia in Asie, beyond the sea called Caspiū mare in appa- reille and liuyng, muche like to the Scithians, and therefore of some so called: vse to fighte bothe on horsebacke and on fote, with suche actiuitie and force, that thei are almoste inui- cible in bothe. Their weapons are bowe and arrowes, Launces and Armynge swordes. Their beltes aboute their waste, the ornament of their heades, and their pollerone, are gar- nished with golde. Their Horses are barbed on the brest, with barbes of gold. Their reines, bridles, and trappour are all of golde. The heades of their Launces are of Brasse, and their Quiuers armed with Brasse. As for Siluer and Iron thei occupie none. Eche manne marieth one wife, and yet are the wiues of them all, commune one to another, whiche thyng is not vsed among any of the other Scythians. When so euer any man lusteth for the compaignie of his womā, he hangeth vp his quiuer vpon the carte wherein his wife is caryed by him, and there openly without shame coupleth.

When any one of this people waxeth very aged, his friendes, acquaintaunce, and kindes- folke assēbled together, make a bealy Sacrifice of hym: sleaying as many shiepe besides, as will serue for the fulnesse of the nombre. And when thei haue dressed them, eate parte and parte like, the one with the other. And this kinde of departyng is compted among them, of all other moste blessed. If any fortune to pine awaie of sickenesse, hym eate thei not: but put in a hole, and throwe earthe vpon him. Sory for the losse, that he came not to the feaste.

Thei neither sowe nor mowe, but liue by flesshe of suche beastes as thei haue, and suche fiashe as Araxe the floude doeth plēteously minister vnto them: and with drinckynge of Milke, wherof thei make no spare. Thei knowe no goddes but the Sonne: In whose honour thei offre vp Horses in Sacrifice, as beyng in swiftenesse moste like vnto the Sonne.

The Seretines are a debonaire people, and suche louers of quietnesse, that thei shōne to entremedle with any other people. Merchautes passe their outmost floude toward them, but thei maie come no nigher. Along the banques there, thei sette oute suche thynges, as thei are disposed to selle. Not the Merchautes, but the indwellers of the Countrie. For thei selle to other, and buie of none. And thei sette them in ordre as thei iudge them in price. The buyer cometh, and as he iudgeth them by his eye to be worthe, without further trade or feloweshippe betwixte them, so laieth he doune. And if thei receiue it, he de- parteth with f ware. Emong them is there neither whore nor thiefe, nor adulteresse broughte to iudgemente. Neither was it euer hearde, that there was a manne slaine emong them. For the feare of their Lawes woorketh more strongly with them, then the influ- ences of the Starres. Thei dwelle as it ware in the beginnyng or entryng of the worlde. And for that thei liue afre a chast sort: thei are neither skourged with Blastynges, ne Haile, ne Pestilence, ne suche other euilles. No manne toucheth a woman there, afre she hath conceiued, ne yet in the tyme of her flowres. Thei eate none vncleane beastes, ne knowe what Sacrifyng meaneth. Euery man there is his owne Iudge, acordyng to Iustice. Therefore are thei not chastised with suche corrections as happen vnto other for synne, but bothe continue long in life, and die without grief.

The Tauroschildias (so called for that thei dwell aboute the mountaigne Taurus) offre as many as fortune to make Shipwracke vpon their shore:) to the virgine, whose name ye shall afre heare. And if it fortune any Greke or Grekes, to be driuen thether, him doe thei Sacrifice after this maner.

After what tyme thei haue made prayer after their maner, thei strike of his heade with an hachet. And (as some saie) tomble doune the carkesse into the Sea, (for this Virgine hath a Chapelle vpon the toppe of a high clieue, hanging ouer the Sea, where this feate is doone) and naile vp the heade vpon a Gibet. In this pointe of nailyng vp the heade, all the writers agre, but in tomblyng doune the body, not so, for some affirme that the body is bewried. The Virgine Deuille, to whom thei Sacrifice: is saied to be Iphigenia Agamēons doughter. Their ennemies as many as thei take, thus thei handle. Every manne cutteth of his prisoners head, and carieth it home: and fasteneth it vpon the ende of a long pole, & setteth it vp: some vpon their house toppe some vpō their chimneis as high as thei can. And no merueile though thei set thē so that thei might well see rounde about them: for thei saie: thei are the wardens and keepers of al their whole house. Thei liue by spoile, and by warre.

The Agathirsians are menne verie neate & fine, & greate wearers of golde in their appareill. Thei occupie their women in commune, so that thei seme all of one kindred, and one householde: neuer striuyng nor grudgyng one with another, muche like in body vnto the Thracians.

The Neuriens vse the maners of the Sithians. This people the somer before that Darius set furthe, ware constrained for the greate multitude of Serpentes y ware bredde in their quartres, to chaunge their dwellyng place. Thei verily doe belieue, and wille sweare it: that euery yere ones for a certaine daies, thei become Woulues, and retourne againe into their former shape and state.

The Antropophagites (so called for that thei liue by mannes fleshe) of all menne, are the worste cōdicioned, without lawe, or officer, appareilled like the Scithians: but in language like vnto no bodye but them selues.

The Melanchleni do all weare blacke, as their name dothe signifie. And of these also are eaters of mannes fleshe: so manie as folowe the trade of the Scithians.

The Budines are a great nacion, and a populous, graye eyed, & redde headed al. Their heade citie is Gelone, wherof thei are also called Gelonites. Thei kepe euery thirde yere a reuelle in the honour of Bacchus: whereat thei make reuelle in dede, yea, reuell route. Thei ware sometime Grieques, whiche put of fro their countrie, seated them selues there. And by processe, losing the proprietie of their owne tongue, became in language haulfe Grekes, and haulfe Scithians. Yet are the Gelonites bothe in language and liuinge, different from the Budines. For the Budines being natue of the place, are brieders of Catteile: The Gelonites, occupieng tilthe: liue by corne, and haue their frute yardes. Neyther lyke in colour ne countenance to the other. All their quartres are verye full, and thicke of trees. It hathe also many meres and greate. In and aboute the whiche thei take Otters, and Beauers, & many other beastes: of whose skinned they make them pilches, and Ierkins.

The Lirceis liue by woodmanshippe, and huntinge, and afre this maner. Their countrie beinge also very thicke of trees, thei vse to climbe suche as siemeth them beste: and there awaite their game. At the foote of euery mannes tree lieth a dogge, and a horse well taughte to couche flatte on the bealy, as lowe as can bee. When the beaste cometh within daungier, he shoteth. And yf he hitte, he streighte commeth downe, taketh his horse backe, & foloweth with his hōude.

The Argippians dwell vndre the foote of the highe mountaines. Men whiche fro their birthe are balde, bothe the males and the females. Their noses tourne vp like a shoinge horne, and their chinnes be great out of measure. The sounde of their voice vnlike to all other: ther apperell afre the sorte of the Scithians. Thei haue small regarde to brieding: by the reason wherof thei haue smalle store of cattaille. Thei lie vndre trees, which in the wintre thei couer ouer with a white kinde of felte, and in the somer take the same awaye, and lie vndre the open tree. Ther is no manne that wil harme them for that thei are compted holy halowed: neither haue thei anye kinde of armour, or weapō of warre. These men haue the arbitrement of their neighbours controuersies rounde aboute. And as thei determine so are thei ended. Who so flieth vnto them, is saufe as in sanctuary.

The

The Issedonnes haue this propertie. When so euer any mannes father ther, dieth : all his kinsfolke bringe euery man one beast or other to the house of ȝ sonne that kepeth the funeral. Which whē thei haue killed and minsed : they minse also the body of the deade. And bothe the flesshes beinge mingled together, thei fall to the banket. Then take thei the dead mannes heade, & pike the braine oute cleane, and all other moistures and ragges, and when thei haue guilte it, thei vse it for a representaciō of the partie departed. Solempnisinge euery yere furthe, the memoriall, with newe ceremonies, and mo. This dothe the sonne for the father, and the father for the sonne, as the Grekes kepe their birthe daies.

These are also sayde to be verye iuste dealers, & their wiues to be as valeaunte and hardie as the husbādes. Suche haue the maners of the Scithians bene. But afterwarde being subdud by the Tartares, and wearing by processe into their maners and ordinaunces : thei nowe liue all after one sorte, and vndre one name.

¶ The. x. Chapter.

¶ Of Tartarie, and the maners and power of the Tartarians.

Tartaria, otherwyse called Mongal : As Vincentius wryteth, is in that parte of the earthe where the Easte and the Northe ioynce together. It had vpō the Easte, the londe of the Katherines and Solangores, on the South, the Saracenes : on the Weste the Naymaniens, & on the Northe is enclosed with the ocean. It hath the name of the floude Tartar that runneth by it. A country very hilly, and full of mountaines. And where it is champe in, myngled with sāde and grauelle. Barreine, except it be in places where it is moysted with floudes, which are very fewe. And therefore it is muche waaste, and thinly inhabited. Ther is not in it one Citie, ne one village beside Cracuris. And wood in the moste parte of the country so skante, that the inhabitaūtes are faine to make their fyre, and dresse their meate with the drie donge of neate and horses. The ayer intemperate and wonderfule. Thondre, and lightening in somer so terrible, that sondry do presently die for very feare. Nowe is it broiling hote, and by and by bittre colde, and plenty of snowe. Suche stronge windes sometime, that it staieth horse and man, and bloweth of the rider : teareth vp trees by the rootes, and doeth muche harme. In wintre it neuer raineth ther, and in Somer very often. But so slendrelly, that the earthe is skante wette with al. And yet is ther great store of Cattaille : as Camelles, neate, &c. And horses and mares, in suche plentie, as I beleue no parte of the earth hath againe. It was first inhabited of foure peoples. Of the Ieccha Mongalles that is to saye, the greate Mongalles. The Sumongalles, that is to say the watre Mongalles, whiche called them selues Tartares, of the floude Tartar whose neighbours thei are.

The thirde people were called Merchates, and the fourthe Metrites. There was no difference betwixte them eyther in body or lāguage, but al afre one sorte and facion. Their behauour was in the beginning very brute, and farre oute of ordre, without lawe or discipline, or any good facion. Thei liued amonge the Scithians, and kept herdes of cattalle in very base state and condition : and ware tributaries to all their neighbours. But within a while afre, thei deuided them selues as it ware into wardes, to euery of the which was appointed a capitaine : in whose deuises and consentes cōsisted thordre of the whole. Yet ware thei tributaries to the Naimānes (their next neighbours) vntyll Canguista by a certaine prophecie was chosen their kynge. He assone as he had receiued the gouernaunce, abolished all worshippe of deuilles, and commaunded by commune decree that all the whole nacion should honour the highe God euerlasting : by whose prouidence he would seme to haue receiued the kingdome. It was further decreed that as manye as ware of age to beare armour, should be preste, and ready with the king at a certeyne daye. The multitude that serued for their warres, was thus destributed. Their capitaines ouer ten (which by a terme borowed of the Frenche, we calle Diseners, are at the cōmaundemente of the Centurians. And the Centuriane obeyed the Millenarie, that had charge of a thousande. And he againe was subiecte

to the grande Coronelle that had charge ouer ten thousande: aboute the whiche nombre the mounted no degree of capitaines.

This done, to proue the obedience of his subiectes, he commaunded seven sonnes of the Princes or Dukes whiche before had gouerned the people: to be slaine by the hâdes of their owne fathers, and mothers. Whiche thinge althoughe it ware muche againste their hartes, and an horrible diede, yet did thei it. Partely vpon the feare of the residew of the people: and partly vpon conscience of their obediëce. For why, the people thoughte when thei sawe him begyn afre this sorte: thei had had a god amongst them. So that in disobeyinge of his commaundement, thei thought thei should not haue disobeyed a king but God him selfe.

Canguista takinge stomake with this power, firste subdued those Scithians that bordred vpon him, and made them tributaries. And where other afore had bene tributaries also vnto them: now receiued he in that one peoples righte, tribute of many. Then settinge vpon those that ware further off, he had suche prosperous successe that from Scithia to the sonne risinge, and fro thence to the middle earthe sea, and beyonde: he broughte all together vndre his subiection. So that he moughte nowe worthely wryte him selfe highe Gouvernour, and Emperour of the Easte.

The Tartares are very deformed, litle of bodie for the moste parte, hauyng great stiepe eyes: and yet so heary on the eye liddes, that there sheweth but litle in open sight. Platter faced and beardless, sauynge vpon the vpper lippe, and a litle about the pointe of the chinne thei haue a seawe heares as it were pricked in with Bodkins. Thei be communely all slendre in the waste. Thei shaue the hindre haulte of the heade, rounde aboute by the croune, from one eare to another: compassyng towarde the nape of the necke after suche a facion, that the polle behind sheweth muche like the face of a bearded manne. On the other parte, thei suffre their heare to growe at lengthe like our women: whiche thei deuide into two tresses, or braudes, and bryng aboute to fasten behinde their eares. And this maner of shauyng, do thei vse also that dwelle among them, of what nacion so euer thei be. Thei them selues are very light and nimble: good on Horse, but naughte on foote. All from the moste to the leaste, as well the women as the menne: doe ride either vpon Geldynges, or Kien, where so euer thei become. For stoned Horses thei occupie none, ne yet Gelding that is a striker, and lighte of his heles. Their bridelles are trimmed with muche gold, siluer, and precious stones. And it is compted a ioly thyng among them: to haue a great sort of siluer sounded belles, gynglyng aboute their horse neckes. Their speache is very chourlishe and loude. Their singyng is like the bawlyng of Woulues. When thei drinke, thei shake the heade: and drinke thei do very often euen vnto dröckenness, wherein thei glorie muche. Their dwellyng is neither in tounes ne Bouroughes. But in the fieldes abroad, afre the maner of thaunct Scithians in tentes. And the ratherso, for that thei are all moste generally catteill mastres. In the wintre time thei are wõt to drawe to the plaines, & in the Somer season, to the mountaignes & hillie places for the better pasture. Thei make them Tentres, or elles rounde cotages of wickres, or of Felte vnder sette with smothe poles. In the middes thei make a round windowe that giueth the lighte, & letteth out the smoke. In the middes of the Têt, is their fire, aboute the whiche their wife and their children doe sitte. The menne delight muche in dartyng, shootyng, and wrastelyng. Thei are merueilous good hunters, to the whiche thei go armed at all pieces. And assone as thei espie the beaste, thei come costing together rounde aboute and enclose her. And when euery manne hath throwen his darte, or shotte his arrowe: whilest the beaste is troubled & amased with the stripes, thei steppe in to her & slea her. Thei neither vse breade ne bakyng: table clothe ne napkin.

Thei belieue that there is one GOD that made all thynges, bodily & ghostly, sene or vn-sene, and hym thei honour: but not with any maner of Sacrifice or ceremonie. Thei make them selues litle puppettes of silke or of felte, or of thrumme, like vnto menne: whiche thei sette vp vpon eche side of their Tentres, and do the muche reuerence, beseching them to take hede to their catteille. To these thei offre the first milke of all their milche catteill, of what kinde so euer thei be. And before thei begin either to eate or drinke aught, thei sette

sette a porcion thereof before them. Looke what beastie thei kille to be eaten, thei reserue the harte all nighte in some couered cuppe, and the nexte mornyng seath it and eate it.

Thei worshippe also and Sacrifice to the Sonne, Moone, and elementes fowre. To Cham also their Lorde and Kyng, thei do very deuoute honour and Sacrifice: supposyng him to be the sonne of God, and to haue no pierce in the whole worlde: neither can thei abide to heare any other manne name hym.

This people so despiseth al other men, and thincke theim selues so farre to surmount them in wisdom and goodnes: that thei abhorre to speake to them, or to compaignie with them. Thei calle the Pope and all Christen menne, Doggues and Idolatres: because thei honour stones and blocques. And thei theim selues (beyng giuen to deuclishe supersticions) are markers of dreames, & haue dreame readers among them: as well to enterpreate their sweuens, as to aske knowlege of Idolles. In whom thei are perswaded that God speaketh: and therefore acording to their answeres, frame them selues to do. Thei marke many seasons, and specially haue regarde to the chaunges of the Moone. Yet make thei for no season, ne change, any singular holidae or obseruance: but ilike for them all indifferently. Thei are of so gredie a coueitousnesse, and desire, that if any of them se aughte, that he coueiteth to haue, and cannot obtien with the good wille of the owner: if it apperteigne to no Tartarre, he will haue it by force. And thei thincke (through a certein ordenaunce that their Kyng made) thei offende not therein. For suche a commaundement had thei of Canguista, and Cham, their firste Kynges: That if it fortune any Tartarre, or Tartarres seruaut, to finde in his waie, horse, man, or womā, without the kinges lettres or his saulfcōduite: he should take it, him, her, or them as his owne for euer.

To suche as lacke money thei lende, but for shamefull gaines: that is to saie, two shillynges of the pounce for euery Monethe. And if it fortune ye to faile to make paiemente at the daie: ye shall also be forced to paie the enterest, acording to the rate of the Vsurie. That is to saie, of euery tenth penie, one.

Thei do so polle and oppresse their tributaries, with subsidies, taxes and tallages, as neuer did people but thei, that euer manne redde of. It is beyonde belief to saie. Thei euer coucite, and as Lordes of all, do rape, and rende from other, and neuer recompence aught. No, the begger that liueth on almose, getteth not an aguellette of hym. Yet haue thei this one praise worthie propertie, that if he fortune to finde them at meate: thei neither shutte the doore against hym, ne thruste him out, if he be disposed to eate, but charitably bidde them, and parte with them suche as thei haue. But thei fiede the vnclenliest in the worlde, as I haue saied, without tableclothe, napkinne, or towell to couer the borde, or to wipe at meate, or afre. For thei neither washe hande, face, ne body, ne any garmēt that thei weare. Thei nether eate bread, nor make bread, nor sallottes nor potage, nor any kinde of Pultz. But no maner of flesshe cometh to them amisse. Dogges, Cattes, Horses and rattes. Yea, sometime to shewe their crueltie, and to satisfie their vengeance, the bodies of suche their enemies, as thei haue taken, thei vse to roste by a greate fire: and when thei bee assembled a good nombre together, thei teare theim of the spittes like Wolues, with their tiethe, and deuoure thē. And afreward drinke vp the bloude, whiche thei reserue afore hande for the nones. Otherwise thei vse to drinke Milke. Thei haue no wine of the cōtrie it self, but suche as is brought into thē thei drinke very gredilie. Thei vse to Lowse one anothers heade, and euer as thei take a Lowce to eate her, saieng: thus wille I doe to our enemies. It is compted a greate offence among them to suffre drinke, or a piece of meate to be loste. Thei neuer therfore giue the bone to the Dogge, till thei haue eaten out the marrowe. Thei neuer eate beastie (suche vile niggardes thei are) as long as the same is soude & in good likyng: but whē it fortuneth to be hurte, sicke, or febled by age, then bewrie they it in their bealies. Thei are greate sparers, & contente with smalle chaunge, and litle foode. Thei drinke in the mornyng, a goblet full of Milke or twaine, whiche serueth them some tyme for their whole daies foode.

The men and the women moste comunely are appareilled ylike. The men weare vpon their heades shallowe copin tackes, cōmyng out behinde with a taile of a handefull and a haulfe long,

long, and as much in breadth: whiche they fasten vnder their chinnes, for falling or blowing of, with a couple of strynges of ribbande lace, as we doe our nighte cappes. Their married women wear on their heades, fine wicke Basquettes of a soote and a haulf long: rounde, and flatte on the toppe like a barrelle. Whiche are either garnished with chaūgeable silkes, or the gaiest parte of the Pecoakes feathers, and sette with golde and stones of sondrie sortes. Asfor the residue of their bodie, they wear according to their abilitie, bothe men and women, Skarlet or Veluet, or other silkes. They weare coates of a straunge facion, open on the left side, whiche they put on accordingly, and fasten with fowre or five Buttons. Their Sommer wieses are all cōmunely blacke: and those that they weare in Winter and soule weather, white: and neuer lower then the knee. Wearing furies (wherein they much delight) they weare not the furre inwarde, as we communely doe: but contrariwise they heare outwarde, that they maie enioie the pleasure of the shewe.

It is harde to discerne by the appareile the maide, fro the wife, or the woman fro the manne: so like araid do the menne and the womē go. They weare brieches, the one and the other. When they shal go to the skirmishe, or to battaille, some couer their armes (whiche at all other tymes are naked) with plates of iron, buckeled together alonge, in many pieces, that they may the easelier sturre their armes. Some doe thesame with many foldes of Leather: wherewith they also arme their head. They cannot handle a target: nor but fewe of them a launce or a long sweard. They haue curtillasses of. iiii. quarters long: not double edged but backed. They fighte all with a quarter blowe, & neither right downe, ne foyning. They be very redy on horsebacke, and very skilful archers. He is counted moste valeaūte, that best obserueth the commaundement and the obedience dewe to his capitaine. They haue no wages for their souldie, yet are they prest and ready in all affaires, and all commaundementes. In battayle, and otherwise wher oughte is to be done, very politike and experte. The princes and capitaines entre not the battle, but standyng aloofe, crye vnto their men, and harden them on: lookinge diligently aboute on euery side what is nedefull to be done. Sometime to make the armye sieme the greater, and the more terrible to the ennemy: they set vp on horsebacke their wiues and their children, yea and men made of cloutes. It is no vilany amonge them to flye: if any thinge maye eyther be sauēd or wonne by it. When they will shoote, they vnarme their righte arme, and then let they flye with suche violence, that it pearceth all kinde of armour. They giue the onset flockinge in plumpes, and likewise in plompes they fle. And in the flighte they so shoote backe warde behinde them, that they slea many of their ennemies pursuinge the chase. And when they perceiue their ennemies dispersed by pursuinge the chase, or not to fighte any thinge wholie together: soudeinly retourninge, they beginne a newe onset with a hayle of shotte, neither sparing horse ne mā. So that oftentimes they ouercome when they are thoughte to be vāquissed. When they come to enuade any quartre or countrie, they deuide their armie, and sette vpon it on euery parte: so that the inhabitours can neither haue laisure to assemble and resiste, ne waye to escape. Thus are they alway sure of the victory, whiche they knytte vp with moste proude crueltie. Neither spareinge manne woman ne childe, olde ne younge sauēg the artificer onely, whom they reserue for their own vses. And this slaughter make they alre this maner. When they haue all taken them, they distribute them to their Centurians: who committe them againe to the slaues: to euery one fewer or more accordinge to the multitude. And when the slaues haue all slayne them as bouchers kylle hogges: then for a terrour to al other ther about: of euery thousande of ſ dead they take one, and hange him vp by the hieles vpon a stake, amydd these deade bodies: and so ordre his heade as though it appiered by his facion or maner of hanginge, that he yet bothe harkened the complainte of his felowes, and lessened them againe. Many of the Tartarres when the bodies lie freshe bliedinge on the grounde, laye them downe alonge, and sucke of ſ bloud a full gloute.

They kepe faith to no manne, howe depely so euer they binde them selues thervnto. They deale yet wourse with those that they ouer come with force. The maidens and younge women they deflowre, and defile as they come to hande, neither do they iudge it any dishonestie. The beautifuller sorte they lead away with thē: and in extreame misery, constraene them to be their slaues all their lyfe long. Of all other they are moste vnbrideled in leachery. For al-
thoughe

though the marye as many wiues as thei luste, and are able to kepe: no degre prohibited, but mother, daughter, and sister: yet are thei as rücke bouguers with mankind, and with beastes, as the Saracenes are, and no punishmente for it amonge them. The woman that thei marie, thei neuer take as wife, ne receiue any dowrie with her, vntill she haue borne a childe. So that if she be barren he maye caste her vp, and mary another.

This is a notable meruaile, that though amonge theim manye women haue but one manne: yet thei neuer lightly falle out, ne brawle one with another for him. And yet are the menne parcialle in thei loue: shewing muche more fauour to one then another, and goynge fro the bedde of the one, streight to the bedde of an other. The women haue their seuerall têtes and householdes: And yet liue verie chastely, and true to their housebandes. For bothe the manne and the woman taken in adultery, suffre death by the lawe.

Those that are not occupied for ý warres, driue the catteille a fiede, and there kepe them. Thei hunt, and exercise themselucs in wrastlinge, other thing doe thei not. The care of prouision for meate and drinke, appaile and householde, they betake to the women. This people hath many superstitious toyes. It is a heinous matier with them, to touche ý fier, or take fleshe out of a potte with a knife. Thei hewe or choppe no maner of thing by the fire, leasse by any maner of meanes, thei might fortune to hurte the thing which alway they haue in reuerence, and iudge to be the clenser, and purifier of al thinges. To laye them downe to reste vpon the whippe that thei stirre thei horse with (for spurres they vse none) or to touche thei shaftes therewith, in no wise thei wyll not. Thei neither kille younge birdes, ne take them in the neste or other waies. Thei beate not the horse with the bridle. Thei breake not one bone with another. Thei are ware, not to spill any spone meate, or drinke, specially milke. No manne pisseth within the compasse of their sojourning place. And if any one of self willed stubbornesse should do it, he ware sure withoute all mercy to die for it. But if necessitie constraîne the to do it (as it often happeneth) then the tente of hym that did it, with all that is in it, muste be elensed and purified after this maner. They make two fires, thre strides one from another. And by eche fire thei pitche downe a laueline. Vpon them is tied a lyne stretching fro the one to the other, and couered ouer with buckrame. Betwene these, ii. lauelins, as throughe a gate, muste all thinges passe that are to be purified. Two women (to whome this office belongeth) stande, on either side one, sprinckelinge on watre, and mumblinge certaine verses. No straügiar, of what dignitie so euer he be, or of howe greate importance so euer the cause of his comming be: is admitted to the kinges sighte before he be purified. He that treadeth vpon the thressholde of the tente wherein thei kinge, or anye of his chiefeines lyeth, dieth for it in the place. If any manne bite a gobet, greater than he is able to swallowe, so that he be constrained to put it out of his mouth againe: thei by and by make a hole vndre the tent, and ther drawe him out, and cruelly slea him. Many other thinges ther are which thei compte for faultes beyonde all forgiuenesse. But to sleaa mã, to enuade a nother mannes country, cōtrary to all righte and reason, to bereue them of their goodes and possessions, to breake the preceptes of God, thei estieme as nothinge. Thei haue a beliefe that afre this life thei shal liue for euer in another worlde (but what maner of worlde thei cannot telle) & ther receiue rewarde for their well doinges. When any of the falleth sicke, & lieth at the pointe of deathe, thei sticke vp a laueline with a piece of blacke clothe at the dore of the tēte wher he lieth, that none come in as they passe by. For no manne when he seeth this, dare entre thether vncalled.

Afre what time the sicke is dead, his whole house gather together, and priuely conueighe the corps into some place withoute the tente, chosen for ý purpose. Ther cut they out a trench, broade and diepe enoughe to sette vp another lytle tent in: so hat the toppe of the tent maye be well within the grounde. In that thei prepare a table with a banket: at the whiche thei sette the deade bodye in his beste appaile. And so together, as it ware with one hāde, couer all with earth againe. Thei bewry with him also some beaste of bourden, and a horse ready sadled and appointed to ride. The gentlemē by their life time, appointe out a slaue (whome thei marke with thei brande) to be specially bewried with him when he dieth. And this do thei vpon perswasion of a life in a nother worlde, wher thei

woulde be loth to lacke these necessaries. Then doe the deades friendes take another horse, and slea him. And when they haue eaten the fleshe, thei stuffe the hide full of haye, and sowe it againe together and sette it vp ouer the graue vpon foure poles, in remembrance of the deade. The bones do the two ordenarie women burne, for the clensing and purifenge of the soule. But the gentlemen, and thei of higher degree, handle the hide afre another maner. Thei cut it out into very fine thonges, to asmuche lengthe as thei can, and measure oute asmuche grounde about the Sepulchre as the thonge wille stretche vnto. For so muche ground thincke thei shall the deade haue in a nother worlde. At the thirtieth daye thei ende their mourning.

Certaine of the Tartarres, professing the name of Christe, yet farre from his righteousness: when their parentes waxe aged, to haste their death, crame thē with gobins of fatte. Whē thei die thei burne them to pouldre, whiche thei reserue as a precious Iewelle, to strawe vppon their meate every daie. But to declare with what solempnitie and ioifulnes thei sette vp their newe Kyng, afre the death of tholde: because it ware to longe a thyng, bothe for the reader & writer to set out at length, I will shewe you in brief theffecte.

Abrode in the fieldes, in a faire plaine ordenary for the purpose: all the Dukes, Erles, Barons, Lordes, and the reste of the nobilitie, together with the people of the whole kyngdome, do assemble. Then take thei hym, to whō the croune is due, either by succession, or by election. And when thei haue set hym vp in a throne of Golde: thei all fall doune on their knees, and together with one voice crie out a loude, afre this maner. We require the, yea, we will and commaunde the, to take the rule & gouernance of vs. He answereth, if ye will haue me doe so, then must ye of necessitie be redy to do whatsoever I commaunde ye. To come when I calle ye, to go whether so euer I sende ye, to slea whom so euer I commaunde ye, without staieng or stackering. And to put the whole kingdome and rule in my handes, when thei haue answered, we are content: Saieth he againe, from hencefurthe then the speache of my mouth, shalbe my swearde. To this the people yealde with greateshout, and reioisynge. In the meane while the princes and the nobles, taking the king out of his throne, spread abroad on the grounde a piece of felte: vpon the whiche, thei cause hym in simple sorte to sitte doune, and thus saie to hym. Looke vp, and remembre GOD aboue the. And now looke doune also, and behold this felt vndre the. If thou gouerne welle, thou shalte haue all euen as thou wouldest wisse it. But if contrary wise, thou shalt so be broughte doune againe, and so nighe be bereued of all: that thou shalte not haue so muche, as this poore felte left the, whervpon thou sittest. This ones saied, thei sette in to hym, of all his wiues the diereſt derlyng. And lifyng vp the felte alofte, haile hym by the name of Emperour, & her by the name of Emprise. Then come there presētes streight from al countries, and peoples of his dominion: and all the Threasoures that the kyng, his predecessour lefte, are brought him. Of the whiche he giueth giftes to al the princes and high estates: commaundyng the reste to be kepte for himself, and so dissolueth the Parliament as it ware.

In his hande and power is then altogether, no manne can: or though he can, he dare not saie this is myne, or this is his. No man maie dwelle in any parte of the lande, but in that wherevnto he is appointed. The Emperour hymself appointeth the Dukes: the Dukes, the Millenaries: the Millenaries, the Centurians: and thei the Disniers: and the Disniers the residewe. The seale that he vseth hath this superscripcion. GOD in heauen, and Chutchuth Cham in earth, the force of God, and Emperour of all menne. He hath fīue armies of greates multitude and force: and fīue chieffsteines, by whom he subdueth all that stande against hym. He hymself neuer speaketh to any foreine ambassadours, nor admitteth thē to his presence, as is aboue saied: excepte bothe thei and their giftes (without the whiche specially thei maie not come) bee purified by the ordenarie women. The Kyng aunswereth by another mannes mouthe. And the persone by whom he aunswereth, be he neuer so honourable, for the tyme that he becōmeth the kynges mouthe, kneleth on his knees and giueth so diligent eare, that he swarueth not from the Kyng in one woorde. For it is not lawefull for any manne, to change the kynges woordes: ne for any man in any wise, to replie against suche

sentēce

sentēce as he giueth. He neuer drincketh in open presence, but some body first sing to hym, or plaie vpon some instrumente of Musicque.

The gentlemen and menne of honour when thei ride, haue a phannell borne afore them, on a lauelines ende, to kiepe awaie the Sonne. And as it is saied, the womē likewise. These ware the maners and facions of the Tartarres, for a two hundred yeres paste.

The Georgiās, whom the Tartarres aboute the same tyme did subdue: ware Christians, afire the fourme of the Greke Churchē. Thei ware neighbours to the Persians. Their dominiōs stretched out a great length, from Palestine in Iewrie to the mountaignes called Caspij. Thei had eightene Bishopries: and one Catholique: that is to saie, one generall bishoppe, whiche was to them, as our Metropolitane to vs. At the firste thei ware subiecte to the Patriarche of Antioche. Menne of greate courage and hardinesse. Thei all shaued their crounes: the Laietie square, the Clercques rounde. Their women (certeine of them) had the ordre of Knighthode, and ware trained to the warres. The Georgians when thei ware sette, ordered, and raunged in the fiede, and ware at point to ioine the batteill: vsed to drinke of a gourdfull of strong wine, aboute the bigguenes of a mannes fiste. And to sette vpon their enemies: muche amended in courage.

Their Clercques, whiche we calle the Spiritualltie, mighte vse bothe Simonie and vsurie at their wille. There was continuall hatred betwixte Tharmenians and them. For the Armenians ware also Christians, before the Tartarres had subdued the Georgians and the. But thei differed in many thinges, from the belief and facions of the true Churchē. Thei knewe no Christmas daie, no vigilles, nor the fowre quartre fastes, whiche we call Embryng daies. Thei fasted not on Easter eue, because (saie thei) that Christ rose that daie aboute euen tide. Vpon euery Saturdaie, betwixte Easter and Whitsontide, thei did eate flesshe. Thei ware greate fasters, and beganne their Lēte thre wekes afore vs: and so streightly fasted it, that vpon the Wedensdaie and Fridaie, thei neither eate any kinde of fische, ne aughte wherin was wine, or oile. Belieuing that he that drancke wine on these two daies: synned more then if he had bene at the stewes with a whore. On the Monedaie thei abstained from all maner of meate. On Tewsdaie and Thursdaie, thei did eate but one meale. Wedensdaie and Fridaie, nothyng at al. Saturdaie and Sondaie, thei eate flesshe and made lustie chiere. Throughe their whole Lente, no manne said Masse but on Saturdaies and Sondaies. Nor yet on the Fridaies throughout the whole yere: for thei thought then, that thei brake their fast. Thei admitted to the houseale, aswell children of two monethes olde, as all other indifferently. When thei went to Masse, thei vsed to put no watre in the wine. Thei abstained from Hares flesshe, Beaws flesshe, Crowes, and suche other as the Grekes did, and Iewes do. Their Chalices ware of Glasse, and of Tree. Some said Masse without either albe or vestement, or any maner suche ornamēt. Some onely with thornamētes of Deacon or Subdeacon. Thei ware all busie vsurers, and Simonites: bothe spirituall and Tēporall, as the Georgians ware. Their priestes studied Sothesaieng and Nigromancie. Their Spiritualltie vsed luncettyng oftener then the Laietie.

Thei married, but afire the death of the wife, it was not lawefull for the housebände to marie againe, nor for the wife, afire the death of the housebände. If the wife ware a whore, the Bisshoppe gaue hym leaue to put her awaie, and marie another. As for the fire of Purgatorie thei knewe nothing of it. Thei denied also verie stifly, that there ware two natures in Christe. The Georgians saied that thei swarued from the truthe of Christes Religion, in thirtie pointes or articles.

¶ The. xi. Chapitre.

¶ Of Turquie, and of the maners, Lawes, and Ordenaunces of the Turcques.

The lande, whiche now is called Turquie: hath on Theaste Armenia the more, & ronnethe endlong to the Sea of the Cilicians: hauyng on the Northe, the Sea named Euxinus. There are in it many cōtries conteinēd. As Lichaonia, whose heade citie is Iconium. Cappadocia with her heade citie, named Cesarea. Isauria, whiche hath for the chief citie Seleucia.

Licia, whiche now is called Briquia. Ionia: now called Quisquoun, in the whiche standeth Ephesus, Paphlagonia, and in it Germanopolis. And Leuech: that hath for the heade Citie Trapezus. All this countrie that now is called Turquie, is not inhabited by one seuerall nation, but there be in it Turques, Grekes, Armenians, Saracenes, Iacobites, Nestorians, Iewes and Christians. Whiche liue for the moste parte, according to the Tradicions and Ordenaunces, that Mahomet the countrefeict Prophete, gaue vnto the Saracenes (a people of Arabie) the yere of our Lorde and Sauour Iesus Christe. vi. hundred and. xxix. A manne whome I can not telle whether I maye calle an Arabiane or a Persiā. For ther be authorities of writers on either behaulfe. His father was an idolastre afire the maner of the heathen. His mother an Ismalite leaning to the lawe of the Iewes. And whilest in his childehode, his mother taught him afire one sorte, & his father afire another: thei printed in hym suche a doubtfull belief, y when he came to age he cleaued to neither. But as a manne of subtile and guilefull witte, afire what time he had bene longe conuersaunte amongst menne of the Christian religion: he draue a drifte, deuised out of both lawes (the olde and the newe) how he mighte notably enfecte the worlde.

He said the Iewes did wickedly to denie Christe to be borne of the virgine Mary, seinge the prophetes (mē of great holinesse, & inspired with the holy ghost) had foreshewed the same, & warned mē of many yeres passed to looke for him. Contrariwyse he said to the Christians thei ware very fonde to beleue that Iesus, so dierly beloued of God, and borne of a virgine, would suffre those vilanies and tormentes of the Iewes.

Martinus Segonius Nouomōtanus, in his booke of the Sepulchre of Christe our king, writeth that the Turkes, and Saracenes by an auncient opinion receiued from Machomet: do laughe Christian menne to skorne, that seke thether with so greate reuerence. Sayeng that Christ y prophet of all prophetes endewed with the spirite of God, and voyde of all earthly corruption: had ther no sepulchre in very diede, for that he being a spirituall body cōceiued by the breathe of y holy ghost coulde not suffre, but should come againe to be iudge of the Gentiles. This saith Segonius, and many other thinges sounding to like effecte: whiche the Mahometeines are wote to throwe out against the Christians, bothe foolisschely and wickedly. When this countrefeicte prophet had saused his secte with these wicked opinions: he gaue them his lawe, and sorte of religion. Against the whiche lesse any man of righte iudgemente should afrewarde write or dispute (as against a pestilent and filthie perswasion) he wrote a lawe in his Alcorane that it shoulde be deathe to as many as should reason or dispute vppon it. Wherby he euidentlie declared, that ther was nothing godly or goodly therein. For why shoulde he elles haue so raked it vp in the ashes, and forbidden it to be examined: so that the people coulde neuer come to knowledge what maner of thinge it is that thei beleue in. In the giuing of his lawe, he vsed muche the counselle & helpe of the möcke Sergius: of the wicked secte of the Nestorians. And to the ende it might please the more vniuersally: he patched it vp together with peces of all maner of sectes. He thoughte it good to sette out Christe with the beste, affirminge that he was a manne excelling in all holinesse and vertue. Yea he extolled him to a more heigth then was appliable to the nature of mā, calling him the woorde, the spirite, the soule of GOD, borne out of a virgines wombe, whome he also with many wondrefull praises magnified. He confirmed with his consente, the miracles, and story of the gospel, as farre as it varieth not from his Alcorane.

The Gospelles said he ware corrupte by the disciples of the Apostles. And ther fore it behoued his Alcorane to be made, for to correcte and amende them. Thus fauning into fauour with the Christiās, he would haue bene christened of Sergius. Then to procure, & moue other also to fauour his proceedings: he denied with the Sabellians the Trinitie. With y Manicheis he made two goddes. With Eunomius, he denied that the father and the sonne ware equal. With Macedonius he said that the holy ghoste was a creature, or substance created. With the Nicholaites he allowed the hauinge of many wiues at ones. He allowed also the olde testament. Althoughe said he, it ware in certain places faultie. And these fondeneses did he beswiete with a wondrefull lure of the thinges that menne in this lyfe mooste desire. Lettinge louse to as many as helde of him, the bridle of al lechery and

and luste. And for that cause doth this contagious euil sprede it self so wide into innu-merable contries. So yf if a mā at this day compare the nombre of them that are by him seduced, with the other that remaine in the doctrine of faithe: he shal easeli perceiue the great odde, ware it but herin. That wher Europe alone, (and not al that by a great deale) stāleth in the belief of Christe: almoste all Asie, and Aphrique, yea and a greate pece of Europe standeth in the Turkiashe belief of Mahomete.

The Saracenes that firste receiued the brainesicke wickednesse of this countrefeicte prophete, dwelte in that parte of Arabia, that is called Petrea: wher it entrecommuneth with lewry on the one side, and with Egipt on the other. So named of Serracum, a place nere vnto the Nabatheis, or rather as thei woulde haue it them selues, of Sara, Abrahams wife.

Wherupon thei yet sticke faste in this opinion, yf thei onely of al mē are the lawfull heires of Goddes behest. Thei gaue them selues to tilthe, and cattle, and to the warres. But the greater parte to the warres. And therfore at what time they were hired of Heraclius in the warres againste the Persians: when he had gotten the victorie, and thei perceiued them selues to be defrauded by him: kindled with the angre of the villanye thei had done vnto them, by the counsell and perswasion of Mahomet (who tooke vppon him to be their capitaine) thei forsoke Heraclius. And going into Siria, enuaded Damasco. Wher when thei had encreased them selues bothe in nombre, and purueiance necessary for them, thei entred into Egipte. And subdued firste that: then Persis, then Antioche, & then Ierusalem. Thus their power and fame daily so encreased, and grewe: that men muche feared, that any thing afterwarde shoulde be able to resiste them. In the meane season, the Turkes: a ferce and a cruell people, of the nacion of the Scithiens, driven out by their neighbours fro the mountaines called Caspij, came downe by the passage of the moũte Caucasus, firste into Asia the lesse, then into Armenia, Media, and Persis. And by stronge hande wanne all as they came. Against these the Saracenes went forth as to defende the bordres of their gouernaunce. But foras-muche as this newecome power was to harde for them, the Saracenes within a while felle into such despaire of their state: that vppon condicion that the other would receiue Mahometes belief: thei ware content thei shold reigne felowlike together with them, in Persis. Wherto when thei had agreed, it was harde to saye whether of the peoples had receiued the greater dammage. The Saracenes, in yelding to them the hault right of their kingdome: or the other, whiche for coueteousnes therof yelded them selues to so rancke, and wicked a poyson of all vertue and godlynes.

One bonde of belief then so coupled and ioyned them: that for a space it made to them no matier whether ye called them all by one name, Saracenes, or Turkes. But nowe as ye se, the name of the Turkes hath gotten the better hande, & the other is out of remem-brance. This people vseth moe kindes of horsemē thē one. Thei haue Thimarceni, that is to saye Pencioners, aboute a foure skore thousande. These haue giuen vnto them by the kinge, houses, villages, and Castles euery one as he deserueth, in the steade of his wages or pencion. And thei attende vppon the Sensacho, or capitaine of that quarter, wher their possessions lye. At this daye the Turkes are deuided into two armies: the one for Asie, and the other for Europe. And either hath a chiefeine, at whose leading thei are. These chiefeimes in their tongue be called Bassay. Ther are also another sorte muche lyke to our aduenturers, that serue withoute wages, called Aconizie. And these euer are spoiling afore when the campe is yet behynde. The fifteth parte of their butine is due vnto yf king. And these are aboute a fourty thousande. Their thirde sorte of horsemen is deuided into Charippes Spahiglaos, & Soluphtaros. The beste, and worthiest of these, are yf Charippie: of an honourable ordre of knighthode, as it ware for the kinges body. And those be euer about him, to the nombre of eyght hundred, all Scythians and Persians, and elles of none other kinde of menne. These, when nede is, being in the sighte of the kinge: fight notably, and do wondrefull feates on horsebacke. Spahy, and Soluphtary be those whiche haue bene at the kinges bringing vp fro their childehode, to serue his filthy abhominacion. And when thei are come to mannes state, thei marye at the kynges pleasure: And be enriched bothe

bothe with the dowery of their wife, and a stipende. These for the moste parte serue for embassadours, deputies, lieutenantes and suche other dignities, and are nexte vnto the kinge on bothe sides of him, when he goeth any whether as a garde. Thei are in nombre a thousande and thre hundred.

Among the footemen are three sortes, Ianizarie, these be chosen all the Empire ouer, of xii. yeres of age, or there aboute, by certein that haue Commission for the purpose: And are for a space enstructed in the feactes of warre, in commune schooles. And then afterwarde are thei chosen into souldie, and haue giuen them a shorter garmente, and a white cappe, with a tarfe tourned vpwarde. Their weapon is a Targette, a Curtilase, and a Bowe. Their office is to fortifie the Campe, and to assaulte cities. Thei are in nombre aboute twentie thousande.

The seconde sorte are called Asappi, and are all footemen of light harnesse, weaponed with swearde, target, and a kinde of long lauelines, wherwith thei slea the horses of their enemies, in the skirmishe and battaile. These, to be knowen fro the Ianizaries, weare redde cappes. These are appointed in nombre, accordyng as the case shall require. But thei are euer at the leaste fouretie thousande. When the warres are finished, for the whiche thei were hired: these are no longer in wages. Tharmie roialle hath about two hundred thousande armed menne, beside a greate rable of footemen aduenturers, that take no wages, and suche other as be called out of Garrisons. And amonge these, Pioners and Cookes, Carpenters, Armourers, and suche other as thei must nedes haue to make the waye, wher the place is combresome: to dresse victualles, to amende harnesse, to make bredges ouer floudes, to trenche aboute their enemies, to plante battries, make Ladders, and suche other thinges necessarie for the siege. Ther foloweth the armie also, sondrye sortes of money Masters: some for lone, some for exchange, some to buy thinges. And sondrie sortes of occupiers, such as be thought nedeful in such cases.

But there is nothi g in all that nacion more to be merueiled at, then their spiedinesse in doeyng of thinges: their constantnes in perilles, and their obedience and precise obseruinge of all commaundemētes. For the least fault, of goeth the heade. Thei passe ouer raginge floudes, mountaignes and rockes: roughes and plaines, thicke and thinne, if thei be commaunded. Not hauing respecte to their lyfe, but to their rulers. No men maie awaie with more watche, no men with more hongre. Among them is no mutinyng, no vproures, no sturres. In theyr fyght thei vse no cries, nor shoutes, but a certeine fierceness of brayeng. Thei kepe suche precise scilēce in the night, through out their campe: that thei wil rather suffre such as they haue taken prisoners, to run their waie, then to make any sturre. Of all the peoples at this daie. thei onely doe warre, according to the ordre of armies. So that no manne nedeth to meruaile how it cometh that no people this two hundred yeare and aboue, haue had like successe vnto them. Yea, it may truly be sayd, that excepte it be by some plague or murreyn, or discorde among them selues, they can not be subdued. The apparail that the souldiours do vse, is most comely and honeste. In their saddles and bridles, there is neither curiositie, ne yet superfluitie. No man among them weareth his Armour, but when niede is to fight. They carry their harnesse behynde theim, at their backes. They vse neither banner, standerde, ne flaggue: but certein lauelins that haue streamynge out fro the toppe, diuers coloured thriedes, by the whiche euery hande knoweth his capiteine. Thei vse a drōme and a fiphe, to assemble their Bandes, and to sturre them to the batteille. When the batteille is done, all the armie is presented to the Regestour (whiche is some one of the nobles) bothe that it maye bee knowen who is slain, and what nombre: and that newe may be entred in their places. In all assemblies and mietinges, feaste, or other: thei praie for their souldiours, and menne of warre. But specially aboue all other, for those that haue suffred death for the commune quarelle of their cuntrye: calling them happie, fortunate, and blessed, that thei yielded not vp their liues at home, amide the lamentacions and bewailynge, of their wiues and children, but loste them abrode, amonge the shoutes of their enemies, & the ratling of the Harneis, and Launces. The victories of their forefathers and
eldres,

eldres, thei put into Balade, and sing them with greate honour and praises: for that thei thinke the courages of the souldiours and menne of warre, be muche quickened, and kindled thereby.

Their dwelling houses are communely of timbre and claie, very fewe of stone: for of them are the noble mennes houses their temples, and Batthes. And yet are there amonge the communes, men able of them self alone, to set furthe an whole armie, furnished at all pointes. But because thei are naturally giuen to sparing and to abhorre all sumptuousnesse, embrasing a lowe and simple state: thei wel beare this volutarie pouertie, and rude homelinesse. For this cause also, doe thei not set by any kinde of Painters Imagerie. As for the other imagerie of coruē grauen, or molten worke, thei do so hate and abhorre: that thei call vs Christians for delighting so muche in them, verie Idolatours and Image worshippers. And do not onely so calle vs, but wil earnestly argue, that we are so in dede. Thei vse no Seales to their Lettres, of what sorte so euer thei be, the kynges or other. But they credite the matier, assone as thei haue red the superscription, or heard the name of the sender. Thei occupie no belles, nor suffre not the Christianes that dwelle amōg them to do. Thei game not for money, or any valewe elles. And if it fortune that any manne be founde to do, in many sūdrīe wise thei reuile him, and baite him with shames and reproche.

No man among them, of what degree or dignitie so euer he be: requireth forme chaire, stool, or other kinde of seate to sitte vpon. But foldinge bothe hint selte and his clothes, afre a mooste comely sorte: rucketh downe vpon the grounde, not muche vnlike to the sitting of our gētlewomen ofte times here in Englande. The table wherupon thei cate, is for the mooste parte of a Bullockes hide, or a Hartes skinne. Not dressed, but in the heare, facioned rounde, beyng a fowre or fiue spanne ouer, and so set rounde about on the bordre, or verge, with ringlettes of iron: that putting a couple of stringes throughe the ringes, it maye be drawn together, and shutte and opened like a purse. House, or Church, or any other place where they entende to sitte, no man entreth with his shoes on. For it is compted a very dishonest and an vnmanerly facion, to sitte shoed. Wherefore they vse a maner of slippe shooes, that may lightly be putte of and on. The place where thei sitte, either at home, or at Church, is in some place matted, and in some place ouerspred with course woollen Carpette. And some places also, either for the lowenes, moistenes, or vncleannesse therof are plancked with boorde.

The garments aswell of the menne, as the women, are large and longe, and open afore: that thei may the more honestlie and couertly hide all, when nature craueth to be eased. And in doeyng those nides, thei take greate hiede, that their face be not into the Southe, as it is whē thei praye. As also that thei discover no priuie parte, that any man myghte fortune to see. The menne make water sitting, aswell as the women. For if a man amonges them, ware sene to make water standing: he should be iudged of all, a foole, or an heretique.

From wine (as from a prouoker of al sinne and vncleannesse) thei absteyne by their lawe. And yet cate they the Grapes, & drincke muste. Thei also forbear to cate any thinge, that commeth of the Hogge: or any thinge elles that dieth of sicknesse, or by aduenture vnslain. But any other thinges, being mannes meate, thei refuse not to cate. Thei worshippe the Fridaie, laieng all labour and businesse aparte, with as greate solempnitie and deuocion, as we doe the Sondaie, or as the Jewes doe the Sabboth daie. In euery citie there is one principall or head Church. In the whiche vpon the Fridaie at afre Noone, thei all assemble together. And afre solēpne praiers, heare a sermone. Thei acknowledge one God, to whom thei make no like, nor equalle: and Mahomet to be his trustie and wel-beloued Prophete. All the Saracenes are bound to praie fiue times on the daie, with their faces toward the South. And before thei so do, to the ende thei maie be cleane from all filthe of bodie: to washe them selues toppe and taile, heade, eares, eyes, nose, mouth, armes, handes, bealy, colions, legges and fiete. Specially, if he haue bene late at the soile with a woman or stouped on his taile to vnburden his bealie. Except he haue some lette of iournie, or sicknesse. But if he lacke watre to doe this withall (as that sickdome

or neuer can happen, for that thei haue in all cities, bathes ordenarie for the purpose) thei supplie the defaulte with the moulde of fresshe cleane earthe, wherewith thei rubbe ouer their whole bodies. Who so is polluted in any maner wise: suffreth no man before this clensing, to speake with hym, or to see him, if it be possible. Euery yere for the space of siue wickes continually together, thei faste al daie as presicely as is possible, bothe frō meate, drinke and women. But afre the sonne is ones doune, till the next daie he riseth, thei neither spare eatyng ne drinckyng, ne pressing of pappes. In thende of their lente, and againe the sixtieth daie afre: Thei kieve their passeouer or Easter, in remēbraunce of the Rambe shewed vnto Abraham, to be Sacrificed in the steade of his sonne, and of a certaine nighte in the whiche thei doe beleue that the Alcorane was giuen them from heauen.

Euery yere ones, the Saracenes also are bound of duetie to visite the house of God, in the cite of Mecha: bothe to acknowledge their homage, and to yelde vnto Mahomete his yerely honour at his Sepulchre there. The Saracenes compelle no man to forsake his opiniō or belief: ne yet labour so to perswade any cōtrie to do. Although their Alcorane commaunde them to treade doune and destroe all menne of the contrary beliae yea them & their pr phetes. But through this susterance, ther are to be founde enhabiting in Turkie, peoples of all opinions, and beleue: euery man vsinge suche kinde of worshippe to his God, as to his religion apperteineth. Their priestes do not muche disfire from the commune people, nor yet their churches from their dwelling houses. Yf thei knowe the Alcorane, and the praiours and ceremonies of their lawe, it suffiseth. Thei are neither giuen to contēplacion ne yet schole study. For why thei are not occupied with any church seruice or cure of soules. Sacramentes haue thei none, nor reliques, nor halowinges of fontes, Aulters, and other necessities. But prouidinge for their wiues, their children, and householdes, thei occupie their time in husbōdrie, marchaundise, huntinge, or some other meane to get the penie, and mainteyne their liuing, euen as the temporall men doe. Ther is nothing forbidden them, nothing is for them vnlawfull. Thei be neither burdoned with tillage, ne bondage. Thei be muche honoured of al mē, for that thei are skillfull in the cceremonies of the lawe, teache them to other, and be the gouernours of the churches.

Thei haue many schooles and large, In the which great nombres are taught the lawes there giuen by kinges, for the ciuile gouernaunce and defence of the Realme. Of the whiche some are afterwarde sette fourth to be men of the church, and some to be temporalle officers. Their spiritualtie is deuided into many and sondry sortes of religions. Of the whiche some liue in the wooddes & wyldernes shonnyng all companye. Some kieve open hospitalitie in cities, and yet liue by almose them selues. These if they lacke meate to refreshe the niedy straunger and pelligrine, yet at the least waie they giue him herbour and lodgyng. Other, roumyng the cities vp and downe and caryeng alway in bottles faire watre and fresshe, if any man be disposed to drinke, vnasked they willingly proffire it him, and refuse not to take, if he for their gentlenesse offre aught vnto them agayn. Otherwise they craue nothyng, but in al their woordes, gesture, behauour, & diedes: shewe them selues aungelles rather then menne. And euery one of these hath one knowledge or other, of differēce from the reaste. The Saracenes or Turkes are very precise executours of Iustice. Who so committeth bloudshed: hath in like sorte his owne shedde againe. Taken in adultery, both parties are streight without mercy stoned to death. Thei haue also a punisshement for fornicatiō, whiche is to the manne taken with the diede, foure score ierkes or lasses with a skourge. A thief for the first and the seconde time, escapeth with so many stripes. But at the thirde time, hath his hāde cut of, and at the fourthe his foote. He that endamageth any manne: as the losse or hinderance shalbe valewed, so muste he of force recompence. In claiming of goodes, or possessions, the claimer muste proue by witnesse that the thing claimed is his: and the denier shalbe tried by his othe. Witnesses thei admitte none, but persones of known honestie, & suche as mighte be belieued withoute an othe. Thei haue also certaine spiefaultes ordinarilye appoincted (muche like to our Sompnours) that spie in euery shiere for suche as be negligent, and let slippe suche oraisons, and seruice as thei be boude to. Those if thei fortune to finde them: do thei punishe

punish afre this maner. Thei hāge a borde about their neckes, with a great many of foxe taitles, and togginge them vp and downe the stretes: all ouer the citie, thei neuer lette them go vntill they haue compounded by the purse. And in this also nothing vnlike to our Sompnours. It is lawfull for no manne, beinge come to mannes state, to liue vnmarried. It is compted amonge them as lawfull to haue. iiii. wiues, as it is amonge vs to haue one. Marie what soeuer is about this nombre (as thei may if thei liste, and be able to kepe them, no degree excepted, but mother and sister, marie a hundred) thei are not iudged so lawfull. The children that thei haue bothe by the one, and the other haue equalle portion in the fathers enheritaunce. Sauing that. ii. women children are compted in porciō but for one man childe. Thei haue not. ii. of their wiues together in one house, ne yet in one citie. For the busines, & disquietinges that might happen therby, but euery wife in a seuerall towne. The housebandes haue libertie to put the away thrise, and thrise to take them againe. But yet when he hath ones putte her awaie, if any manne haue taken her, and she lust to abide with hym, she maie.

Their women are moste honestlie appareiled. And vpon their heades doe vse a certaine attire, not muche vnlike the vcluet bonette of olde Englande: wherof the one lappe so hangeth vppon whiche side semeth her good: that when she is disposed to go out of the doores, or to come amongst menne within the house, she maie hide therwith by and by her whole face, sauynge her eyes.

The Saracenes woman, neuer dare shewe her self wher ther is a company of menne. To go to the marchate to occupy byeng or selleng in any wise: is not syttyng for their womē. In the head church they haue a place farre a part fro y men: so close that no manne canne looke into them. Into the which notwithstanding it is not lafull for euery mans wyfe to entre: but for the nobilitie onely. Ne yet for them neyther, but on Friday, at the onely houre of noone praier: whiche as I haue aforesayd, is kept amonge them high and holy.

To see a man and a woman talke together ther, in the open strete or abrode: is so straunge, and so vnwonted a thing, that in a whole yere it skāte happeneth ones. For a man to sitte with his wyfe in open sighte, or to ride with any womā behinde him: amongst them ware a wondre. Married couples neuer dally together in the sighte of other, nor chide or falle out. But the menne beare alwaies towarde the women a manly discrete sobrenes, and the women, towarde them a demure womanlie reuerence. Greate menne, that cannot alwaie haue their wiues in their owne eye, appoincte redgelinges, or guelte menne to awaite vppon them. Whiche waite them in diede so narrowlye, that it ware impossible for any man beside the housebande to speake with the wyfe vnsene: or the wyfe by any stealthe to false her trouth and honestie. Finally the Saracenes do so full and whole beleue their Mahomete & his lawes: that thei doubt no whitte, but the keepers of them shall haue euerlasting blessednesse. That is to saye, after their opinion, a paradise of pleasure, a gardein plotte of delighte, full of swiete rindles of Christalline watre. In whose botomes y grauelle, poppleth like glisteryng golde. The ayre alwaie so attempre and pure, that nothyng can be more swiete, more pleasaunte nor healthsome. The grounde couered and garnished with natures Tapesserie, neither lacking any colour that pleasaunte is to the eye, or sauour that maie delight the nose. Birdes syngyng with suche armonie, as neuer mortalle eare heard. Briefly flowyng in all pleasure that any harte can afre thincke. Disshes for the mouthe, of all deinties. All maner of Silkes, Veluettes, Purples, Skarlettes, and other precious appaarelle. Godly younge damoselles, with graie rowlyng eyes, and skinne as white as Whales bone, softe as the Silke, and breathed like the Rose, and all at their becke. Vesselles of siluer and golde. Angelles for their Butlers that shall bryng theim Milke in Goblettes of golde, and redde wine in siluer. But contrariewise, thei threaten vnto the breakers of them, helle, and euerlastyng destruccion. This thei also beleue, that be a manne wrapped in neuer so many synnes, yet if at his death, he beleue vpon God, and Machomete, he shalbe saued.

¶ The. xii. Chapitre.

¶ Of the Christians, of their firste commyng vp, their Ceremonies, and ordenaunces.

It appereth by
this place that
this was written.
xxxv. yeres gone.

Christe Iesu, the eternalle and verie sonne of thalmightie fathier, the seconde persone in the holie inseparable, equalle, and euerlastyng Trinitie: Of a sette purpose, and spirituelle secrete, not revealed from the beginnyng of tyme, & aboue mannes capacite: was by the meane of the holy ghost, conceived and borne manne. In Iewrie, of a Virgine, of the stocke of Dauid, a thousande five hundred, and twentie yeres* gone To sette vs miserable, and vnhappie mienne on foote againe, whiche ware in Adam and Euc, by the sinne of disobedience ouerthrowen. And to bryng vs againe, vnto our heauenlie natiue countrie, from the whiche we haue by so many ages, for that presumption bene banished. Finally, to repaire and supplie in heauen againe ones, the ruine and fal of those spirites, whiche a space afore our creacion, ware thurst doune fro thence For the whiche purpose, we chiefly ware made. This Iesus, from thirtie yeres of age, vntill thirtie and fowre (in the whiche, through the maliciousnes of the Iewes, he suffred on the galowe tree) traueillyng all Iewrie ouer: first moued and exhorted the Iewes, and then other peoples, from the olde Lawe of Moses, and their wicked Image worshippe, to his newe ordenaunce and trade. And as many as would folowe, and doe afre hym, he called theim his scholers or disciples. Out of the whiche, he gaue vnto. xij. that he had specially chose, Cõmission afre his death (when he had appered to thē on liue again, as he had forewarned thē y he would) to go as Legates, or Embassatours into y whole world, & to preache vnto all creatures, what so euer thei had sene or learned of him. Simon Petre (to whom longe afore he had surrendred the gouernaunce and chiefeinshippe of his Church, as in reuercion afre him) whē afre the cõmyng of the holy ghoste some wente into one coste, and some into another, euery manne his waie, as thei ware allotted and commaunded: came first vnto Antioche. And there setting vp the first and chief chaire of the Church, kepte a counsaile with the other Apostles, whiche often tymes came to hym. In this Counsaile among other thinges it was decreed, that asmany as should receiue, and cleaue vnto the doctrine, and righte perswasion of Christes godlines: shou'd fro thence furthe be called Christians. This Seate of superioritie, beyng afrewarde translated to Rome: bothe he and his Successours, tooke it for their chief charge and businesse, to put the rude and rawe secte of their Christe, and the folowers of the same, in some good ordre and trade of gouernaunce. Bothe afre the maner of Moses Lawe (whiche Christe came not to breake, but to consummate and finishe) and the state of the Romain gouernaunce, the Greke, and Egipcian: and also by paterne of the Ceremonies, obseruances, lawes, and ordenaunces Ecclesiasticke and Temporalle, of many other peoples: But specially afre the doctrine, of Christe Iesu, and the woorkyng of the holy ghoste, to bryng them in to frame and facion. When thei ware entred in the mattier: As thei sawe that mē not emong the Hebrues alone, but emōg other peoples also, ware deuided into Ecclesiasticke, and Temporalle, Spiritualtie and Laietie: and eche of theim in moste goodly wise, into their dignities and degrees (The Romain Emperour then being gouernour of the whole worlde alone, to haue Consulles, Fathers or Senatours: at whose becke all thinges ware deuised and doone: And in the residewe of the earthe to bee many Kynges, many Dukes, Erles, Presidentes, and Deputies of countries, and their Lieutenantes: Mareshalles of the fiede, and highe Conestables for the cõmunes, Pretours or Prouostes, Standerbearers roialle, Centurians, and Disners, Seriauntes, Conestables, Collectours, Surucious, Porters, Scribes, Listers, and many other persones without office, bothe menne and women. And in the Temples of their Goddes, a Sacrificer roialle, whiche is to saie in effecte, a highe Prieste of the dignitie of a kyng. Archeffamines, Flamines of honour, and other Flamines inferiour and laste in degree their Priestes. And by like ordre emong the Hebrues: an highe Bisshoppe, and inferiour Priestes, Leuites, Nazareis, candle quenchers, commaunders of Spirites, Church Wardeines, and Syngers, whiche wee calle Chantours afre the Frenche. And amōg the Grekes: Capiteines, or heades ouer a thousande, ouer an hundred, ouer fuetie, ouer

ouer tēne, and ouer fiue. And that there were yet beside these, bothe emong the Hebrues, and the Romaines, many couentes, or compaignies of menne and women Religious. As Sadduceis, Esseis, and Phariseis emong the Hebrues: Salios, Diales, and Vestalles, emong the Romaines: The moste holy Apostles did all consente, that Petre, and thei that should folowe him in the seate of Rome, should for euermore be called Papa. As who would saie, father of fathers, the vniuersalle, Apostolicalle, moste holy, and moste highe bisshophe. And that he should at Rome be Presidente ouer the vniuersalle Church, as the Emperour there, was ruler of the vniuersall worlde. And to matche the Consulles (whiche were euer twaine) thei appointed fowre head Fathers, in the Greke named Patriarches, one at Constantinople, another at Antioche, a thirde at Alexandrie, and the fowrthe at Hierusalem. In the place of the Senatours, thei took the Cardinales. To matche their kynges, whiche had three Dukes at commaundement, thei deuised Primates: To whom were subiecte thre Archebisshoppes. So that the Archebisshophe or Metropolitane, standeth in the place of a Duke. For as the Duke had certein Erles or Barones at his commaundement: so haue the Archbisshoppes, other inferiour Bisshoppes at theirs, whiche also by reason muste countrenaile an Erle. The Bisshoppes coadiutour or Suffragane, came into the Presidentes place. Thordenarie into the Deputies, then did the Officiale matche with the Mareshalle. And with the high conestable for the cōmunes, the Bisshoppes Chauncelour. And for the Pretour or Prouoost, thei sette vp an Archdeacō. In stede of the Cēturiāne, was a Deane appointed. And for the Disnerc, the Persone or Vicare. For the Aduocates, crept in the Parisshe Prieste, Soule Prieste, Chaunterie Prieste, Morowe Masse Prieste, and suche other. The Deacon standeth for the Surueiour. The Subdeacon, for the Serieaunte. For the two Conestables, came in the two Cōmaunders of Spirites, called Exorcistæ in the Greke. The Collectours office, was matched with the Church wardaines. The Porter became the Sexteine. The Chaütour, Scribe, and Lister, kieve stille their name. The Acholite, whiche we calle Benet and Cholet, occupieth the roume of Candlebearer.

All these by one commune name, thei called Clerj, of the Greke woorde Cleros, that is to saie, a Lotte. For that thei were firste from among the people, so allotted vnto God. Thereof cometh our terme Clerque, and his cosine Clergie. Neuerthelesse, this name Clergie, was not so commune vnto all: but that it siemed moste propely to reste in the seuen degrees, that the Pope of Rome vsed for his Ministres, when he saied Masse in persone him self. That is to saie, the Bisshophe, the Priest, the Deacon, & subdeacon, y Acholite, and the Chaütour. Vnto euery of these gaue thei in y church their seueralle dignities offices, & appareile.

To the Bisshophe was giuen authoritie, to ordeine and make other Clerckes. To *enueile That is to saie, to make Nonnes. virgines, & to hallow them. To consecrate their likes, and their superiours also. To laie handes vpon thē. To confirme and Bisshophe childrē. To hallowe Churches. To put Priestes from their Priesthode: and to degrade them, when thei deserue it. To kieve Conuocaciōs and Sinodes. To make holy oile: to hallowe the ornamentes and vesselles of the church. And to do also other thinges, that the inferiour Priestes doe. To enstructe those that be newly come to the faith. To Christiane, to make the Sacramente of the Altare, and to giue it to other. To absolue the repētaunte of their sinnes, and to fette the stubberne more streighte. To shewe furthe the Gospelle. To enioyne all Priestes to shawe their heades in the croune, like a circle of. iiij. fingres brode, afre the maner of y Nazareis. To kepe their heare shorte, to weare no bearde. And to liue chaaste for euer.

Their liuyng onely to rise of the firste fruites, tenthes, and offringes: and vtterly to be volde of all temporalle and Laiemennes cares and businesse. To be honestlie appareiled, and accordyngly to vse their passe and conuersacion. Onely to serue God and the church. Diligētly to plye the reading of holy scripture, y they them selues mighte perfectly knowe all thinges pertaineing to Christian religiō, wherein thei are bound to enstructe other. The companies or couētes of religious, aswel men as women: are Benedictines, Preachers, Franciscanes, Augustines, Barnardines, Anthonines, Iohānites, Cisternois, and innumerable other. Whiche al haue their habite, and maner of liuyng by them selfe: acordinge to the rule that

eachone priuately prescribed to them selues. And liued for the moste parte a solitary life, professing chastitie, pouretie, and perpetuelle obedience. And for their solitarines the Greke called them Monachi. Some of these haue for their heades Abbotes, some Priours: whiche are either subiecte to the Pope onely, or to the bishoppes. Al these vsed coules, much afre one faciō, but in colour diuers, & abstained fro fleshe. The bishoppes when thei say masse, haue. xv. holy garmentes, afre f maner of Moyses lawe, for f perfectiō of thē. His boate-wes, his Amice, an Albe, a Girdle, a Stole, a Maniple, a Tunicle of violette in graine fringed, his gloues, ringe, and chesible or vestimente, a Sudarie, a cope, a mitre and a *crosse staffe. And a chaire at the Aultares ende, wherin he sitteth. Of the whiche. vi. are commune to euery inferiour prieste: the Amice, the Albe, the girdle, the stole, the Maniple, and the vestiment. But ouer, and aboue all these the Pope, by the gifte of Constantine the greate, hath libertie to weare al the ornamentes Imperialle. That is to saye a kirtle of skarlet, a robe of Purple, a sceptre, and a close corone. With the whiche afre he hath rauished him selfe in the vestrie, vpon solempne feastes, when he entēdeth to do masse: he commeth forth to the aultare, hauing on the right side a prieste, on the lefte side a Deacon, a Subdeacon going before him with a booke faste shutte, two candle bearers, and an encensour with the censoure in his hande smoking. When he is comē to the griessinges, the stayers, or foote of the aultare: putting of his mitre, he maketh open *confession of his sinnes together with his company.

The Latine call-
eth it a shiepe
hook.

That is, he
saith confiteor.

Mora prima,
tertia, sexta,
nona.

That done he goeth vp to the aultare, openeth the booke, lienge vpon the lefte corner of the same, kysseth it, and so procedeth in the Solempnisaciō of f Masse. The subdeacon readeth the epistle, and the Deacon the godspelle. Priestes of al degrees, are charged to prayse God seuen times a daie, and to praye with ordenarie oraisons. Towarde the eueninge, euensonge: and compline more late. Matines in the morninge, and incontinente prime, and howres, in ordre of tyme, as thei stande in *ordre of name. And this humbly before the aultare, if he maye conueniently, with his face towarde the Easte. The pater nostre and the Crede said thei, onely at the beginnyng of their seruice, as the commune people do nowe a daies also. Saincte Ierome, at the vrgent request of Pope Damasus, parted out the Psalmes according to the daies of the wieke. And appointed for euery houre a porciō of propre psalmes. For the nighte houres on the holy daye. ix. and on the working daye. xii. For laudes in the morning. v for euensonge as many, and for eche other houre but thre. He also ordeined the Epistles, Godspelles, and other seruice, vsed to be red out of the olde or newe testament, in maner altogether, sauing f note. The Anthemes (which Ambrose, Bysshoppe of Millayne wrate, and endited) Damasus put ordre that the quiere should sing side afre side, & added to euery psalmes ende. Gloria patri, &c. The lessons and Himpnes that go before eche one of the howres did f couceiles of Thoulouse and Agathone aucthorise. The orisons, the grailes, the tractes, the Alleluya, thoffertorie, the Communion in the Masse, the Anthemes, Versicles, repitions, and other thinges, either songe or redde by nyghte or by daye, to the beautifieng, and praying of God: did Gregory, Gelasius, Ambrose, and many other holy fathers, deuise, and put furthe, not at one time but at sondry. The Masse (so terme thei the sacrifice) was firste vsed to be done in suche simple sorte, as yet is accustomed, vpon good Friday, & Easter euen, with certeine lessōs before it. But then Pope Celestinus put to the office of the Masse. Thelesphorus, Gloria in excelsis: But Hilarius of Pictauiā made the Et in terra. Simachus ordeined it to be songue. The Salutaciōs, which by f terme of Dominus vobiscum, be made seuen tymes in a Masse, ware taken out of the booke of Ruthe, by Clemente and Anaclete, and put in, in their places. Gelasius made vp all the reste to the Offertory, in the same ordre thei be vsed. Excepte the Sequences and the Crede: wherof Nicolas put in the firste, & Damasus the nexte: according to the Sinode of Constantinople. The bidding of the beades, with the collacion that was wonte to be made in the pulpite on Sondaies, and halydaies: rather grewe to a custome by the example of Nehemias, and Esdras, then was by any aucthorised. In this collacion at the firste comming vp therof, when so many as ware presēte at the Masse did receiue the communion, according as was ordeyned by a decree: thei that ware at any discorde ware exhorted

to

Asie.

to concorde, & agremente. And that thei should receiue the sacrament of the aulter cleane from the filthe of sinne, vpon the whiche consideracion at this daye it endeth with confiteor, or an open confession. There ware thei wonte to teache the instrumentes of the olde lawe, and the newe. The ten cōmaundementes. The xii. articles of our beleue. The seuen sacramentes, holy folkes liues, and Martirdomes, holy dayes, doctrines, and disciplines: vertues, and vices, and what soeuer are necessary beside forthe, for a Christiane to knowe. Gregory linked on the offertorie. Leo the prefaces. Gelasius the greate Canō, & the lesse. The Sanctus blessed Sixtus. And Gregory y Pater noster out of the Gospell of sainte Mathewe. Martialle the scholer of blessed Peter, deuised that Bysshoppes should gyue their benediction at the Agnus. And as for other infeour priestes, Innocentius commaunded them to giue the paxe, that is to saye peace. Sergius tacked on the Agnus, and Gregory the poste communion. The closing vp of all with Ite missa est, Benedicamus, Deo gratias: was Leoes inuencion.

The xii. articles of our beleue, whiche the blessed Apostles would euery manne not onely to confesse with mouth, but to beleue also in harte, are these.

Firste, that ther is one God in Trinitie, the father almighty maker of heauen and earthe. The seconde, Iesus Christe his onely sonne our Lorde. The thirde the same beinge conceiued of the holye ghoste, to haue bene borne of y Virgine Marie. The fourthe, to haue suffred vnder Ponce Pilate, to haue bene crucified, deade, bewried, and to haue descended in to helle. The fiueth, to haue risen agayne the thirde daye fro the deade. The sixteth, to haue ascended vp into the heauē, and to sitte on the right hande of God the father almighty. The seuenth, that he shall come fro thence like a triūpher, to iudge the quicke and the deade. The eight, that ther is an holy ghoste. The ninth, y ther is an holy church vniuersalle, the communion of the godly and good. The tenthe, forgiuenesse of sinnes. The eleuēth, the rising againe of the flesshe. The twelueth, afire our departing, life in another worlde euerlasting.

The tenne commaundementes, whiche God wrote with his owne finge, and gaue vnto the Israelites by Moses, whiche thapostles willed vs also to kiepe. The firste, thou shalte haue none other Goddes but me. The seconde, thou shalte not make the any grauē Image, or likenesse of any thing that is in heauē aboue, in the earthe benethe, or in the water vnder the earthe, thou shalt not bowe doune to them, nor worshippe them. The third, thou shalt not take the name of thy lorde God in vaine. The fowrthe, remembre that thou kiepe holie thy Sabboth daie. The fiueth, honour thy father & mother. The sixteth, thou shalte doe no murdre. The seuenth, thou shalte not commit adulterie. The eight, thou shalte not steale. The ninth, thou shalt beare no false witness against thy neighbour. The tenthe, thou shalte not desyre thy neighbours house, his wife, his seruante, his maide, his Oxe, nor his Asse, nor any thing that is thy neighbours.

The seuen Sacramentes of the church, whiche are contained in the fiue laste Articles of our beleue, and commaunded vs by the holie fathers to be beleued.

The firste, diepyng into the water, called Baptisyng, afre the Greke. This, by canonically decree, in time paste was not wonte to be giuen (excepte greates necessitie soner required it) but to those that had bene scholers a space afore, to learne the thinges appertynēt to Christendome. Yea, and that afre thei had bene exceedingly welle instructed in the faithe: and proufe taken of their profityng, by seuen examinations, whiche ware made vpon seuen seuerall daies in the Lente, and so ware thei Baptised vpon Easter euen, and Whitesondaie euen. Vpon whiche daies, they ware accustomed to hallowe the christening watre, in euery Paroche. But because this specially of all other, is chiefly necessarie vnto euerlasting saluation: lesse any bodie should die without it, thei decreed that assone as the childe was borne, godfathers should be sought for it, as it ware for witnesses or sureties whiche should bryng the childe vnto the Church doore, and there to stande without. And then the Priest should enquire, before the childe be dieped in the Fonte, whether it haue renounced Sathan and all his pompe and pride. If it beleue certainly and wholie, all the Articles of the Christiane faithe. And the Godfathers answering, yea: for it, the Prieste breathyng

breathyng thrise vpon his face, exorciseth it, and catechiseth it. Afre that, doeth he seuen thinges to the childe in ordre. Firste, he putteth into the mouth hallowed salt. Secondely, he mingleth earthe and his spattle toguether, and smereth the eyes, eares, & nosethrilles of the childe. Thirdly, giuyng it suche name as it shall euer afre bee called by: he marketh it on the breast and backe with holie oile, afre the facion of a crosse. Fourthly, he diepeth it thrise in the Watre, or besprinkleth it with waire thrise, in maner of a crosse, in the name of the holie Trinitie, the father, the sonne, and holie ghost. In the whiche name also, all thother Sacramentes are ministred. Fiueuthly, weting his thumbe in the holie ointement, he maketh therewith a Crosse on the childes foreheade. Sixthly, he putteth a white garment vpon it. Seuenthly, he taketh it in the hãde a Candle brennyng. The Iewes before thei be Christened (by the determinacion of the counsaile holden at Agathone, are catechised, that is to saie, are scholers at the enstruction of our beleue nine monethes. And are boũd to fast fourtie daies: to dispossesse them selues of all that euer thei haue, and to make free their bonde men. And looke whiche of their children thei haue Circumcised, according to Moses lawe: hym are thei bounde to banishe their companie. No merueile therefore if thei come so vnwillingly to christedome.

Bishopping, whiche the Latines calle Confirmation, a confirming, a ratifieng, establishing, auchthorisyng, or allowyng of that went before: is the second Sacramente. And is giuē of the Bishoppe onely, before the Aultare in the Church, to suche as are of growē yeres, and fastyng (if it maie be) afre this maner. As many as shalbe Confirmed, come all together with euery one a godfather. And the Bishoppe afre he hath saied one orasion ouer thē all, wetyng his thumbe in the holie oile, maketh a crosse vpō eche of their foreheades: In the name of the father, sonne, and holie ghoste. And giueth hym a blowe on the lefte chieke, for a remembraunce of the Sacrament, that he come not for it againe. The godfathers, to the ende the enoilyng should not droppe awaie, or by negligence bee wiped awaie, clappe on a faire filette on the foreheade, whiche thei iudge to be unlawfully takē awaie, before the seuenth daie. The holie fathers esteemed this Sacrament so highly, that if the name giuen to the childe at his Christendome, siemed not good: the Bishoppe at the giuyng hereof mighte chaunge it.

The thirde Sacramente is holie Ordres, whiche in the firste Church, was giuen likewise of the Bishoppe, onely in the monethe of Decembre. But now at sixe seueralle tymes of the yere: that is to saie, the fowre Saturdaies in the embre wekes (whiche ware purposely ordeined therefore) vpon the Saturdaie, whiche the Church menne calle Siuientes, because the office of the Masse for that daie appoincted, beginneth with that woorde, and vpon Easter euen. This Sacrament was giuen onely to menne: and but to those neither, whose demeanour and life, dispositiō of bodie, and qualitie of minde, ware sufficiently tried and knowē. Afre the opinion of some, there were seuen ordres, or degrees, wherby the holy fathers would vs to beleue that there ware seuē speciall influences, as it ware printed in the soule of the receiuer, wherby eche one for eche ordre, was to be compted an hallowed manne. Afre the mindes of other there ware nine. That is to saie, Musicens (whiche encludeth singing and plateng) Doore kiepers, Reders Exorcistes, Acholites, Subdeacon, Deacon, Prieste and Bishop. And for all this, it is cōpted but one Sacramente, by the reason that all these tende to one ende, that is to saie, to consecrate the Lordes bodie. To euery one of these did the Counsaile of Toledo in Spaine, appoincte their seueralle liueries, and offices in the Church. The Dorekeepers had the office of our Common Sexteine, to opē the church dores, to take hede to the church, and to shutte the dores. And had therefore a keie giuen vnto them, when thei ware admitted to this ordre. The Reader, in signe and token of libertie to reade the Bible, and holie stories, had a greate booke giuen him. The Exorcistes, serued to commaunde euill spirites out of menne, and in token therof, had a lesse booke giuen them. The Acholite, had the bearyng and the orderyng of the Tapers, Candelstickes, and Cruettes at the Altare: and therefore had a Candlestick, a Taper, and two emptie Cruorettes deliuered hym. The Subdeacon, mighte take the offering, and handle the Chalice, and the Patine, carie them to the Altare, and

and fro the Altare, and giue the Deacon Wine and water, out of the Cruettes. And therefore the Bishoppe deliuereth hym an emptie Chalice with a Patine, and the Archdeacon one Cruet full of wine, and another full of watre, and a Towelle. To the Deacons, is the preaching of Goddes Gospelle to the people committed, and to helpe the priest in al holy ministracion. He hath the Gospelle booke deliuered hym, and a towell hanged vpon his one shouldre, like a yoke. The Prieste hath power to consecrate the Lordes bodie, to praie for sinners, and to reconcile the againe to God by Penaunce enioined them. He hath deliuered hym a Chalice with Wine, the Patine, with a singyng cake, a stole vpo bothe shouldres, and a Chesible. What Ornamentes the Bisshoppe hath giuen vnto hym, ye haue heard afore. He maie not be made Bisshoppe, but on the Sondaie about the iii. houre afre Prime, betwene thoffice of the Masse and the Gospelle: at the whiche tyme twoo Bisshoppes, and a Metropolitan, laie their handes vpon his heade and a booke. The Bisshoppes in the firste Church, did litle or nothyng diffre from other Priestes, and ware ruled by the commune Counsailes of the Church, before that dissencion and deuision entred among the people, causing them in sondrie sortes, to cleaue vnto sondrie names, euery sorte as thei fortunited to be conuerted and Christened of a sondrie persone. As whom Paule Baptised, thei would be called Paulines. Whom Appollo, Appollonians. Whom Cephas, Cephites, and so of other. To auoide therefore these breaches of concorde, and foran vniformitie, the holy fathers ware driuen to decree and stablish that asmany as should asteward be baptised, should be called Christians of Christe. And that ouer euery Countie or Shiere, there should be sette one Prieste or moe, acording to the greatnesse of the same, suche as ware best tried. Whiche should haue to name, Ouersears in Englishe: in Greke, Episcopj. Whom we cal Bishopes, by chaungyng of P. into B. and leauing out the E. for shortnes, acording to the nature of our tongue. These mighte not then gouerne their Clergie, and other their Diocesans, at their owne pleasure, as thei did before: but acording to the decrees of the Church of Rome, and the holie Counsailes of the fathers assembled. Then began thei firste (by the suffraunce and helpe of deuoute princes) to deuide all Christendome into Dioceses, and the Diocesse into Conuocacions or Chaptres, and those againe into Paroches, and to set that goodly ordre, that yet continueth, aswell among the clergie as the laetie. That the parishe should obeie their lawfull Person, the Person the Deane: the Deane the Bishoppe: the Bishoppe, the Archebishoppe. The Archbishoppe, the Primate or Patriarche: the Primate or Patriarche, the Legate: the Legate, the Pope: the Pope the generalle Counsaile: the generalle Counsaile, God alone.

For the fourthe Sacramente it is holden, that euery prieste rightly priested, acording to the keies of the Church, hauing an entente to consecrate, and obseruyng the fourme of the wordes: hathe power, of wheaten breade to make the very bodie of Christe, and of Wine to make his very bloude.

Christe our Lorde hym selfe, the daye before he suffred, kepthe it solelymply with his disciples, and consecrated, and ordeined it continually to be celebrated, and eaten in the remembrance of him selfe. And about this mattier a man had nede of a great faythe. Firste to beleue the breade to be chaunged into the body, and the wine into the bloude of Christe. Againe thoughte this be done euery daye that yet Christ for all that should growe neuer a whitte the bigger for y making, nor the lesse for the eatinge. Thirde that the Sacrament being deuoyded into many partes, Christ should yet remaine whole in euery cromme. Fourthly that thoughte the wicked eate it, yet should not it be defiled. Fiuethly that it bringeth to as many euyll as receiue it, death: and to the good euerlasting life. Sixthly that it tourneth not into the nature of the eater to his nourissement as other meate dothe: but turneth the eater contrariwise into the nature of it selfe. And yet being eaten, that it is rapte into heauen, vnhurte or vntouched. Seuenthy that in so smalle a syse of breade and wine, the infinite, and incomprehensible Christe, God and manne shoulde be comprehended. Then, that one, and the self same bodye of Christe, at one very instaunte, shoulde be in many places, and of many menne receiued at ones, and in sondrye parcelles. Ninethly y thoughte the bread it selfe be chaunged into the very fleshe of Christe, and the wine into his bloude, that

that yet to all the sences thei remaine breade and wine, and neither flesshe ne bloud. Further that all these cōmodities cōteined in these verses folowing should happen vnto those that worthely eate it.

It putteth in mynde and kindleth, encreaseth hope, and strengtheneth. Mainteineth, clenseth, restoreth, giues life, and vniteth. Stablisseth beliefe, abates the foode of sinne, and all vncleennes quencheth.

Finally, to be very profitable for the saluaciō aswell of those liuyng as deade, for whō it is specially offred by the priest in the Masse. And therefore to haue to name Eucharistia communio.

In the beginning of the Christiane faithe (and yet amonge certeine schismatiques as thei saye) one whole lofe was consecrated, of suche bigguenesse, as whē the Priest had broken it in a platter into smalle pieces, it mighte suffice the whole multitude that ware at the masse to participate of. For in time paste the Christianes came every day to communicate by a speciall commaundemente, and ordenaunce. Aftrewarde but ones in a wieke and that on the Sondag. But whan it began to be skant well kepte vpon the Sondag neither: then was it commaunded that euery manne should receiue it thrise in the yere, or ones at the leaste, at euery Easter. And that euery christian manne, when he stode in any daungier of death, beyng whole of minde, should receiue it as a waifaring viande, to staye him by the waye: with as good preparation of bodye and soule, as he possibly mighte.

Matrimonic (whiche is the lawefulle coupling of the manne and the woman) broughte in by the lawe of nature, the lawe of God, the lawe of all peoples, and the lawe ciuile, is the fifteth Sacrament. The holy fathers woulde haue but one mariage at ones, & that not in secrete but with opē solemnitie eyther in y church, or in the church porch, and so that the priest be called to the matier. Who shold firste examine the man, and then the womanne, whether thei bothe consent to be married together. Yf thei be agreed (whiche is chiefly in this case requisite) he taking them bothe by the right handes: coupleth them together in the name of the holy and vnseperable trinitie, the father, the sonne, and the holy ghoste. And commaundeth, and exhorteth them that thei alwaye remembering this their coupling of their owne free wille & consent: as long as thei liue, neuer forsake one another but loue & honour one another, be debonaire and buxome one to another, giuing them selues to procreacion, and not to lecherous luste. And that thei honestly and diligently bringe vp, suche children as God sendeth them of theyr bodies. Aftre that he affiaunceth thē both with one ringe. And sprinckling holy water vpon them, reacheth them a stole, and leadeth them into the church, where (yf thei ware not blessed afore) he blesseth them knieling before the altare. The woman hath on a redde fillet or frontelerte, and ouer that a white veile, withoute the whiche it is not lawfulle for her fro that daye forewarde, to go oute of doores abrode, or to sitte by any manne. Twelue thinges ther be, whiche the holy fathers woulde haue to barre persons from contracting of matrimonic, and to disseuer them againe, yf thei be contracted. Errour of person, that is to saye, mistaking one for another. A betrowthing vpon a condicion, Cōsanguinitie or kindred, Anopē crime Diuersitie of secte, Force, or cōstrainte. Holy ordres, a Bōde or former contracte, Commune or open honestie, Affinitie, and Disshabilitie of engēdrure.

The sixteth Sacramente is penance or repentaunce, giuen of Christe as it ware for a wracke boorde, wherby men are preserued fro drowninge. Eche Christian oughte vndoubtedly to beleue that this consisteth in foure poinctes. To saie, in Repētaūce of our sinnes, Canonically cōfession, Absolucion, and Satisfaction, or amendes. Firste let him sorowe, not with a lighte forthinckinge, but with a moste earnest and bittre repentaunce in the botome of his conscience: for the puritie and innocencie that he had gotten eyther by baptism or y benefite of former repentaunce, and nowe hathe eftsones loste, and forgone throughe sinne. And let him hope with this repentaunce, to be reconciled to the fauour of God againe. And let him hur'ly, and truly with his owne mouthe, confesse to a wise prieste, in the steade of God: al those offences wherwith he knoweth him selfe to haue loste his innocencie and clenness, and to haue prouoked the wrathe of GOD againste him selfe. And let him assuredly beleue that the same prieste, hath power giuen him of Christe

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(as beinge his vicare, or deputie on earth) to absolue him of all his sinnes. Finally for satisfaction or amendes making for the faulte: lette him not with grudginge, but chierfully, and gladly doe, what so euer he shalbe cōmaūded. Beleuf with vndoubted faith, that he is absolued, and quyte of all, assone as the priest in dewe forme of wordes, hath pronounced the absolucion.

The seuenth, and the laste Sacramēt is the laste enoynting, by an oyle that is made to this vse, by the bishope in euery diocese, by an yerele custome vpō Maūdy Thursdaie, like as the chrismatory oyle is. And this by the precepte of sainte Iames the Apostle, and by the ordinaunce of Felix the fourthe Pope after Sainte Peter: was giuen only to them that laie in dyeng, being of full age, and requyring it. Thei vse to enoynte with a prescripte fourme of wordes, and with often inuocacion of saintes: those partes of the bodie, wher our fiue wittes or senses: the hearing, seying, smelling, tasting and touching, beare moste stroke, & with whiche man is iudged chiefly to sinne. That is, the eares, the eyes, the nosethrilles, the mouth, the handes, and the fete. Wherby the holy fathers would vs to beleue, that there was not onely purchased cleane forgiuenesse of all smaller offences, or venialle sinnes: but also either presente recouerie, or a ripper and gentler deathe. All the feastes and holydaies, throughout the yere, whiche the church hath commaunded to be obserued & kept: beginne at the Aduente, or approche of Christe our Lorde. Whiche Peter the Apostle instituted to be obserued in Decembre, with fasting and praier, thre wikes and a haulfe before Christemas, whē we close vp the last. viii. daies of that moneth, with great ioye and feaste. Thei deuided the yere into two & fuetie wekes, and. xii. seuerall monethes. The monethes cōmonly into. xxx. daies. The firste daye of Ianuary the church recordeth howe Christe was circumcised accordinge to Moyses lawe. The. iii. daye afre, howe he was worshipped of the thre Sages, with thre sondry presentes: and howe beinge baptised of Iohn in Iordaine the floude, he laide the foundation of the newe Lawe. The seconde of Februarie, how his mother vnspotted, obeyeng the maner of her cōtry: brought hym into the temple, and suffred her self to be purified or clensed, whiche we calle churching of childe. In memorie wherof the church vseth that daye, solempne procession, and halowing of candles. The fiue and twentieth of Marche, howe y angel brought woode to the virgin Marie, that Christ shoulde be borne of her, being conceived in her wombe, by the ouershadowing of the holy ghoste. At the whiche time they willed vs to faste the fourtie daies that he fasted him selfe, being with vs vpon earth, and to renewe the remembrance of his passion, and deathe, whiche he willingly susteined to deliuer vs fro yoke and bondage of the deuell. The laste day of that faste, which oftentimes falleth in Aprille, to celebrate the highest feaste in al the yere: in remembrance howe he ouercame deathe, descended into helle, vanquished the deuell, and returned againe on liue, and appeared in glorious wyse vnto his scholers, or disciples. In Maye, howe all those his scholers loking vpō him, he by his owne vertue and mighte, stied vp into the heauens. At the whiche time, by thordenaunce of sainte Mamerte, bishope of Vienne: there he made ganginges with the lesse Letanies from one Church to another, all Christendome ouer. In Iune, and sometime in Maie, how the holy ghoste, promised to the disciples, giuen from aboue, appeared to them like glowing tongues: and gaue them to vndrestande, & to speake the tonges of al naciōs. Theight daie folowing, Trinitie Sondaie. The fiue daye afre that, how Christe in his laste supper, for a continuall remembrance of himself, instituted the moste holosome Sacramēt of his bodie and bloud, vndre the fourme of breade and wine, leauyng it to be sene and eaten of his. The fuetenth of Iuly, how the blessed Apostles, acordyng as thei were cōmaūded, the twelue yere afre the Ascencion of their Master into heauen: wente their waies into the vniuersalle worlde, to Preache vnto all people. The departyng of Christes mother out of this life, the fuetenth daie of Auguste. And her Natiuitie, theight of Septembre. And thone and twentie of Nouembre, how she from thre yerres of age (at the whiche tyme she was presented to the temple) vntill she was mariage able, remained there seruing God stil a peace. And theight of Decembre, how she was of

her parentes begotten, that longe afore had bene barreine. The second daie of Iulie, how Elisabethe passyng the Mounteines, visited her kindeswoman.

There were also certeine holie daies appoynted to the. xii. Apostles. To certeine Martyres, Confessours, and Virgines. As the fowre and twentieth of Februarie to saincte Matthe. To saincte Marke the Euangeliste, the. xxv. of Aprille. Vpon the whiche daie, Gregorie ordeined the greate Letanies to be songe. The firste of Maie is hallowed for Philippe and Iames the more. The. xxix. of Iune, for Petre and Paule: & the. xxiiii. of thesame, for the Natiuitie of S. Ihon Baptiste. The. xxv. of Iuly, for Iames the lesse. For Bartholomewe the fowre & twentie of August. For Mathewe, the one and twentie of Septembre. And the eight and twentie of Octobre, for Simō and Iude. The last of Nouembre, for S. Andrewe. The one and twentie of Decembre, for saincte Thomas. And the. vii. and twentie of thesame moneth for Ihu the Euangeliste. The daie before, for Stephin the first Martire. And the daie afre for the Innocentes. The tenth of August for saint Laurence. And the thre & twentie of Aprille, for saincte George. Of all the Confessours, there are no moe that haue holidiaes appoynted, but S. Martine and saincte Nicholas. The firste, on the eleuenth of Nouembre: and the other the sixteth of Decembre. Katherine the virgine, the fife and twentie of Nouembre, and Marie Magdalene the twentie and two of Iuly. There is also vndre the name of saincte Michael alone, the. xxix. of Septembre: a holy daie for all blessed Angelles. And one other in commune for all the saintes, and chosen of GOD, the firste of Nouembre.

Thei would also that euery seuenthe daie, should be hallowed of the Christianes, by the name of Sondaie, as the Iewes doe their Sabboth: restyng from all worldly woorke, and beyng onely occupied with praising of GOD, and the deuine Seruice in the Church. To learne by the Priestes preachyng, the Gospelle and the commaundementes of our faith. And by what meanes so euer we thinke in our conscience we haue prouoked the wrathe of God against vs all the wieke afore: that, this daie to amende, to sette cliere, and aske pardone for. In time past euery Thursdaie also was kepte as the Sondaie. But because we mighte sieme therein, somewhat to gratefie the Heathen (whiche that daie kepte solempne holie daie, to Iupiter their Idolle) it was laied doune againe. More ouer the clerkes and the people, vsed bothe Thursdaie and Sondaie before Masse, to go round aboute the Church a Procession, and the Prieste, to sprinkle the people with holy watre. Agapitus instituted the one, and the other. The Thursdaie, in remembrance of Christes Ascencion, and the Sondaie, of his glorious Resurrection: whiche we celebrate fro Sondaie to Sōdaie continually, ones euery eight daies. The night afore euery ordenary holidiaie or feastefull daie: the whole clergie, and the people, ware bounde to kieve Vigile in euery church. That is to saie, to wake all nighte, in deuine seruice and praier. But vpon consideracion of many slaundersous crimes and offences, that ware by diuers naughtie and malicious persones committed, by the oportunitie of the darke: this maner was taken awaie, and ordeined that the daie before the feaste, should be fasted, whiche yet kiepeth stille the name of Vigile. The fathers decreed that the church in the whole yere should renew the memorie of fife thynges.

Fro the Sondaie called Septuagesima (because there are seuentie daies, betwiene that and the octauaes of Easter) thei would vs to renew the memorie of Christes Fasting, Passion, Death & Bewrialle. The miserable fallie also of our first parentes, and those extreme errors of mankind, by the whiche thei ware ledde awaie fro the knowledge and worshippe of one verie GOD: to the wicked supersticion and honour of Idolles and deuelles. And further, the greuous and intollerable bondage that the people of Israell suffred vndre the Pharaο of Egipte. Vpon whiche consideracion, the bookes of Genesis and Exodus be redde in the seruice of the church. Whiche sheweth then in all her demeanour, and appareilyng, heauiesse and sorowe.

From the octauaes of Easter, to the octauaes of Whitsontide, Christes Resurrection, and Ascencion, with the commyng of the holy Ghoste. And together with that, the redemption, reconciliaciō, and atonement of mankind with God the father, through Iesus Christe: and

and the restoryng againe of the children of Israell, to the lande of behest. Wherein was prefigured our reconciliacion and redempcion aforesaid. For that cause is all the service out of the newe Testamēt, and al thinges done with iole & gladnes.

From the octaues of Whitsontide, till Aduente, xx. wikes space, and more, thei would haue to bee celebrated the cōuersation of Christ here in the worlde, with his miracles and woorkes of wondre. And ouer and beside that, the longe pilgrimage, that mankinde, by longe reuolucion maketh, from one generacion to another, from the tyme of our redempcion, saluacion and sauing, vntill the laste daie of time. Wherefore duryng this while, vpon consideration of the diuerse happe and hasarde, wherwith the Church is tossed, like a Shippe in the troubled Seas, she neither greatly reioiceth, ne soroweth, but redeth greate chaunge of bookes, oute of the olde and newe Testamente: to the ende she maie walke the warielie, and the better wijnde her self out of the stormes, that are ready to assaile her.

From Aduente to Christemas, to remembre the tyme from Moses, to the commyng of Messias. In the whiche mankinde certefied of saluacion, bothe by the lawe and the Prophetes, awaited with moste earnest desires for his commyng, and the kingdōe that he shold haue. Wherefore thei ordeined that the Prophecies should be redde, and fasting exercised. That the church the better enstructed, and abled by these, mighte the worthelie receiue the Birthe daie of Christ her Lorde (whiche euer falleth the fowerth wieke afre) and from thens holde on with feaste, and continuall gladnesse, vntill Septuagesima. Reioisying that he was now come: whiche should bee the sauliuor of the worlde. Their oratories Temples, or places of praier (whiche we calle Churches) might not be built without the good will of the Bishoppe of the Diocese. And when the Timbre was redy to be framed, and the foundation digged: it behoued them to sende for the Bishoppe, to hallowe the firste corner stone of the foundaciō, and to make the signe of the crosse thervpon, and to laie it, and directe it iuste Easte and Weste. And then might the Masons sette vpon the reste, but not afore. This Church did thei vse to builde, afre the facion of a crosse, and not vnlike the shape of a manne. The Chauncelle (in the whiche is contained the highe Altare and the Quiere) directe full into the East, representeth the heade. And therefore ought to be made somewhat rounde, and muche shorter then the body of the church. And yet vpon respecte that the head is the place for the eyes, it ought to be of more lighte, and to bee separate with a partition, in the steade of a necke, from the body of the Church. This partition the Latine calleth Cancelli: and out of that cometh our terme, Chauncelle. On eche side of this chauncelle peraduenture (for so fitteth it beste) should stand a Turret, as it ware for two cares. And in these the Belles to be hanged, to calle the people to Seruice, by daie and by night. Vndre one of these Turrettes, is there commonly a voute, whose doore openeth into the quiere. And in this are laid vp, the hallowed vesselles and ornementes, and other vtensiles of the church. We calle it a vestrie. The other parte oughte so to be fitted, that hauing as it ware on eche side an arme, the reste maye resemble the bodye with the fete stretched in breadthe, and in lengthe. On eche side of the bodye the pillars to stonde. Vpon whose coronettes or heades the vaulte or rophe of the church maye reste. And to the foote beneth, aulters to be ioyned.

Those aulters to be ordrelly alway couered with two aulter clothes, and garnished with the crosse of Christe, or some litle cofre of reliques. At eche ende a candelsticke: and a booke towarde the myddes. The walles to be parieted without, and within, and diuersly paincted. That thei also should haue in euery parisshe a faire sounde stone, made holowe and fitte to holde water: in the whiche the water consecrate for baptisme, may be kept for the christening of children. Vpon the right hande of the highe aulter, that ther should be an almorie, either cutte into the walle, or framed vpon it: in the whiche thei woulde haue the Sacrament of the Lordes bodye, the holy oyle for the sicke, and the Chrismatorie, alwaie to be locked. Furthermore thei woulde that ther should be a pulpite in the middes of the church, wherein the prieste maye stonde vpon Sondaies and holidayes, to teache the people those thinges that it behoueth them to knowe. The Chauncelle to serue onely for the priestes, and clerkes. The rest of the tēporalle multitude to be in the body of the church.

church. Seperate notwithstanding, the men on the ryghte side, and the women, on the lefte. And eche of them to be sobre and honest in apparelle and behauour. Whatsoeuer is cōtrary to good facion or Christiane religion, with greate diligence to shonne it. It was the maner in the first church, both amonge men and women to lette their heare growe, to shewe out their naked skinne, and very litle or nothing to diffre in apparelle. Saint Peter put first ordre, that women should couer their heades, and menne rounde their heare, and either of them to go in seueralle and sondrye apparelle. Moreouer that to euery church, shold be laid out a churchyarde, of the grounde adioyning, in the whiche all Christen mennes bodies mighte indifferently be bewried. The same to be consecrate, or halowed by the bisshoppe, and to enioye all the priuilegies that the church may enioye.

The funeralle for the deade, thei kepe not in euery place ylike. Some mourne and kieve dirige and Masse seuen daies continuall together, some ix. some xxx. or fourtye some, fuetie, and a hundred, and other a whole yere, wrapped vp in blacke. The cōseile of Toledo ordeined that the corps beinge firste wasshed, and then wrapped vp in a shiete, shoulde be caried forthe with singing by menne of his owne condicion or sorte, clerkes by clerkes, and laye menne of laye menne. And afre what time the priest hath sensed the corps, throwen holy water vpon it, & said certeine prayers, to laye it into the graue with the face vpwarde, and the heade into the Weaste. Then to throwe in the earth again, and in token that ther is a Christiā ther bewried, to sette vp a crosse of wodde, garnished with yvie, cipres, or laurelle. These be the ordres and facions of the Christiane religion.

FINIS.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Kyngston and Henrie Sutton.

The xxii daye of December. Anno Domini MDLV.

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THE CONQUEST
OF THE
GRAND CANARIES,

MADE
THIS LAST SUMMER BY THREESCORE AND THIRTEENE SAILE OF SHIPPES,

SENT FORTH AT THE
COMMAND AND DIRECTION OF THE STATES GENERALL OF THE VNITED PROVINCES,

TO THE
COAST OF SPAIN

AND THE
CANARIE-ISLES:

WITH THE
TAKING OF A TOWNE IN THE ILE OF GOMERA,
AND THE
SUCSESSE OF PART OF THE SAIDE FLEETE IN THEIR RETURNE HOMEWARD.

WHICH
SET SAILE FOR SPAIN THE 25 OF MAIE, AND RETURNED HOME
THE 10 OF SEPTEMB. 1599.

At London:

PRINTED BY P. S. FOR W. ASPLEY, DWELLING IN PAULES CHURCH-YARD AT THE SIGNE OF
THE TYGERS HEAD.

1599.

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A
TRUE REPORT

OF

A VOYAGE MADE THIS LAST SUMMER, BY A FLEETE OF 73. SHIPPES,

SENT FORTH AT THE

COMMANDE AND DIRECTION OF THE STATES GENERALL OF THE VNITED PROVINCES,

TO THE

COAST OF SPAINE AND THE CANARIE-ISLES.

Tvesday the 25. daie of Maie the wind being Northe and Northe-east, we in the fleete of Rotterdam, being 20. saile of ships, the sunne beeing Southe-west and by West, came before Flushing, and ankered neere vnto Cleiburch; our generall at his comming found the fleetes of North-Holland, and Zealand ready.

Wednesday, the 26. daie wee remained there at anchor.

Thursday the 27. day of Maie, we tooke into our ships (by the Generals commandement) two gentlemen and foure souldiours.

Friday the 28. of May, 1599, the wind being northerly, we waied our anchors, and sailed from the Weelings with 73. ships, hauing faire weather, setting our course West, Southwest. Wee had 3. Admirals in this fleete, whereof the chiefe Admirall was the ship of William Derickson Cloper, wherein was embarked the honourable gentleman Peter Van Doest being generall of the fleete. This ship was called the Orange, carying in her top a flag of Orange colour, vnder whose squadron were certaine Zelanders, with some South and North Hollanders; Ian Geerbrantson caried the white flag, vnder whom the Zelanders and ships of the Maze were appointed. And Cornelius Gheleinsō of Vlyshing wore in his maine top the blew flag, vnder whom were appointed certaine ships of the Maze with some North Hollanders. Thus were wee deuided into sundry squadrons, but to what ende it was so done, it is to me, and many others vnknowne.

Saturday the 29. of Maie, hauing sight of Callis, ƿ ships lay to the lee ward, and staid for the rereward. The Lord generall shot off a peece, and afterward hung out the princes flag, in signe that the captains shold come aboard him, presently al the captains entred into their boates, & rowed aboard the General, at which time were two pinnaces sent out of the fleet, whereof one was the Generals Pinnace, but vnto what place they sailed, wee were altogether ignorant. And when the boates rowed from the Generall, some of them went aboard the victualers, and tooke out of them certaine fire-workes. The sunne Southwest, the
Generall

Generall discharged an other peece of ordinance, and put out the Princes flag, wherevpon presently the capitaines went aboard him, and when our capitaine returned, he had in his hande a letter closed vp, which hee brought from the Generall, and wee imagined that euery capitaine had receiued the like, and then wee sailed altogether toward the high of Blacknesse, where wee anchored, (which caused vs greatly to wonder, seeing we had so faire a wind,) but we perceiued afterwards, that this was done, to the ende we should there abide the comming of the great new ship of Amsterdam; for the soldiours which were appointed for her, were all with vs in a ship of our company.

Sunday, the 30. of Maie, where lying at anchor al that night, the next morning we set saile altogether hauing the winde at North East, wee set our course West Northwest, the weather being faire. The same morning our captain read vnto vs those very articles which before had bin read vnto vs in the prince Mauritz his Court, and afterwards we altogether, and with one accord were sworne to the keeping of them: At noone wee were neere vnto Beuersier hauing a fine gale out of the East Northeast, the euening was calme, the formost shippes slacked their sailes, attending the comming in of the hindermost.

Wednesday the ninth of Iune by the breake of daie we were hard vnder the coast of Spaine neere to Viucro, the winde being westerly, we sailed North West and by North, and North Northwest, the sunne Southwest and by West, we were ouer against the cape Ortegael, we sailed North West and by North, to fetch the wind: we were in 44. degrees 20. minuts, at twilight, we had the foresaid Cape of vs about 5. miles South West and by West.

Ortegall.

Thursday the 10. of Iune, the winde being at East South East, wee directed our course towards the shore, and might certainly discerne that it was the coast of Ortegall, we bore in West Southwest directly with the land, and ordered all things as if we presently should haue had battell, and about noone wee had sight of the Groyne, namely the tower which standeth neere the Groine.

The whole fleet
commeth before
the Groine.

Friday, the 11. of Iune, at the breake of day the winde being at North East and by East, sixe of our ships sailed forwarde South Southwest, meaning to enter the Groine, and there to learne how al things stood. The sunne being Southeast, Cape Prior was East from vs, wee bare South, presently after we spied two boates comming out of Veroll to learn what ships we were, the rather because that the day before they had seene our fleete at sea: we sailed by the wind, and lay in the wind to stay for their comming. The one doubting vs woulde not come neere vs, the other boat also durst not approach neere vs: wee called to one of the Spaniardes, saying wee came from Hamborch laden with cordage & other goods, desiring and praying him to let vs haue a Pilot to bring vs into the Groine, therewith the boate came aboard vs, so that by our great haste, and policie we got one Spaniard, the other which remained in the boate would not come into our ship, but presently thrust off their boate, making all possible speede to get from vs. Hauing nowe gotten this Spaniarde, hee was presently deliuered into the handes of the Generall, who confessed that there were about 4000. souldiours come into the towne, with certaine horsemen, 36. waggons with money, and 300. pipes of wine, to furnish the Spanish fleet, that he lay the night past in the Groine, and was the Kings seruant. The sun South South-West, we came with our whole fleete before the Groine, where wee found the great newe ship of Amsterdam vnder the Towne.

At 12. 13. and 10. fadome we cast cast anchor, so that wee might behold much people both on the shoare and vpon the wals of the town: from the castle & town both, they shot mightily with their great ordinance into our fleet, so that there were about 200. cannon shot discharged, wherewith some of our ships were hit, but not one man lost, and little hurt done otherwise. There lay an other castle East ward from the towne, which shot also most terribly, but altogether vncertainly, for we know not that they touched any one ship more then Moy Lambert, which was greatly to bee wondered at, seeing our fleete lay so thicke together, and so neere vnder the castle. There laie hard vnder the castle 12. great Gallions, with some French ships, which also nowe and then shot among our fleete, but they lay so neere the walles that wee could do them no harme at all. The Lord Generall worthy of al praise,

praise, wisely be thinking himselfe, caused all his captaines and counsell to come aboarde him, that they might together conferre vpon this busines, and what meanes might best bee found, to inuade the towne and the enemy, but they concluded not to meddle with the land there: seeing the enemy was there, strong vpon his guard, and that 5. weekes past both from Amsterdam, & by a French man, they had knowledge of our coming; by reason of the calme, wee were constrained to tow out our ships with the boates in dispite of al their shot, thus we parted from the Groyne without profit, or effecting of any thing, leauing the Papists of Groyne as wee founde them, from thence (the winde being at South Southwest) wee bent our course towarde Cape Saint Vincent, meaning to goe to Saint Lucars, hoping to fal vpon them at vnawares, and ere they looked for vs.

Saturday the 12. of Iune, hauing got a fine gale we ran along the coast of Galicia, at noone wee were before the Iland of Cesarian, and set our course towards Cape Finister.

Sunday the 13. of Iune, the lorde Generall gaue sharpe commandement by his letters, forbidding al men aboarde the ships to vse any play, with tables, cards, or dice, either for money, or for pastime, or vpon credit.

Munday the 14. of Iune, the wind blew so harde out of the North, that wee could not beare our topsailes with our forecourse which sailed South, the sunne was southward we had Port a Porte of vs, being in 41. degrees and 20 minuts.

Tuesday the 15. of Iune, as soone as day appeared, we had sight of Cape Roxent, and then we sailed making small way, staying for the coming together of the fleete: the wind as before we sailed South Southwest, and were in 36 degrees.

Wednesday the 16. of Iune, towards the euening we had sight of two strange ships eastward of our fleete, certain of our ships made towards them and tooke them, the one was an English man of war; the other was a Spanish barke with three missens: at his coming before the Generall, he said, he had already sent 2. prizes into Englande, and woulde now with this prize returne home: for his victuals were almost spent.

Thursday the 17. of Iune, it was very still and calme weather.

Friday the 18. of Iune, the wind being at North Northeast, we sailed South Southwest. The Lord Generall caused all the Captaines with the Pilots to come aboard him: demanding of them which of them was best acquainted in the Isles of Canaria: and further, by what meanes, they might conquer and force the said Ilands, and land their people. And about noone the captaines were chosen and appointed which shoulde commande on lande. The Generall gaue out newe ensignes, to the number of 9. or 10. according to the number of the ships. The lord Generall appointed to each new captaine, an Ancient bearer, a Lieutenant, and other officers, with 130. souldiours and mariners, and instructions how euery one of them should gouerne himself on the land.

Saturday the 19. of Iune, the Generall commanded that the captaines should deliuer out victuals but twice a day, to wit, 6. and 6. to a messe: for 6. men, 5. cans of beere of Roterdams measure euery day, 5. pounce of breade and no more, a cheese of 6. l. euery weeke, one pound of butter weekly, likewise pease, beanes, or Otemeale twice a day, according to the order. Captaine Harman, and captaine Pije, had each of them commission to commande on the land as captaines ouer two companies of saylers, each company containing 130. men. Harman Thunesson was appointed Ancient to captaine Henricke Pije, and de Blomme Ancient to captaine Hendricke Hertmā. The ancients were deliuered the same day.

The 20. 21. 22. daies, wee sailed South Southwest, the wind being northerly.

Wednesday the 23. of Iune, the wind was North Northeast. The Generall commaunded all the captaines both for the sea and land to come aboard him, where it was ordained and determined how the battell should be ordered, after they were landed. According to the altitude, we found our selues to be 36. miles from great Canaria.

Thursday the 24. of Iune, we ranne our foresaid course. The sun being West Northwest, we sawe the land East end by South off vs: wee sailed East and by South, and with great labour and diligence bore all that might with the land.

Friday the 25. of Iune, we continued our course to the land for our assured knowledge thereof,

The whole Ne-
therlandish fleet
commeth before
the Island &
town of Grand
Canaria.

thereof, and perceiued it to be Lancerot; we saw also a small land (which lay between both) called Allegrania, and also y^e Iland Forteuëtura, which is 24. miles great, afterward we sailed Southwest along the coast of Forteuëtura, which is a lande that hath very high hills. The sun Southwest, we were past the Iland Forteuëtura, and were sailed out of sight thereof, running as yet Southwest: about ii. a clocke in the afternoone wee had sight of the Iland of great Canaria, for a while wee kept our way; but when the Generall was assured that it was the grand Canaria, wee all tooke in our sailes, and lay to the lee ward, and so remained vntill it was past midnight, then wee set saile againe and made to the lande, our course westwarde.

Saturday the 26. of Iune, in the morning the whole fleet sailed West directly to the land the winde North and by East, and made all thinges ready to land; being now neere the shore, the whole fleete let fall their anchors harde by the great castle, which lieth North Northwest from the town, from whence they began to shoot mightily against the ships. The lord Generall and the vize Admirall with the other ships that had the greatest ordnance, anchored close vnder the castle, & for a certain time they plied each other with their great shot; y^e Generals main mast, and his missen mast were shot thorow, and his vize Admirall, namely the great new ship of Amsterdam was shot thorow 6. or 7. times; so that some of the souldiours and maryners also were slaine before they entered their long boates to rowe to the shore: But the ships for their parts, had so well bestowed their shot on the castle, that they of the castle began to faint, wherby they discharged not so thicke and often as before. Our men rowed to the land in the long boates, euery one full of souldiours, & the ships which could not discharge their ordnance against the castle, bent them against the shore, (for the enemy had three brasse peeces lying vpon the strand) and many people were there gathered together where our souldiours shoulde land. Nowe as soone as the Generall with the most parte of the long boates were come together, they all at one instant rowed toward the shore, maintaining for a while the fight on both sides with their shot. But the General perceiuing that the enemy woulde not abandon the place, with a valiant courage made to the shore, and altogether leaping into the water vp to the middle, maintained the fight with the enemy. Notwithstanding the enemy no lesse couragious, would not yet leaue the strond, so that some of our souldiours & mariners lost their liues before the enemy would retire: for the place was discommodious, and hard to lande, but most of the enemy were slaine, to the number of 30. or 36. and the Gouvernor his right leg was shot off, sitting on his horse. The lord General Peter von der Doest leaping first on land, was thrust in his leg with a pike, and had in his body 4. wounds more, and was in great danger to haue lost his life but that one of the souldiours slewe the Spaniarde which meant to haue don it; but his wounds were of small moment, and his ancient bearer was slain with a shot, the Lieutenant Generall was shot in his throte, captaine Kruyc in the heade, 4. souldiours were slain, & 15. hurt in the generals pinnace before they could come to land: But when our people now with one courage all together rushed vpon the enemy, (leaueing their ordnance behinde them,) they forsooke the strond, and ran together into the town, carying with them their Gouvernour, whose leg was shot off, & he was a knight of the order of the crosse, and leaueing behind them 36. deade carcases on the strond, were presently by our people ransacked, and our dead people buried. Our men now hauing won the strond, put themselves presently in battell ray; the empty boates returned to the ships, but after our people had taken the strond, the castle did neuer shoot shot. After the boates were returned aboard, presently they rowed againe to the shore full of souldiours; our people being all landed, they which for the first time had cōmandement, set vs in 7. troupes, or battalions, being xxiii. companies strong, of souldiours and Mariners, with twentie foure Auncientes. At which time we marched a little forward twenty one a brest, and standing altogether in battell; suddainly three mariners came running to the Generall, (which had bin at the castle) telling him that the Spaniards desired to deliuer him the castle, so their liues & goods might be saued: the generall with some of the captaines and souldiours went first thither, and presently the castle was deliuered into his possession, hoping on his pittie and mercy, and leaueing behind them all the great ordnance, namely 9. peeces of brasse, & 6. Iron peeces, & also al their weapōs. In the castle were
about

Twenty foure
companies
strong of the
Netherländer.
The first castle
taken.

about 80. Spaniards, some cannoniers, some soldiers, and some people of the countrey, for the defence thereof; beside powder, shot and match accordingly, for the artillery, and also thirty small peeces or caluiers. Also wee founde 58. prisoners, the rest were slaine with shot in the fury, and some were run away. The prisoners (which our people had taken in the road with two Barkes, and a ship sunke with our ordnance, as they lay all 3. hard before the castle) were sent altogether aboarde the ships except 3. of the principals which the lord General reserved by him, to the end he might the better knowe the state of all things. Presently 80. soldiours were sent into the castle, who tooke down the kings flag, and set vp the princes colours. At the same instant two Negros were brought to the General, which were fetched out of the mountains, they said that they had lien there a sleepe, and knew nothing of any matter. But now when it began to wax dark, we marched altogether a great way towards the town, 4. companies of soldiers approached hard vnder the towne, and other 4. companies had the rearward: those of the Maze, with the Amsterdammers remained a pretty way from the town, vnder the hills; and the Zelanders, with the North Hollanders lay neere the waters side, so wee remained all that night in order of battell.

Sunday the 27. of Iune, after we had now stood all night in battell order, early in the morning we marched wth our 7. troupes hard vnder the town of Canarie, where we remained a while in that order: but because they of the castle (which lieth to the towne) shot so mightily among vs; 2. of the troupes retired vnder a hill, where we were a little freed from the castle: for while our people stood imbattailed before the town, the castle did vs great hurt, for sometimes they shot fife or sixe men with one shot, ere we could entrench our selues before the castle: but after they perceiued that our people had made a small trench against the foot of the castle, they placed on the hill fife or sixe small peeces of brasse called falconets (which shoote about a pounce of powder) and sometimes they shot boules of wood, wherewith in the beginning they slew manie of our people: so aduantageously had they placed their ordnance to shoot among vs. Ten or twelue of our Souldiours ranne vp the hill, whereof the enemy tooke one, and presently cut him in foure peeces. Our people seeing that they so tyrannously deale with them, about the euening tooke a Spaniarde prisoner, and vsed him after the same maner. The lorde Generall perceiuing that many men were slaine with the ordnance, caused fife peeces of brasse to bee brought from the castle which we had taken the daie before, and toward the euening we beganne to make a batterie, and the same euening brought into it three peeces, whereof two were placed presentlie to play vpon the Castle, and the hill; but that euening were but fife or sixe shotte made. While that our men made the batterie, and planted or placed the ordnance, the enemy placed his ordnance in counter-batterie: and before our batterie could be finished, and the ordnance placed, many of our men were shot, among wh^o Peter vanden Eynde commissioner, had his leg shot off, whereof he died within three daies after. After that it was dark, all they which lay there before the towne were againe set in order of battell, 15. on a ranke, and so remained all that night.

The 28. of Iune, early in the morning euery man retired to his quarter, and then were two peeces more brought to the batterie, which also were presently placed on the Rampire, and so wee began to shoot against the castle with 4. peeces, and with the fifth we plaid vpon the small ordnance which lay vpon the hills. The enemy in the castle laid manie sackes of wooll, and placed many tonnes or barrells filled with stones vpon the castle walles supposing thereby to make some little defence from our ordnance; but when an Iron bullet chanced to hit the barrells so filled with stones, it did them mightie hurt, for the stones would scatter maruailously abroad, whereby many of them that were in the castle were slaine. Our men hauing now with their shot almost abated the force of the castle, 4. companies marched vp the hills, intending to beate the enemy from thence, which lay there with the ordnance. But the enemy perceiuing himselfe to bee assaulted on all partes, (for most of the ordnance of the castle were dismounted and made vnprofitable, the gate of the towne set one fire by the Generals commandement) about noone they forsooke both the castle, hill, and town, and with all their wiues, children, money and Iewels, and all other things that they coule carry

The second
castle & town
of Grand Ca-
naria taken.

with them, fled into the mountaines. Which when our men perceiued, they put themselves in order of battle xv. in a ranke. The lord Generall seeing the Spaniards shamefullie to flie, caused 2. ladders belonging to the enemies, to be brought out of a church which stood without the towne, whereof the one was too shorte, notwithstanding himselfe with one of the ladders climed vp the walles, one man at once followed, and by this meanes entered the towne ouer the wals. About noone some of our men ran into the castle without any reen-couter: the enemy had vndermined the gate, but as we approached the wall, it tooke fire, but not one of our people was therewith hurt. They had also skattered powder in sundrie places, but our men themselves did fire the same: and as soone as our people were entred the castle, the kinges colours were taken downe, and the prince of Orenses set vp, and we found siue peeces of brasse therein. When wee were all entered into the towne, we put our selues againe into order of battell 15. in a ranke in a low ground within the towne: and the soldiours which entered the towne by the hils side, brought to the Generall a man of Flushing, which they had taken out of prison: as soone as the Generall sawe him, he went presently with him to the prison, accompanied with some of our captaines, where they found 36. prisoners, which presently were discharged. And further they declared, that the Spaniards had taken with them 2. prisoners into the mountaines, which were condemned to be burnt, the one was an English man, the other a Dutchman, which had lien in the holy house. Thus with the helpe of God about noone, wee won the great Iland of Canaria, and the town of Allegona, battered with their owne artillery, and skaled with their owne ladders. Towards the euening wee were quartered in the housen, those wherein the Generall was, were by writing freed, that no man might take out any goods, in the rest euery one might go, and take what pillage he could find: but the Spaniards had caried all the best things with them into the mountaines, and in the euening all our people entered the town. Euery captaine with his company were seuerallie lodged, but yet we appointed watch on the hils, as well as in the towne, for the enemy shewed himselfe often vpon the hils, whereby we were forced to keep very good watch.

The 29. of Iune, this morning some of the mariners climed vp the hils, but the enemy (to whom the passage were better known, then to our people) suddainly set vpon them, and killed 20. of them. Towards the euening some 300. of our Soldiours marched towards a small castle which lay halfe an houres iourney from the towne: but the enemy seeing our people to approach, forsooke the place and fled into the mountaines, our men being ascended, they founde in the castle three brasse peeces: and after they had appointed a Corporall with certaine soldiours to keepe the watch, the rest returned to the city. The same night the Spaniards tooke one of our soldiours appointed for a forlorne Sentinel, whom they presently put to the sword.

The last of Iune, as soone as day appeared, wee began to cary the pillage aboorde belonging to the General, and captaines, as wines and other goods. About noone 3. cheefe men of the Spaniards came to our people, which kept watch on the hils with a flag of truce in their handes, which were straight brought before the Generall, and within a while after, there were 2. more brought vnto him: but after they had bin a while with him they departed again towards the mountaines: and in the euening came other 7. Spaniardes to our watch with a flag of truce, desired to speake with the Generall: but they were sente backe againe into the Mountaynes.

The first day of Iuly, 1599. in the morning (our people being on the hils) 2. friers with three other Spaniards came vnto vs, desiring to be brought to the Generall, which our men accomplished: but the General denied to talke with them, wherefore they were presently sent backe againe from whence they came, for we were then labouring to send the goods a shipboord. Also at that instant was a sermon in the great church of great Canaria, made by the preacher of Ysilmond with great deuotion, and giuing thanks vnto God for our great victory, desiring him that it would please him daily to increase the same, to the honour of his name: at which Sermon the Lorde Generall was present with foure hundred persons.

The second of Iuly 1599. wee were forbidden by sounde of the drum that no man should

go

go beyond the forlorne sentenell placed on the Mountaines: and to sende backe againe into the hilles all such Spaniards which came with a flag of truce, to speake with the Generall, and to put all such to the sworde as came with weapons. One of our Pinnaces tooke a fisherman fishing vnder the Ilande Forteaentura, wherin were 7. Spaniards, which were brought before the General, and prently committed to prison.

The 3. of Iuly in the morning we began to sende aboard our ships all the bels, ordnance & munition which the enemies had left behinde them, at which time 2000. soldiours were appointed to march to the hils, to seeke the enemy, which lay hid there with their wiues, children & goods, as they were fled out of the towne: and as soone as they approched each other, they began the fight on both sides with great courage, but the enemy was forced to flie, beeing better acquainted with the passages of the mountains then our people were. Our men returned with the losse of some 70. persons: among whom captain Iacques Dierickson with his boatson were slaine: the rest came into the towne againe into their appointed quarters.

The 4. of Iuly, in the morning we began to burn the towne, and with poulder blew vvp the castle which lay by the towne, and we burned likewise all the cloisters and churches which were without the towne, lying neere the water side. The town burning, our people were set in battell, and in that order marched out of the towne, vntill they came to Graciosa, the castle, which we first tooke, lying about halfe an houres iourney from the towne, where the long boates receiued our men, and caried them againe aboorde. Presently after wee were departed out of the towne, the enemy entered, endeuoring by all meanes possible to quench the fire. And while we were shipping our people, the enemy shewed him selfe sometimes 5. or 6. in a company, but they durst not approch vs. The rereward of our men being shipped, we put fire to the castle which we tooke first, and blew it vp: This done, capitaine Quit imbarked himselfe also with his soldiours and pillage, which he had taken in the rode, for his ship wherein he was before was ready to sincke.

The 5. of Iuly, lying in the roade, in the morning the Generall discharged two peeces of ordnance, and afterward put out 2. flags of the princes colours, thereby giuing to vnderstand, that all land capitaines, and sea capitaines also with one of their Pilots should resort to him, whereupon presentlie they all rowed aboorde the Generall; the Pilots which were best acquainted with the coast, were demanded by the Generall which were the weakest Ilands, and where they might most commodiouslie land: Towards the euening capitaine Quyt his ship was fired, and suffered to driue towarde the strond. At which time a newe capitaine was appointed to capitaine Iacques Dirriksons ship aforesaide, who was slaine in the mountaines, namely capitaine Kloyers Lieutenant. And the Generals Clarke of the band was appointed Lieuutenant to captain Kloyer.

The 6. of Iuly, by reason of the contrary winds, and other inconueniences which happened at this present, and also because such ships, which before were sent to sea, and could not returne by reason of the contrary windes; we remained in the roade, vnder the castle of Graciosa. About noone 4. Spaniards came out of the towne with a flag of truce to the strond, directly ouer against our ships, whereof 2. were brought aboorde the Generall in one of our long boates, (the other two with their flag of truce were left behinde on the stronde) which remained with the Generall vntill the euening, and then were set on shore, and so the 4. Spaniards returned to the towne.

The 7. day riding in the roade, in the morning 4. Spaniards with a flag of peace, came to the shore from the towne, directly ouer against our ships: the fleet seeing them, sent a long boate to the shore, and brought the said 4. Spaniards aboard the General, these men brought with them the ransome of certaine Spaniards, which had deliuered vp the castle of Graciosa at the Generals pleasure, which were set to ransome, euery one according to his habilitie & office: and thus all the Spaniards which were ransomed, together with the 4. Spaniards which brought the ransoms, were set on shore with a long boat, and departed to the towne.

The 8. day of Iuly, two howers after sun rising, the Generall with all the ships set saile, carying

carying with him all the Spaniards that were not ransomed, sailing along the coast of great Canaria; in which time Ian Corneleson Zwartekys departed this worlde, whose leg was shot off at the taking of the Iland of great Canaria. Hauing nowe sailed from y^e hight of the said Iland, which lay southerly from vs, we had sight of captaine Hertmans ship, and of 3. others which rode there at anchor: who, so soone as they perceiued our fleete, waied their anchors, and sailed along the coast with vs, which were the ships that the Generall had sent to sea. Sailing thus together vntill the sun was in the West, the wind began to rise more and more, so that we coulde not keep our direct course, but were forced to put to the Southwest of the great Iland of Canaria, where we anchored: wee had sight of the Iland Teneriffe, and of an other of the Ilands of Canaria, wherein is the hie mountaine called the Pyck. This hil was from vs 14. miles, but by the great hight thereof it seemed to bee within foure or fīue miles off vs, but in the daie time when the sun shined wee could not see it.

The 9. of Iuly, lying thus at anchor, in the morning most of the long boates went a shore to fetch fresh water, such as they could there find and caried with them the deade corps of Ian Corneleson aforesaid, the Constables son of the Admiralty of Roterdā, called Zwertkys, which was there honorably buried on the high and drie land. This done, we set on fire the woode which lay on the shore piled and heaped in the woods, but in this place we found not any Spaniards.

The tenth of Iuly, the boates being all returned to their ships with their people, euery one wayed their anchors and hoised their sailes, the winde at Northwest: but being vnder saile together, the wind slacked & by reason of the great calme the ships lay a drift for want of wind.

The 11. of Iuly, in the morning it blew a stout gale in our topsailes out of the North-east, but as we approached the Iland of Teneriffa, the winde altered often; sixe or seuen of our shippes, and the rest which were next vnto the shore, had sometimes a gale in their topsailes, and sometimes againe without wind: so that we lay a drift, and could keepe no reckoning either of the wind or course, and were forced to alter our course more than 12. times a day.

A declaration of the taking of Gomera one of the Ilands in Canaria, and how we afterwarde left it.

The 12. day of Iuly sailing thus with great variety of wind, vnder the great Iland Teneriffa, the day appearing, we had the wind more certain, filling our topsailes with a full gale from the Northwest: And when it was faire day light we saw our fleet scattered far one frō another, by meanes of the foresaid mutable windes. Some ships lay driuing by reason of the calme, and other some had a little gale, but the most part of our fleet were West of vs, towards whom with all speed, we with the rest of the ships made. Being all come together, wee endeoured to reach the Ilande Gomera, wherein is a little towne: towards the euening many of our ships were neere the Iland, but the most part were to y^e lee ward; so that before it grew toward the euening none of vs could come neere the towne. Notwithstanding in the twilight and shutting vp of the euening: Ian Garbrantson Admirall of the white flag, his vize Admirall, and a Pinnace following, were come neere the town. Thus the Admirall sayling so neere to the Iland, they of Gomera discharged 2. pieces at him, but touched him not. The saide Admirall seeing this, passed on a little farther with the other ships which were neere him, & then tooke in their sailes, and cast their anchors. The other ships which were behinde, laboured all they might to come also vnder the Iland to them.

The 13. of Iuly, the Admiral of the white flag lying thus at anchor neere to Gomera, the greatest part of the fleete were yet in the morning betweene the Iland of Teneriffa and Gomera, so that parte of the ships were beyonde the towne, and must sometimes cast about to conducte the others in, which were in the lee of vs. When wee had nowe for the most part passed the hight of the Iland, the Generall gaue a signe to all captaines to come aboarde him, being vnder saile, directing his course to the Iland of Gomera, and the other ships did their endeuour

endeuour to follow him, and anchored about the necke of the valley, lying North North East off the towne. The ships being all come to anchor, the capitaines entered presently into the long boates, and rowed aboarde the Generall to know his minde; and after they had bene a while in the Generals ship, they returned to their ships, and 4. companies of souldiours were chosen out, and landed in the valley. Which done, al the ships waied their anchors, and sailed directly toward the towne, and then came to anchor againe. After that all our ships lay thus together in the road neere the valley, before the town: we discharged certaine peeces against the town, but they made no shewe at all of resistance, for they had buried foure brasse peeces as soone as they had sight of vs, which lay on the strond neere vnto a small castle; the other sixe companies were also set on land in the long boates, without any resistance: for the Spaniardes with their wiues, children, and all their goods which they coulde carry with them were fled into the mountains. The first 4. cōpanies that were landed, as they marched along the hills side towards the towne, perceiuing that the enemy fled with all his goods towards the hills, sent out a certaine number of soldiours to intercept them, and to take from them the goods which they caried away. And to accomplish this enterprise, our souldiours descended the hill into the valley, meaning suddainly to set vpon the Spaniardes; but the enemy perceiuing their intent, hid themselves in caues which were neere vnto them, vntill our souldiours were in the valley. The Spaniardes perceiuing that they were strong enough to encounter with our people, suddainly leapt out of their dens, and beset our souldiours on both sides. Our people seeing themselves thus compassed with their enemies, behaued themselves most valiantly, so that many of the Spaniardes lost their liues, and 80. of ours were slaine in this valley: among whom were 2. Lieutenants (the one was Meerbecks sonne, and the other was Lieutenant to capitaine Bynon) which had receiued about 50. wounds in their bodies, so pittifullie were they massacred, thus were these worthie champions intercepted. The rest of those 4. companies, which were not present at this fury of the Spaniardes, towards the euening, descended the hills, and marched into the towne. Presently after this, watch was appointed in al places of y towne, and some of the soldiours began to dig the ground, to seeke for such goods as the Spaniardes had buried, but at that instant they founde nothing, except only certain pipes of wine.

The towne of
Gomera abandoned by the
Spaniardes.

Eighty Nether-
landers and
diuers Spaniardes
slaine.

About the sunne setting was brought in a Spanish prisoner, which was deliuered to the Prouest marshal, by the Generals commandement, to the end he might bring them to all such places in the Ilande, whereas the Spaniardes had hidden their goods. But because nothing could then be effected by reason that the euening approched, and it began to bee too dark, the Spaniard was committed to a keeper vntill the next morning for the purpose aforesaide. But the night being far spent, & the keeper taking small regard to his charge, the Spaniard secretlie stole away and ran to the mountaines.

The 14. of Iuly, in the morning the long boates rowed againe to the shore, and caried aboarde such goods as the enemy had left behind them, which for the most part were wines, for they had caried clean away all other things into the mountains, and had left almost nothing in the towne, but only the wines which they had buried in the earth: In the afternoone our people found 3. bels, which they had buried in the fields, where corne had growne.

The 15. of Iuly in the morning our people running vp to the hills 10. or 12. in a cōpany to hunt & seeke for pillage, were suddainly inuiroined by the enemy, and 6. or 8. of them slaine; the rest saued themselves by flight. About noone there was a generall muster taken of all the soldiours, to see how many wee had lost: and such ships as were appointed to returne home, began to deliuer out the victuals. The same day were two copper peeces founde: whereof the one was 16. foot and halfe long, and the other about 14. foot.

The 16. day in the morning the Lord Generall gaue notice to all capitaines to resort to him aboard his ship, because some of the capitaines had not sent victuals vnto the soldiours that were on land, whereby they suffered hunger, and sundry of the soldiours had complained to the General thereof: At afternoone, the enemy came to the hill which lieth ouer
the



the towne, crying and calling vnto our men to come and fetch againe their muskets, and towards the euening many marriners with their weapons landed, and at that instant also all things were ordered to march very early the next morning vp the hils to fetch againe our muskets, caliuers, and other weapons, which the Spaniards before had in mockery, and gibing wise willed vs to fetch from them. But now when all things were ordered for this seruice: the same night arose a strong gale of winde, encreasing more and more, that in the ende it grew to a mightie tempest, that notwithstanding our fleet did ride vnder the Iland Gomera in the road before the towne, some were forced to way their anchors and to put to sea, to preuent the mischiefe like to happen to the ships, by reason they lay so neere one another. And when those ships were a little way in the Sea, they cast their anchors, and there remained. By this occasion the generals aforesaid enterprise was kept backe: we iudging it as a warning, that the Generall should spare and preserue his people from the bloud-thirsty Spaniards, which had their holes and dens in the hils, and perhaps might haue taken away many of our liues. And heere by the way; by the name of the Iland Canaria, the Spaniards may rightly bee called Canarians or Canes, for Canaria is by interpretation, dogs kinde, for they ran as swift as dogs, and were as tyrannicall and bloud-thirsty as the rauening Wolfe, or any other wild beast, which they sufficiently manifested, for as soon as they could lay handes on any of our people (like vnto mad curs, agreeing with their name Canariās) they would presently woary them.

The 17. this hurtfull night ended, and the tempest ouer passed, and alaid, the courageous soldiours were all in redines, desirous to execute this peece of seruice, exspecting & desiring nothing more, then to march vp the hils, and to incounter their idolatrous enemies. But vpon good consideration, this enterprise was staid, and some 300. soldiours sent into the same valley, where 3. daies before our people had beene suddainly compassed, intrapped, and slaine by the Spaniards. Our soldiours being come to the valley aforesaid found no resistance, neither could once see a Spaniard; but found a smal peece of brasse about a fadome long, and two barrels of gunpowder; and when our souldiours perceiued that there was no good to bee done (forbearing to mount the hils, because they had no commission so to do) with such thinges as they had they returned into the towne. The euening now approaching, the Generall commanded to carry aboard the ships, such goods as they had there found, and digged out of the ground, which was accordingly done and accomplished, among which thinges were three brasse peeeces, some bels and other goods.

Sunday the 18. of Iuly, we remained at anchor in the road of the Iland Gomera.

Munday the 19. of Iuly, remaining yet in the Iland Gomera, and seeing that the Spaniardes continued in their secret holes, and dens of the mountaines, wee set fire on the towne, and as neere as we could burnt down all places, as Cloisters churches, hermitages and houses, remaining yet in the towne vntill it was noone. After that all this was accomplished; we the vnited soldiours forsooke the towne, and presently the Lord General, with al his company, went aboard the ships. Thus we left the Iland Gomera burning, which which was neuer before done by any nation. The Spaniardes seeing that the soldiours were departed out of the Iland, with all speed possible, in great heapes came running out of their secret caues and holes, to quench the fire, like as they of Allegona in the Iland of great Canaria before had done.

Wednesday the 20. of Iuly, we lay stil in the road before Gomera, in this time 2. of our soldiours were put into captain Cloiers ship, and in lew of them, we receiued out of his ship 2. others, which were hurt, with two Spaniards.

The summary or briefe declaration of the Admirals departing towards the West Indies.

Afre that the Generall had left the Ilands, he giueth order to the fleete, taketh his leaue of all the Captaines and officers in most honorable sort: he aduanceth the voyage to the West Indies with his Nauy: the rest of the ships returne into the low Countries, euery one from whence he came.

After

After that the Iland of great Canaria was by the vnitied soldiours taken, and won by force of armes, and the Iland Gomera conquered, for sundry reasons they were forsake, after they had caried to their ships such things as they found, fired the townes, churches, cloisters, and houses, and razed their Castles. The Lord Generall commanded all Captaines and officers of the flete to resorte vnto him aboard his ship. The same principals being come accordingly, he welcommed them and shewed them al friendship he could, thanking them for their good and faithfull endeours which they had shewed in this seruice, which he performed with a singular oration, praying Almighty God that he woulde vouchsafe to be his only loadsmen & merciful defender, in all his enterprises, to the honor of his name, and happy successe of the vnitied Netherlandish prouinces. After this, the lorde Generall againe in most friendly sort, and kind speeches, perswaded & desired all the saide captaines and officers, (alleading many reasons and examples) to perseuer in their good beginning of true and faithfull seruice for God, and for their good Lords and principall magistrates, the honorable gentlemen and states of the vnitied Netherland; & to the good liking of their valiant & high borne gentleman, & gouernour General prince Mauritz, their principall lorde and commander, &c. with these and such like matters the daie was spent.

Wednesday the 21. of Iuly, the wind was northerly: The lord Generall commanded all the captaines and officers to resort vnto him: and in most curteous maner againe the second time, tooke his leaue of them all, ordaining and appointing in his place as Admirall Generall ouer all those shippes which were to returne home, the valiant captaine Ian Gerbrantson, desiring and straightly charging them al there present, to shew all obedience and duty vnto him, as to his owne person, and that they should make his minde knowne to all others which had not bene there present. After these speeches, and leaue taken, the Admirall Ian Gerbrantson put out the princes colours in the maine top: and the honorable gentleman Peter von der Doest presentlie caused the princes flag also to be spread; and as soone as the sunne was Southwest, all the ships at one instant waied their anchors, and hoised their sailes, taking leaue nowe the third time one of another, in most braue and triumphant sort, and in this maner departed the one from the other. The lord General with his fleet, set this course South Southwest, with 36. ships, and the Admirall Ian Gerbrantson ran East by the wind, with 35. ships with intent to returne home.

Wednesday the 18. of August, sixteene ships of our fleet which were sent to returne home, being in company together in the latitude of 36. degrees and 10. minutes, the wind Southwest sailing Northeast, before it was noone, we perceiued 2. strange ships vnder saile coming out of the Northwest, towards whom we made, and at afternoone we ouertooke them, and made them our prizes: they were both Spaniardes, the one was a small Barke, and came from Cape de Blanco in 21. degrees, loaden for Woluis in the Condade where they dwelled. In the same ships was a marchant of Cyuill with 47. men, each of their ships hauing two cast peeeces, and euery man his musket, but they made no shewe of defence, or offending. There was also found laden in the same ships, sixty thousand drie hides or skins, esteemed to bee worth 6000. duckets as they reported, there were also found two bags with mony, in the one was 11. hundred single rials, and in the other 10. hundred & forty single rials, with two Buts of traine oile, and two barrells of gum Arabique.

Thursday the 19. day, we the abouesaid 16. ships were together, beside the two Spanish ships, 4 ships of war of North Holland, 4 ships of Warres of Zeland and one ship of war of the Maze: the captain wherof was Antony Leonardson, al the rest were victualers. The wind West Northwest, we sailed Northeast, and by North in 36. degrees and 45. minutes. The captaines had bene all aboard the Admirall in counsell aduising what were best to bee done in this matter of the Spaniards prizes.

Saturday, Sunday, the 21. and 22. of August, our said fleet of 18. ships kept yet together, we found our selues to bee in 39. degrees, 6. minuts. The sun South and by West, the winde blew vp at West Northwest, wee sailed North Northeast, and North and by East, Lysborne was East of vs.

The Netherlandish fleet diuide themselves into two companies, wherof the one returneth homewards, and the other proceedeth for the West Indians.

Two Spanish prizes taken.

Munday the sixt of September, the winde westerly, we ran East, at noone wee sounded, the depth was 50. fadome water, we found small white shels with needles therein, in the hight of 49. degrees 20. minuts, the sun Southwest, wee had sight of Vshant, we ran Northeast and by North.

Tuesday the 7. of September, the sun East South East, wee saw England, a mighty blustering gale of winde from the South Southwest, wee sailed North Northeast. The sunne Southwest, came to lande at Gawstert. Afterwarde wee turned and sailed East Southeast: In the euening it blewe so much winde, that wee were forced to strike our maine top mast, and we ranne the whole night with two courses by the wind.

Wednesday the 8. of September, the foule weather continued, the sunne East and by South, we had sight of the Ile of Wight North Northwest of vs, and ranne the whole day, East Northeast with the foresaile by the wind: as the euening approached we saw Beuersier, in the night and second quarter we passed by Douer.

Thursday the 9. of September, as soone as the daie began to appeare it was calme weather, and darke, the sun Southeast, we lay still before Newport all the ebbe. The wind easterly, in the after noone the wind came Northwest, we set saile againe, running al night by the wind with our foresaile.

Friday the 10. of September 1599, by the break of day wee were before the Maze, the sun Southwest, we arriued by the helpe of Gods mercy and grace before the Brill.

Since then, there is arriued at Texell another ship of war, whereof one Cater of Amsterdam was captain, the wick was seuered from the fleet in this voiage by tempest, and thought to be lost. The said captaine met with some prises, and in company of two English shippes tooke a Caruell of Aduiso, verie richly laden comming out of India, and hauing more men then the English, shared halfe of the goods with them, and so came home this present month of Octob.

FINIS.

THE HISTORIE

OF THE

WEST INDIES,

CONTAINING THE

ACTES AND ADUENTURES OF THE SPANIARDS,

WHICH

HAUE CONQUERED AND PEOPLED THOSE COUNTRIES,

ENRICHED

WITH VARIETIE OF PLEASANT RELATION OF THE MANNERS, CEREMONIES, LAWES,
GOVERNMENTS, AND WARRES OF THE INDIANS.

PUBLISHED IN LATIN BY MR. HAKLUYT,

AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY M. LOK. GENT.

In the hands of the Lord are all the corners of the earth. PSAL. XCV.

London :

PRINTED FOR ANDREW HEEB, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT THE SIGNE OF THE BELL IN
PAULS CHURCH-YARD.

TO THE READER.

WHoso committe themselves vnto the huge, and mayne Ocean, in a small vessell, may sooner expect to be swallowed in that vastity of waters, through the rage and furie of the Sea, then hope to gaine the desired, and intended haue. And seeing my selfe may well bee compared to that small vessell, being but a litle boate, and no barke of any burthen, to sayle the tempestuous Seas, and spacious Ocean of this History: I will therefore (like the vnskillfull Navigators of former ages) rather coast it along the shoares, then spreade my sayles vnto the enuious windes in a daungerous Sea, through any arrogant presumption of mine owne strength, hoping therby, to gaine the more securitie, when (still within the viewe of lande) I may safely put into euery harbour, and so, auoide the innumerable perilles, which might otherwise insue. For this History comprehendeth a large, and copious discourse, full of all variety, extending it selfe in that exceeding length, that I might sooner weary, and loose my selfe in the narration, then giue full satisfaction to the Reader. Yet, that I may yeelde them due content, I purpose to giue some small tast of the contents of the whole, and for the rest, referre them to the body, and substance of the booke, whereof this small Epitomy, may iustly bee termed but the shaddowe. You shall therefore vnderstande, that this worke of the Decades (written by Peter Martyr a Millanoise of Angleria, intitled the History of the newe worlde) containeth the first discouery of the West Indies, together with the subiection, and conquest therof. Wherin, we are chiefly to consider, the industry, and trauailes of the Spanyarde, their exceeding charge in furnishing so many shippes, for this intended expedition, their continuall supplies to further their attemptes, and their actiue and vndaunted spirites, in executing matters of that qualitie, and difficultie, and lastly, their constant resolution of Plantation. All whiche, may bee exemplary vnto vs, to performe the like in our Virginea, whiche beeing once thoroughly planted, and inhabited with our people, may returne as greate benefitte to our Nation in another kinde, as the Indies doe vnto the Spanyard: for although it yeeld not golde, yet, is it a fruitfull pleasant countrey, replenished with all good thinges, necessary for the life of man, if they be industrious, who inhabite it. But wee leaue this to them, who haue authoritie, and good purses, to further a matter of suche important consequence, and returne to our purpose. Besides the first discouery of this countrey of the West Indies, this historie likewise declareth the conquest, and subiection of the people, the manner howe, and what myriades of millions of poore naked Indians were slaughtered, and subdued through the conquering sworde, and the number of the Spanyardes, that attempted, and performed the same. Wherein, the chiefe men of note, & principall Commaunders, haue their particular names set down, as Christ. Columbus, Fern. Cortes, Fern. Magaglianus, and the rest, whome the Author hath expressly mentioned, to their æternall cōmendation: and for the incitement, and prouocation of the liuing, to the like honourable, and high attemptes. Here also, are the people described, by their seuerall Nations, their particular rites, ceremonies, and customes, by their habite, and attyre, eyther in warre, or peace: also, by their religion, sacrifices, and other demeanure, & gestures whatsoeuer: so that to reade the particulars, discoursed there at large, which I briefly mention heere, will so allure the reader, that nothing may seeme more pleasing, or delightfull: for, as in fashions of apparell, and ordinary diet wee like
extraordinary

extraordinary varietie, and change, though both transgresse the rules of modestie, and sobrietie, yet either of these please the appetite, and vntemperate desires: so doth varietie of historie yeelde more pleasure, and contentment, which (being a thing of more indifferencie, and as strong a motiue in another kinde) cannot but affect the senses, and intellectuall faculties, with farre greater delight. Hereunto he addeth the speciall description of the seuerall countries, with their particular situation, boundes, abutments, and qualitie of the soyle: together with their Mountaines, hilles, riuers, meddowes, pastures, wooddes, forrests, valleyes, playnes, and champions: and what goodly citties, and fortified townes are there erected, with the matter, and manner of their architecture, and building, with all the ornament, and elegancie thereof: their huge Pallaces, and houses of pleasure, farre exceeding many Christian Princes courtes: their orchardes, gardens, and other inclosures for wilde beastes and foules of diuers kindes, beautified with wonderful art, and curiositie: their mightie Lakes, (whereof some are little inferiour to the Euxine Sea) abounding with excellent fish, and whatsoever else the diuine bountie might bestowe vpon a blessed country, to enrich them with all earthly felicitie. And lastly hee largely describeth, what those Mountaynes, hilles, valleyes, and champions, ryuers, and Lakes ingender, and bring forth: what mineralles, as gold, and siluer, and what pearle, and precious stones: what wilde beastes, prodigious and straunge, what foule, and fishe, flies, and wormes of the earth, & other noysome things, are bredde there: and of the nature, and qualitie of all these. All which, this Historian most learnedly in a more large, and ample maner, discourseth, then this my short narration canne report, whiche least it exceede the iust measure of due limites, and boundes, I willingly perswade the reader, to haue recourse vnto the Author himselfe, from whence he shall receiue a more perfect satisfaction touching particulars then this generalitie doth include. Thus hoping the courteous, and discreet, will mildly excuse, if not approue, what I haue rudely done, I submit my selfe to euery humor, and expect differing censures answerable to the dissonant opinions, & variable inclination of euerie Reader.

M. Lox.

CERTAINE

CERTAIN PREAMBLES HERE FOLLOWE,

GATHERED BY R. EDEN

HERETOFORE,

FOR THE BETTER VNDERSTANDING OF THE WHOLE WORK.

Of the first discovering of the West Indies.

A Certayne Carauell sayling in the West Ocean, about the coastes of Spayne, hadd a forcible and continuall winde from the East, whereby it was driuen to a land vnknowne, and not described in any Map or Carde of the Sea, and was driuen still along by the coaste of the same for the space of many daies, vntill it came to a hauen, where in a short time the most part of the mariners, being long before very weake and feble by reason of hunger and trauayle, dyed: so that onely the Pilot, with three or foure other, remained aliue. And not only they that dyed, did not enioy the Indies whiche they first discovered to their misfortune, but the residue also that liued had in maner as litle fruition of the same: not leauing, or at the least not openly publishing any memory thereof, neyther of the place, or what it was called, or in what yeere it was founde: Albeit, the fault was not theirs, but rather the malice of others, or the enuie of that which we cal fortune. I do not therfore marueile, that the auncient histories affirme, that great thinges proceede and increase of small and obscure beginniges, sith we haue seene the same verified in this finding of the Indies, being so notable and newe a thing. We neede not be curious to seeke the name of the Pilot, sith death made a shorte ende of his doings. Some will, that he came from Andaluzia, and traded to the llandes of Canaria, and the lland of Madera, when this large and mortall nauigation chaunced vnto him. Other say that hee was a Sycanne and traded into Englande and France. Other also, that hee was a Portugall, & that either he went or came from Mina or India: whiche agreeth well with the name of these newe landes, as I haue sayd before. Againe, some there be that say that he brought the Caruell to Portugall, or the llande of Madera, or to some other of the llandes called De los Azores. Yet doe none of them affirme any thing, although they all affirme that the Pilot dyed in the house of Christopher Colon, with whom remayned all suche writings and annotations as he had made of his voyage in the said Carauell, aswell of such thinges as he obserued both by land and sea, as also of the eleuation of the pole in those lands which he had discovered.

The Pilot that first found the Indies.

Mina.

What manner of man Christopher Colon (otherwise called Columbus) was, and how he came first to the knowledge of the Indies.

Christopher Colon was borne in Cugureo, or (as some say) in Nerui, a village in the territory of Genua in Italie. Hee descended as some thinke, of the house of the Pelestreles of Placentia in Lombardie. He beganne of a chylde to bee a maryner: of whose arte they haue great exercyse on the ryuer of Genua. He traded many yeeres into Suria, and other parts of the East. After this, hee became a maister in making cardes for the sea, whereby hee hadde great vantage. Hee came to Portugall to know the reason and description

tion

Colon was not
much learned.

Colon conferred
with learned
men.

tion of the South coasts of Africa, and the nauigations of the Portugalles, thereby to make his cardes more perfect to bee solde. Hee maryed in Portugalle, as some say: or as many say, in the Iland of Madera, where he dwelt at such time as the saide Carauell arryued there, whose Pilot sojourned in his house, and dyed also there, beequeathing to Colon his carde of the description of such newe landes as he had found, whereby Colon hadde the first knowledge of the Indies. Some haue thought that Colon was well learned in the Latine tongue and the science of Cosmographie: and that he was thereby first moued to seeke the lands of Antipodes, and the rich Iland of Cipango, wherof Marchus Paulus writeth. Also that he had reade what Plato in his dialogues of Timeus and Cricias, writeth of the great Ilande of Atlantide, and of a great lande in the West Ocean vndiscovered, being bigger then Asia and Affrica. Furthermore that he had knowledge what Aristotle and Theophrastus saye in their bookes of Maruayles, where they write that certayne merchauntes of Carthage, sayling from the strayghtes of Gibraltar towarde the West and South, founde after many daies a great Ilande not inhabited, yet replenished with all thinges requisite, and hauing many nauigable ryuers. In deede Colon was not greatly learned: yet of good vnderstanding. And when he had knowledge of the sayde newe landes by the information of the deade Pilotte, made relation thereof to certayne learned menne, with whome he conferred as touching the lyke thinges mentioned of olde authors. Hee communicated this secrete and conferred chiefly with a Fryar, named Iohn Perez of Marchena, that dwelt in the Monastery of Rabida. So that I verily beleeeue, that in manner all that hee declared, and manie thinges more that hee left vnspoken, were written by the sayde Spanyshe Pilotte that dyed in his house. For I am perswaded, that if Colon by science attained to the knowledge of the Indies, hee woulde long beefore haue communicated this secrete to his owne countrey-menne the Genuenses, that trauallye all the worlde for gaynes, and not haue come into Spayne for this purpose. But doubtlesse hee neuer thought of any suche thing, beefore hee chaunced to bee acquainted with the sayde Pylotte, who founde those landes by fortune, according to the sayinge of Plinie, Quod ars docere non potuit, casus inuenit. That is, That arte coulde not teache, chaunce founde. Albeit, the more Christian opinion is, to thinke that GOD of his singular prouidence and infinite goodnesse, at the length with eyes of compassion as it were looking downe from heauen vpon the Sonnes of Adam, so long kept vnder Sathans captiuitie, intended euen then (for causes to him onelie vnknowne) to rayse those wyndes of mercy whereby that Carauell (herein most lyke vnto the shippe of Noe, whereby the remnant of the whole worlde was saued, as by this Carauell this newe worlde receyued the first hope of their saluation) was driuen to these landes. But wee will nowe declare what great thinges followed of this small begynnyng, and howe Colon followed this matter, reuealed vnto him not without GODS prouidence.

What labour and trauallye Colon tooke in attempting his first voyage to the Indies.

King Henry the
seuenth.

Bernarde knewe
not all thinges.

After the death of the Pilot & marryners of the Spanyshe Carauell that discouered the Indies, Christopher Colon purposed to seeke the same. But in howe much more hee desired this, the lesse was his power to accomlishe his desire. For beeside that of himselfe hee was not able to furnishe one shyppe, he lacked also the fauour of a King, vnder whose protection he might so enioy the riches hee hoped to finde, that none other myght take the same from him, or defeate him there of. And seeing the king of Portugal occupied in the conquest of Affrica, and the Nauigations of the East, which were then first attempted, the King of Castyle likewise no lesse buised in the warres of Granada, hee sent to his brother Bartholomewe Colon, (who was also priuie to this secrete) to practise with the King of Englande (Henry the seuenth) being verie rich and without warres, promising to bring him great riches in shorte time, if hee woulde shewe him fauour, and furnishe him with shippes to discover the newe Indies, whereof he had certaine knowledge. But neyther here being able to bring his suite to passe, he caused the matter to be moued to the king of Portugal Don Alonsa, the fifth of that name: at whose hands he found neither fauour nor mony, forasmuch as the Licentiat Calzadilla the bishop of Viseo, and one maister Rodrigo, men of credite

credite in the science of Cosmographie, withstood him, and contended that there neither was nor could any golde or other riches bee founde in the West, as Colon affirmed. By reason whereof he was very sad and pensive: but yet was not discouraged, or despaired of his hope of his good adventure, which hee afterwarde founde. This done, he tooke shyping at Lisburne, and came to Palos of Moguer, where hee communed with Martin Alonso Pinzon, an experte Pilotte, who offered himselfe vnto him. After this, disclosing the whole secretes of his minde to Iohn Perez of Marchena (a fryar of thorder of saint Frances in Rabida, and wel learned in Cosmography) and declaring vnto him howe by following the course of the Sunne by a temperate voyage, rich and great landes might be founde: the Fryar greatly commended his enterprise, and gaue him counsaile to breake the matter to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Enrique of Guzman, a great Lorde, and very rich: also to Don Luis of Cerda, the Duke of Medina Celi, who at that time had great prouision of ships well furnished in his hauen of Santa Maria. But whereas both these Dukes tooke the matter for a dreame, and as a thing deuised of an Italian deceiuer, who (as they thought) had before with like pretence deluded the kinges of Englande and Portugall, the Fryar gaue him courage to goe to the courte of the Catholike Princes Don Fernando, and lady Isabell princes of Castile, affirming that they would bee ioyfull of suche newes: And for his better furtherance herein, wrote letters by him to Fryar Ferdinando of Talauera the Queenes confessor. Christopher Colon therefore, repayed to the Court of the Catholike princes, in the yeere 1486. and deliuered vnto their handes the petition of his request, as concerning the discovering of the new Indies. But they being more carefull, and applying all their mynde howe they might dryue the Moores out of the kingdome of Grenada, whiche greate enterprise they had already taken in hande, did little or nothing esteeme the matter. But Colon not thus discouraged, founde the meanes to declare his suite to such as had sometimes priuate communication with the King. Yet because hee was a straunger, and went but in simple apparel, nor otherwise credited then by the letter of a gray fryar they beleeued him not, neyther gaue eare to his wordes, whereby he was greatly tormented in his imagination. Onely Alonso of Quintanilia, the Kinges chiefe Auditor, gaue him meate and drinke at his owne charges, and hearde gladly suche thynges as hee declared of the landes not then founde: desiring him in the meane tyme to bee content with that poore entertainment, and not to dispayre of his enterpryse: putting him also in good comforte that he shoulde, at one time or other, come to the speech of the Catholike princes. And thus shortly after, by the meanes of Alonso of Quintanilia, Colon was brought to the presence and audience of the Cardinall Don Pero Gonzales of Mendoza, archbishop of Toledo, a manne of great reuenues and authority with the King and Queene, who brought him before them, after that he well perceiued and examined his entent. And by this meanes was his suite hearde of the Catholike princes, who also reade the booke of his memorials which he presented vnto them. And although at the first they tooke it for vaine & false that he promised, neuerthelesse they put him in good hope that he should bee wel dispatched whē they had finished the wars of Granada, which they had now in hād. With which answer, Colon began to reuiue his spirits, with hope to be better esteemed, & more fauorably to be heard among the gentlemen & noblemen of the courte, who before tooke him onely for a crafty fellow & deceiuer: & was no thing dismaide or discouraged whensoever hee debated the matter with them, although many iudged him phantasticall, as is the maner of ignorāt men, to call all such as attēpt any thing beyōd their reach, & the cōpasse of their knowledg, thinking the worlde to be no bigger then the cages wherein they are brought vp and liue. But to returne to Colon. So hot & vrgēt was the siege of Granada, that they presently graunted him his demande to seeke the new lands, & to bring from thence gold, siluer, pearles, precious stones, spices, and such other rich things. They gaue him also the 10. part of all the reuenues and customes due vnto the king, of all such landes as he shoulde discover, not doing preiudice in any thing to the king of Portugall. The particulars of this agreement were made in the towne called Sancta Fe: & the priuilege of the rewarde in Granada the xxx. day of Aprill, the same yeere that citie was won. And whereas the said Catholike princes had not money

The conquest
of Grenada.

The archbishop
of Toledo.

present to dispatch Colon, Luis of S. Angel, the Kings Secretary of accomptes, lent them 6. Quentes of Maraz, which in a grosse summe make 16. thousande Ducates.

In the scutcheon of armes giuen to Columbus by Don Ferdinando and queene Isabella, these verses were written.

Por Castella, y por Leon. Nueuo mondo hallo Colon.

For Castile and for Leon.

A newe worlde founde was by Colon.

Why they were called Indies.

The colour of
the East In-
dians.

SOME thinke that the people of the new world were called Indians, because they are of the colour of the East Indians. And although (as it seemeth to me) they differ much in colour and fashions, yet it is true, that of India they were called Indians. India is properly called that great Prouince of Asia, in the whiche great Alexander kept his warres, and was so named of the ryuer Indus: & it is diuided into many kingdomes confining with the same. From this great India (called the East India) came great cōpanies of men, as writeth Herodotus, & inhabited that great parte of Ethiopia that lyeth betweene the sea Bermeia (otherwise called the red sea, or the gulfe of Arabia) and the riuier of Nilus: al which regions y great Christian prince Prester Iohn doth now possesse. The said Indians preuailed so much, that they vterly chaunged the customes and name of that land, & called it India: by reason whereof, Ethiopia also hath of long tyme bin called India. And hereupon it came that Aristotle, Seneca, & certayne other old authors sayd, that India was not farre from Spaine. After this also, of later dayes our West India was so called, of the saide India of Prester Iohn where the Portugalles had their trade: For the Pilot of the Carauell that was first dryuen by fowcible winde to an vnknowne land in the West Ocean, called the same India, beecause the Portugalles so called such landes as they had lately discovered Eastwarde. Christopher Colon also, after the said Pilot, called the West landes by the same name: Albeit some that take Colonus for an expert Cosmographer, thinke that he so named them of the East India, as to be the furthest & vnknowne end therof, reaching into the West, vnder the other hemispherie or halfe globe of the earth beneath vs: affirming that whē he first attempted to discouer the Indies, he went chiefly to seeke the rich Iland of Cipango, which falleth on the part of great China or Cathay, as writeth Marcus Paulus Venetus, & other: and that he shoulde sooner come thither by following the course of the Sunne Westwarde, then against the same.

Of the colour of the Indians.

The colour of
the West In-
dians.

ONE of the marueylous things that God vseth in the composition of man, is colour: which doubtlesse cannot bee considered without great admiration, in holding one to be white, and another blacke, being colours vterly contrary: some likewise to be yelow, which is betweene blacke and white: and other of other colours, as it were of diuers liueries. And as these colours are to be marueyled at, euen so is it to be considered, howe they differ one from another, as it were by degrees, forasmuch as some men are white after diuers sorts of whitenesse, yelow after diuers manners of yelow, & blacke after diuers sorts of blackenesse: & howe from white they goe to yelow by discolouring to browne and redde, and to blacke by ashe colour, and murry, somewhat lighter then blacke, and tawny like vnto the West Indians, whiche are altogether in generall either purple or tawny, like vnto sodd Quinces, or of the colour of Chesnuttes or Oliues, whiche colour is to them naturall: and not by their going naked, as manie haue thought: albeit their nakednesse haue somewhat helped thereunto. Therefore in like manner, and with such diuersitie as menne are commonly white in Europe, and blacke in Affrike, euen with like varietie are they tawny in these Indies, with diuers degrees diuersly inclining more or lesse to blacke or white. No lesse marueyle is it to consider, that menne are white in Siuile and blacke at the cape of Buena Speranza, & of Chesnutte coloure at the ryuer of Plata, being all in equall degrees from the Equinoctiall lyne.

Lykewise,

Lykewise, that the men of Affrike and Asia, that lyue vnder the burnt lyne (called Zona Torrida) are blacke: and not they that lyue beneath, or on this side the same lyne, as in Mexico, Iucatan, Quauhtema, Lian, Nicoragua, Panama, Santa Domingo, Paria, Cape Sainct Augustine, Lima, Quito, and other landes of Peru, which touch in the same Equinoctial. For in all the tracte of these coastes, certayne blacke men were founde onely in Quarequa, when Vascus Nunnez of Balboa discovered the sea of Sur. By reason wherof it may seeme, that such varyety of colours proceedeth of man, & not of the earth: which may well be, although we bee all borne of Adam and Eue, and knowe not the cause why God hath so ordeyned it, otherwise then to consider that his diuine maiesty hath don this, as infinite other, to declare his omnipotency and wisdom, in such diuersities of colours, as appeare not onely in the nature of manne, but the like also in beastes, byrdes, and floures, where diuers and contrary colours are seene in one litle feather, or the leaues growing out of one litle stalke. Another thing is also greatly to bee noted, as touching these Indians: and this is, that their hayre is not curld, as is the Moores and Ethiopians that inhabite the same clime: neyther are they balde, except very seldome, and that but litle. All which things may giue further occasions, to Philosophers to search the secrets of nature, and complexions of men, with the nouelties of the newe worlde.

Gods wisdom
and power is
seene in his
workes.

A most auncient testimonie of the West Indies, by the writing of the diuine
Philosopher Plato.

PLato in his famous and diuine Dialogue named Timeus where he treateth of the vniuersal nature & frame of y whole world, taketh for his principle the most auncient hystorie of an Iland, in time of great antiquitie, named Athlantides, making also mention of the king, people, & inhabitats of the same: & that they kept warre against the Atheniens, and were overcome of them. Plato also there inducing the said historie to be rehearsed by one named Critia, who affirmed that he had often heard it of his Vncle, who was in y time of Solon, one of the seuen sages of the Greekes. This Critia declared, that when Solon went into Egypt to a certayne citty named Saim, situate vpō y riuier of Nilus, where y diuisiō & recurring of the riuier, maketh the Iland Delta, he there spake with certayne learned priestes, very skilfull in knowledge of antiquities of māy wordes past. Insomuch y they made mention of many things y were before the flood of Noe, or Deucalion, & also before the vniuersal conflagratiō or burning of the world in y time of Phaeton, forasmuch as the warre betwene the people of the sayd Iland of Athlantides & the Atheniens was lōg before the general flood, & the cōflagration aforesayd. Plato induceth the priest, speaking to Solon in maner as followeth.

Things most maruelous & true (O Solon) remayne in auncient writyngs & memorie of our predecessours, & old ages long before our times. But aboue all things, one exceedeth al admiration for the greatnesse & singularitie thereof, which is this: It is in our records of most antiquities, that in times past your city of Athens hath oftētimes kept warre against an innumerable multitude of natiōs which came frō the sea Athlantike, in myr unto al Europe and Asia: whereas now appeareth no such nation, forasmuch as the sayde sea is now all ouer nauigable: And yet at that time had in the mouth, and as it were in the entrie (where you place the Columnes of Hercules) an Ilande which was sayd to be much greater then all Africa and Asia, and that from thence was passage to many other Ilandes neere thereabout, and from the sayde Ilandes to the continent or firme lande, which was right ouer against it neere vnto the sea: Yet, that within the mouth, there was a litle gulfe, with a porte: the deepe sea with out, was the true sea, and the lande without was the true continent. This Ilande was named Athlantides, and in it was a Kinge of maruellous great power and might, who had the dominion of the sayde Ilande, and many other, and also a great part of the continent lande whereof we haue spoken, and much more towarde our partes also, forasmuch as they were dominatours of the thyrd part of the worlde conteyning Africa, Egypt, and Europe, euen vnto the sea Tirrhenum. The power therefore of them being then so great, they came to inuade both your countrey and ours, and all other that are within the Columnes of Hercules. Then (O Solon) the vertue of your citty shewed it selfe famous in magnanimitie and feates

of armes, with the assemblance of the other Grecians, in resistynge their great power, vntyl you had driuen them out of our lands, and restored vs to our libertie. But shortly after that this enterprise was atchiued, befel a marueylous great earthquake, and exundation or ouerflowing of the sea, which continued for the space of one day and night: In the which the earth opened it selfe, and inglutted all those valiant and warlike men, and the sayde Ilande Atlantides sunke into the bottome of the sea, which was the occasion that neuer from that tyme forwarde, any shyp coulde sayle that way, by reason of the great mudde and slyme which remayned of the drowned Ilande.

This is the summe of those thinges which olde Critia sayde he had vnderstoode of Solon. And certainly these wordes of Plato of the sayd Iland, haue caused great contention among many great Philosophers, which haue written commentaries vpon the sayde Dialogue of Timeus composed by Plato: Insomuch that the same in those dayes being vtterly vnkown, many haue taken this narration of Solon, for an allegoricall fable, and haue interpreted the same in diuers senses and meanynges. But it may now well appeare the true meaning hereof to be this, that Plato intending to wryte of the vniuersal frame of the worlde, the which he knewe to be made an habitation for the diuine best man, and also beholding therin the great ornament and beauty of the heauen and starres, whereby man might knowe his God and creatour, it might seeme to him a thing to farre from reason, that onely two partes thereof should be inhabited, and the other part desolate and deprived of men: and that the Sunne & starres might seeme to shewe their light onely halfe their course without profite, shining only vpon the sea & desolate places, destitute of man & other liuing creatures. And therefore Plato had in great admiration the historye of the sayde Egyptian priest, making mention of an other part of the world beside Asia, Europe, and Africa, and thought it woorthy to be rehearsed in the beginning of his diuine Dialogue aforesayde. We ought therefore certainly to thinke our selues most bound vnto God, that in these our times it hath pleased him to reueale and discouer this secrete in the finding of this new worlde, whereby wee are certaynely assured, that vnder our Pole starre, and vnder the Equinoctiall line, are most goodly and ample regions, as well and commodiously inhabited, as are other partes of the worlde best known vnto vs.

The testimonie of the Poet Seneca in his Tragedie De Medea, whereby the spirit of Poeticall furie, he sayth.

Venient annis
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhisque nouos
Detegat Orbes,
Nec sit terris, vltima Thyle.

Which may be thus Englished.

In late yeeres new worldes shalbe founde,
And newe landes shall then appeare on the grounde,
When Tiphis Nauigation new worldes shall finde out,
Then shall not Thyle for last be left out.
For then shall the Ocean dissolue his large bandes,
And shewe forth newe worldes, regions, and landes.

Thyle is an Iland.

To the most noble prince and catholike King, Charles, Peter Martyr of Angleria wisheth perpetuall felicitie.

The largenes of
the Ocean vn-
knowne to this
day.

The diuine prouidence, from the time that he first created y world, hath reserued vnto this day the knowledge of the great & large Ocean sea. In the which tyme he hath opened y same chiefly vnto you (most mighty Prince) by y good fortune & happy successe of your grandfather by your mother side. The same prouidence (I know not by what destinie) hath brought

brought me out of my native countrey of Millane, and out of the cittie of Rome (where I continued almost. x. yeeres) into Spaine that I might particularly collecte these marueilous and newe thinges, which shoulde otherwise perhappes haue lien drowned in the whirlepoole of obliuion, forasmuche as the Spanyardes (men worthy great commendation) had only care to the generall inuentions of these thinges. Notwithstanding, I do not chalenge vnto me only, the thankes of the trauaile bestowed herein, whereas the chiefe rewarde therof is due to Ascanius Vicont Cardinal, who perceyuing that I was willing to depart out of the city to bee present at the warres of Granatum, dissuaded me from my purpose: But seeing that I was fully resolved to depart, exhorted and required me to write vnto him such newes as were famous in Spaine, & worthy to be noted. I tooke therfore my iourney into Spaine chiefly for the desire I hadd to see the expedition which was prepared against the enimies of the faith, forasmuch as in Italye, by reason of the dissention amonge the Princes, I coulde finde nothing wherewith I might feede my witte, being a younge man desirous of knowledge and experience of thinges. I was therefore present at the warres, from whence I write to Cardinall Ascanius, and by sundry Epistles certified him of such thinges as I thought most worthy to bee put in memorie. But when I perceiued that his fortune, was turned from a naturall mother to a stepdame, I ceased from writing. Yet after I sawe, that by ouerthrowe of the enimies of our faith, Spaine was purged of the Moores, as of an euill weede plucked vppe by the rootes, least I should bestowe my slippery yeeres in vnprofitable idlenesse, I was minded to returne to Italie. But the singular benignitie of both the Catholike king and queene now departed: and their large promises towarde mee vppon my returne from my legacie of Babylon deteyned me from my purpose. Yet doth it not repent me that I drew backe my foot, aswell for that I see in no other place of the worlde at this time the like woorthie thinges to bee done: as also that in manner throughout Italie, by reason of the discorde of Christian Princes, I perceiued all thinges to runne headlong into ruine, the countreys to bee destroyed and made fatte with humane blood, the Citties sacked, virgins and matrones with their goods and possessions carryed away as Captiues, and miserable innocents without offence to bee slayne vnarmed within their owne houses. Of the which calamities, I did not only heare the lamentable outcryes, but did also feele the same: For euen the bloude of mine owne kinsfolkes and friendes, was not free from that crueltie. As I was therefore musing with my selfe of these thinges, the Cardinall of Arragone, after that he had seene the two first bookes of my Decades written to Ascanius, required mee in the name of king Frederike his vncke, to put forth the other eyght epistle bookes. In the meane time also, while I was voyde of all cares as touching the matters of the Ocean, the Apostolicall messengers of the bishop of Rome, Leo the tenth (by whose holosome counsayle and authority we trust the calamities of Italie shall bee finished) rayseed mee as it were from sleepe, and encouraged me to proceed as I had begun. To his holinesse I write two Decades, comprysed in short bookes, after the maner of epistles, and added them to the first, which was printed without mine aduice, as shall further appeare by the preface following. But now I returne to you (most noble Prince) from whom I haue somewhat digressed. Therefore wheras your grād-fathers by your mothers side, haue subdued al Spaine vnder your dominiō, except only one corner of the same, and haue also left you the kingdome of Naples, with the fruitfull llandes of our seas, it is surely a great thing and worthy to bee noted in our Cronicles. But not of-fending the reuerence due to our predecessours, whatsoeuer from the beginning of the world hath bene done or written to this day, to my iudgement seemeth but little, if wee consider what new landes and countreys, what newe seas, what sundry nations and tongues, what golde mynes, what treasures of pearles they haue left vnto your highnesse, beside other reuenues. The which, what they are, and howe great, these three Decades shall declare. Come therefore most noble Prince elected of God, and enioy that high estate of thinges not yet vn-derstood to men. We offer vnto you the Equinoctiall lyne hitherto vnknowne, and burnt by the furious heate of the sunne, and vnhabitable after the opinion of the olde writers, a few excepted: but nowe founde to bee most replenished with people, faire, fruitfull, and most fortunate, with a thousand llandes crowned with golde and beautifull pearles, besides that

Cardinal Asca-
nius.
The warres at
Granatum
against the
Moores.

Italie disquieted
with war.

The sequels of
warre.

King Frederike.

Spaine subdued
from the
Moores.
The kingdom of
Naples.

The temperatnes
of the Equinoct-
iall vnkowne to
the olde writers.

Continent or
firme land as
bigge as three
Europes.
Riches are the
instruments of
couquestes.

that greate portion of earth supposed to be part of the firme lande, exceeding in quantitie three Europes. Come therfore and embrace this new world, and suffer vs no longer to consume in desire of your presence. From hence, from hence I say (most noble young Prince) shall instrumentes bee prepared you, whereby all the world shall be vnder your obeysance. And thus I bid your Maiestie farewell: to whose tast if I shall perceiue the fruites of this my tyllage to bee delectable, I will hereafter doe my endeuour that you may receiue the same more abundantly. From Madrid, the day before the Calends of October, In the yeere of Christ, 1516.

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THE
FYRST BOOKE
OF THE
DECADES OF THE OCEAN,

WRITTEN BY
PETER MARTYR OF ANGLERIA MILENOES,

COUNSAYLER TO THE KYNG OF SPAINE,

AND

PROTONOTARIE APOSTOLICALL TO ASCANIUS SPHORCIA, VICOUNT CARDINAL, &c.

THE reuerende and thankfull antiquitie was accustomed to esteeme those menne as Gods, The reward of vertue. by whose industrie and magnanimitie such landes and regions were discovered, as were vnkowne to their Predecessours. But vnto vs, hauing onely one God, whom wee honour in triplicite of person, this resteth, that albeit we do not worship that kind of men with diuine honour, yet wee doe reuerence them, and worthily marueile at their noble actes and enterprises. Vnto kinges and princes wee giue due obeysance, by whose gouernance and furtherance they haue been ayded to performe their attempts: we commend both and for their iust desertes worthily extoll them. Wherefore, as concerning the Islandes of the west Ocean, lately discovered, and of the authours of the same (which thing you desire by your letters to know) I will begin at the first author thereof least I bee iniurious to any man. Take it therefore as followeth.

Christophorus Colonus (otherwise called Columbus) a gentle man of Italie, borne in the citie of Genua, perswaded Fernando and Elizabeth, catholike princes, that he doubted not to find certaine Ilandes of India, neere vnto our Ocean sea, if they woulde furnish him with Christophorus Colonus. shippes and other thinges apperteyning: affirming that thereby not onely the Christian religion might be enlarged, but Spaine also enriched by the great plentie of gold, pearles, precious stones, and spices, which might be found there. At the length three shippes were appoynted him at the kinges charges: of the which one was a great caracie with deckes, and the other two were light marchant shippes without deckes, which the Spanyardes call Carauelas. Thus hee departed from the coastes of Spaine about the calendes of September, in the yeere of Christe. 1492. and set forward on his voyage, being accompanied with CC.xx. The first voyage of Colonus. Spanyardes. The fortunate Ilandes (as manie thinke them to be which the Spanyardes call Canarie, found but of late dayes) are distant from the Ilands of Gades a thousande and two The Ilands of Canarie. Gades, or Cals mala. hundreth myles, according to their accomptes, for they say they are distant three hundred leagues:

A league, what
it containeth by
sea.
The fortunate
Ilands.

Capo Verde.

The 7. Ilands of
Canarie.
Betanchor a
Frenchman sub-
dued the Ilands
of Canarie, &c.

Alphonsus Lugo.

Colonus men
rebel against him.

Faire words &
promises.

Hispaniola,
Iohanna.

Nightingales sing
in Nouember.

The Iland of
Ophir.

The Ilands of
Antilia.

leagues: whereas such as are expert sea men, affirme that euery league conteineth foure myles, after their supputations. These Ilandes were called fortunate, for the temperate ayre which is in them. For neither the coldnesse of winter is sharpe vnto them, nor the heate of sommer intollerable. Yet some men are of opinion, that those were in old time called the fortunate Ilandes, which the Portugales call Capo Verde. Colonus therefore sayled first to the Ilandes of Canaria, to the intent there to refresh his shippes with fresh water and fuell, before he committed himselfe to this so laborous a voiage. And because I haue heare made mention of the Ilandes of Canaria, it shall not be much from my purpose, to declare howe of vnknowne they became knowne, and of sauage and wilde, better mannered: For by the long course of many yeeres they were forgotten, and remained as vnknown.

These seuen Ilandes (therefore) called the Canaries, were found by chaunce by a French man called, Betanchor by the permission of queene Katharine, protectrix of king Iohn her son, while he was yet in his nonage, about the yeere of Christ 1405. This Betanchor inuaded two of these Ilandes called Lancelotus & Fortisuentura, which he inhabited and brought to better culture. He being dead, his sonne and heire solde both the sayd Ilandes to certaine Spanyardes.

After this, Farnandus Peraria and his wife, inuaded Ferrea and Gemera. The other three were subdued in our time. Grancanaria, by Petrus de Vera, citizen of the noble citie of Xericium, and Michael of Moxica. Plama and Tenerisen, by Alphonsus Lugo, at the kinges charges. Gomera and Ferrea were easily subdued: But the matter went harde with Alphonsus

Lugo. For that naked and wilde nation, fighting onely with stones and clubbes, droue his armie to flight at the first assault, and slue about foure hundred of his men: But at the length hee ouercame them. And thus all the Ilandes of Canaria were added to the dominion of Spaine. From these Ilandes Colonus directing his voyage towardes the West, following the falling of the sunne, but declining somewhat towardes the left hand, sayled on forward xxxiii. dayes continually, hauing onely the fruition of the heauen and the water. Then the Spanyardes which were accompanied with him, beganne first to murmure secretly among themselves, and shortly after with woordes of reproch spake euill of Colonus their gouernour, and consulted with themselves, eyther to rydde him out of the way, or els to cast him into the sea: raging that they were deceived of a stranger, an outlandish man, a Ligurian, a Genues, and brought into such daungerous places, that they might neuer returne againe. And after xxxiii. dayes were past, they furiously cryed out against him, and threatened him that he should passe no further. But hee euer with gentle wordes and large promises, appeased their fury, and prolonged day after day, sometime desiring them to beare with him yet a while, and sometime putting them in remembrance that if they shoulde attempt any thing against him, or otherwise disobey him, it would be reputed for treason. Thus after a few dayes, with chearefull hearts they espied the lande long looked for. In this first nauigation, he discovered vi. Ilandes, whereof two were exceeding great: Of which, the one he called Hispaniola, and the other Iohanna. But at that time hee knewe not perfectly that Iohanna (otherwise called Cuba) was an Ilande. As they coasted along by the shore of certaine of these Ilandes, they hearde Nightingales sing in the thicke woodes in the moneth of Nouember. They found also great riuers of fresshe water, and naturall hauens, of capacitie to harbour great naues of shippes. Sayling by the coastes of Iohanna, from the North poynt to the West, hee rode little lesse then eight hundred miles (for they cal it a hundred & fourescore leagues) supposing that it had been the continent or firme land, because hee coulde neither find the landes end, nor any token of the end, as farre as he could iudge with his eye: wherefore he determined to turne backe againe, being partly thereto enforced by the roundnesse of the sea, for the sea bankes of the Ilande of Iohanna, by sundry wyndinges and turninges, bende them selues so much toward the North, that the North North-east wind roughly tossed the shyps by reason of the winter. Turning therfore the stemmes of his shippes towardes the East, hee affirmed that he had found the Iland of Ophir, whither Solomons ships sayled for gold. But the description of the Cosmographers well considered, it seemeth that both these, and the other Ilands adioyning, are the Ilands of Antilia. This Iland

Iland he called Hispaniola, on whose North side as hee approached neere to the Iland, the keele or bottome of the biggest vessell ranne vpon a blind rocke couered with water, and cloue in sunder: but the plainnesse of the rocke was a helpe to them that they were not drowned. Making hast therefore with the other two ships to helpe them, they brought away all the men without hurt. Heere comming first aland, they sawe certaine men of the Ilande, who perceiuing an vnknown nation comming toward them, flocked together, and ranne all into the thicke woodes, as it had bin hares coursed with greyhoundes. Our men pursuing them, tooke onely one woman, whom they brought to the ships: where filling her with meate and wine, and apparelling her, they let her depart to her companie. Shortly after a great multitude of them came running to the shore to behold this new nation, whom they thought to haue descended from heauen. They cast themselues by heaps into the sea, & came swimming to the shippes, bringing gold with them, which they chaunged with our men for earthen pottes, drinking glasses, poyntes, pinnes, hawkes bels, looking glasses, & such other trifles. Thus growing to further familiaritie, our men were honorably entertained of the king of that part of the Iland, whose name was Guaccanarillus: for it hath many kings, as when Æneas arriued in Italie, he found Latium diuided into many kingdōs and prouinces, as Latium, Mezentium, Turnum, and Tarchontem, which were separated with narrow bounds, as shall more largely appeare hereafter. At the euen tide about the falling of the Sun, when our men went to prayer, and kneeled on their knees after the maner of the Christians, they did the like also. And after what manner soeuer they sawe them pray to the crosse, they followed them in all poyntes as well as they coulede. They shewed much humanitie towards our men, and helped them with their lighters or smal boats (which they call Canoas to vnlade their broken shippes, and that with such celeritie and cheerefulness, that no friende for friend, or kinsman for kinsman, in such case moued with pitie, coulede doe more. Their boates are made only of one tree, made holow with a certaine sharpe stone (for they haue no yron) and are very long and narrow. Many affirme that they haue seene some of them with fortie ores. The wilde & mischieuous people called Canibales, or Caribes, which were accustōed to eate mans flesh (& called of the olde writers, Anthropophagi) molest them exceedingly, inuading their countrey, taking them captiue, killing & eating them. As our men sayled to the Ilandes of these meeke and humane people, they left the Ilands of the Canibales, in maner in the middest of their voyage towarde the South. They complained that their Ilands were nolesse vexed with the incursiōs of these manhunting Canibales when they go forth a rouing to seeke their pray, then are other tame beasts, of Lyons and Tigers. Such children as they take, they geld to make them fat as we doe cocke chickings and young hogges, and eate them when they are wel fedde: of such as they eate, they first eate the intralles and extreme partes, as hands, feet, armes, necke, and head. The other most fleshye partes, they powder for store, as we do pestels of porke, and gammondes of bakon: yet doe they absteyne from eating of women, and count it vile. Therefore such young women as they take, they keepe for increase, as we do hens to leye egges: the olde womanne, they make their drudges. They of the Ilandes (which we may nowe call ours) both the men and the women, when they perceiue the Canibales cōming, haue none other shift but onely to flee: for although they vse very sharpe arrowes made of reedes, yet are they of small force to repress the fury of the Canibales: for euen they theselues confesse, that ten of the Canibales are able to ouercome a hundred of them if they encounter with them. Their meate is a certaine roote, which they call Ages, much like a nauewe roote in forme and greatnesse, but of sweete tast, much like a greene chestnute. They haue also another kinde of rootes, which they call Iucca, whereof they make breade in like manner. They vse Ages more often roasted or sodden, then to make breade thereof. But they neuer eate Iucca, except it be first sliced and pressed (for it is full of licoure) and then baked or sodden. But this is to bee marueiled at, that the iuyce of this roote is a poyson as strong as Aconitum, so that if it be drunke, it causeth present death, and yet the bread made of the masse thereof, is of good tast and hol-some, as they all haue prooued. They make also another kind of bread of a certaine pulse, called Panicum, much like vnto wheate, whereof is great plentie in the Dukedome of Mil-

A shipwracke.

The people of the Iland.

Naked people.

Expert swimmers.

Gold for earth and glasse.

Many kings.

Religious and humane people.

Canoas.

Monoxyla. They haue no iron.

Canibales, or Caribes. Anthropophagi.

The cruelty of the Canibales.

Ages. Rootes in the stead of meat. Iucca. Bread of rootes.

An hearbe of strange nature.

Malauium.

lane, Spaine, and Cranatum. But that of this Countrey is longer by a spanne, somewhat sharpe towarde the ende, and as bigge as a mans arme in the brawne: the graines whercof are set in a marueylous order, and are in forme somewhat like a Pease. While they be soure and vnripe, they are white, but when they are ripe they be very blacke, when they are broken they are whiter then snowe: this kinde of graine they call Mazium. Golde is of some estimation among them: for some of them hang certaine small peeces thereof at their eares and nosethrylles. A little beyonde this place our men went a lande for fresh water, where they chaunced vpon a riuer, whose sande was myred with much golde. They found there no kinde of foure footed beastes, except three kinde of little conies. These Ilandes also nourish serpents, but such as are without hurt. Likewise wilde geese, turtle doues, and duckes, much greater then ours, and as white as swannes, with heads of purple colour. Also Popiniayes, of the which some are greene, some yelow, & some like them of India, with yelow rings about their neckes, as Plinie describeth them. Of these they brought fourtie with them, of most liuely and delectable colours, hauing their feathers entermingled with greene, yelow, and purple, which varietie delighteth the sense not a little. Thus much thought I good to speake of Popiniayes (right noble prince) specially to this intent, that albeit the opinion of Christophorus Colonus (who affirmeth these Ilandes to be part of India) doth not in all poyntes agree with the iudgement of auncient writers as touching the bignes of the Sphere and compasse of the Globe, as concerning the nauigable portion of the same being vnder vs, yet the Popiniayes and many other things brought from thence, doe declare that these Ilandes sauour somewhat of India, eyther being neare vnto it, or else of the same nature: for asmuch as Aristotle also, about the ende of his booke de Cœlo & Mundo, and likewise Seneca, with diuers other authours not ignorant in Cosmographie, do affirme that India is no long tracte by sea, distant from Spaine by the West Ocean, for the soyle of these Ilandes bringeth forth Mastyx, Aloes, and sundry other sweete gummies and spices, as doth India, Cotton also of the Gossampine tree, as in India in the countrey of the people called Seres.

The languages of all the nations of these Ilandes, may well bee written with our Latine letters. For they call heauen Turei. A house, Boa. Golde, Cauni. A good man, Taino. Nothing, Maiani. All other words of their languages, they pronounce as plainly as we doe the Latine tongue. In these Ilandes they found no trees knowen vnto them, but Pine apple trees, and Date trees, and those of marueilous height, and exceeding harde, by reason of the great moistnesse and fatnesse of the ground, with continuall and temperate heate of the Sunne, which endureth so all the whole yeere. They plainly affirme the Iland of Hispaniola to be the most fruitfull lande that the heauen compasseth about, as shall most plainly appeare hereafter in the particular description of the same, which wee intend to set forth when wee shall bee better instructed. Thus making a league of friendship with the king, and leauing with him xxxviii. men to search the Ilande, he departed to Spaine, taking with him tenne of the inhabitantes to learne the Spanish tongue, to the intent to vse them afterward for interpretours. Colonus therefore at his returne was honourably receiued of the King and Queene, who caused him to sit in their presence, which is a token of great loue and honour among the Spanyardes. Hee was also made Admiral of the Ocean, and his brother gouernour of the Iland.

Toward the second voyage he was furnished with xvii. ships whereof three were great caracters of a thousande tunne, xii. were of that sort which the Spanyards call Carauelas, without deckes, and two other of the same sort somewhat bigger, and more apt to beare deckes, by reason of the greatnesse of their mastes. Hee had also a thousande and two hundred armed footemen wel appoynted: among which were many artificers, as smythes, Carpenters, myners, and such other, certaine horsemen also, well armed: Lykewyse mares, sheepe, heyghfers, and such other of both kindes for increase: Likewise all kinde of pulse, or grayne and corne, as wheate, barley, rye, beanes, and pease, and such other, aswell for foode as to sow: beside vines, plantes, and seedes, of such trees, fruites, and hearbes, as those countreyes lacke, and (not to bee forgotten) sundry kindes of artyllerie and iron tooles, as bowes, arrowes,

Golde in estimation.

Gold in the sandes of riuers.

Serpents without venime.

Turtle doues.

Duckes.

Popiniayes.

Plinie.

These Ilandes are part of India. The Inhabitants are Antipodes to the Spanyardes.

Aristotle.

Seneca.

India not farre from Spaine.

Mastyx.

Aloe.

Gossampine cotton or bombace.

Seres.

The language of these Indians.

Trees & fruits vnknown to vs.

Fat and moist ground.

Heate continuall & temperate.

The fruitfullnesse of Hispaniola.

The second voyage of Colonus.

Corne & seeds to sow.

Tooles and artyllerie.

arrowes, crosbowes, billes, hargabusses, broade swordes, large targettes, pykes, mattocks, shouelles, hammers, nayles, sawes, axes, and such other. Thus beeing furnished accordingly, they set forward from the Ilandes of Gades (now called Cales) the seventh day before the Calendes of October, in the yeere of Christ. 1493. & arriued at the Ilandes of Canariae at the Calendes of October: Of These Ilandes, the last is called Ferrea, in which there is no other water that may be drunke, but onely that is gathered of the deawe, which continually distilleth from one onely tree, growing on the highest banke of the Iland, and falleth into a rounde trench made with mans hande: wee were enfourmed of these thinges within fewe dayes after his departure: What shall succede, we will certifie you hereafter. Thus fare ye well, from the courte, at the Ides of Nouember, 1493.

Water dropping
from a tree con-
tinually.

The seconde booke of the first Decade, to Ascanius Sphorcia, Vicount Cardinal. &c.

YOU repeate (right honourable prince) that you are desirous to knowe what newes wee haue in Spaine from the newe worlde, and that those things haue greatly delighted you which I wrote vnto your highnesse of the first Nauigation: You shall nowe therefore receiue what hath succeeded. Methymna Campi, is a famous towne in high Spayne, in respect from you, and is in that parte of Spayne which is called Castella Vetus, beeing distant from Gades about. xl. myles. Heere the court remained, when about the ix. of the Calendes of Aprill, in this yeere of ninetie and foure, there were postes sent to the king and queene, certifying, them that there were twelue shippes come from the newe Ilands, and arriued at Gades: but the gouernour of the shippes sent word to the king and queene, that hee hadde none other matter to certifie them of by the postes, but onely that the Admirall with fiue shippes, and fourescore and ten men remained still in Hispaniola to search the secretes of the Ilande, and that as touching other matters, hee himselfe would shortly make relation in their presence by worde of mouth: therefore the day before the Nones of April, hee came to the court himselfe. What I learned of him, and other faithfull and credible men, which came with him from the Admirall, I will rehearse vnto you, in such order as they declared the same to mee, when I demanded them: take it therefore as foloweth. The third day of the Ides of October, departing from Ferrea, the last of the Ilandes of Canariae, and from the coastes of Spaine, with a Nanie of seuentene shippes, they sayled xxi. daies before they came to any lande, inclining of purpose more towards the left hande then at the first voyage, following the North Northeast winde, & arriued first at the Ilandes of the Canibales or Caribes, of which onely the fame was knowne to our men. Among these, they chaunced first vpon one, so beset with trees, that they could not see so much as an elle space of bare earth or stonie ground, this they called Dominica, because they found it on the Sunday. They taried here no time, because they saw it to be desert. In the space of these xxi. daies, they thinke that they sayled eight hundred & xx. leagues, the North Northeast winde was so full with them, and so freshly followed the sterne of their ships. After they had sayled a litle further, they espied diuers Ilandes replenished with sundry kindes of trees, from the which came fragrant sauoures of spices and sweete gummes: here they sawe neyther manne nor beast, except certaine Lysartes of huge bignes, as they reported which went a land to view the country. This Iland they called Galana or Galanta: from the cape or poynt of this Iland, espying a mountaine farre of, they sayled thither. About. xxx. myles from this mountaine, they sawe a riuer descending, which seemed to be a token of some great and large flood. This is the first lande which they found inhabited from the Ilands of Canariae, and is an Ilande of the Canibales, as they learned by the interpretours which they tooke with them from Hispaniola into Spaine at their first voyage. Searching the Ilande, they found innumerable villages of xx. houses, or 30. at the most set round about in order, making the streete in compasse like a market place. And forasmuch as I haue made mention of their houses, it shal not be greatly from my purpose to describe in what manner they are builded: They are made round like belles or round paillions. Their frame is raysed of exceeding high trees, set close together, and fast rampaired in the ground, so standing aslope, and bending inward, that the toppes of the trees ioyned together, and beare one against another,

Methymna
Campi.
Castella Vetus
Gades.

The Iland of
Ferrea.

Ilands of the
Canibales.

The Iland of
Dominica.

Lysartes.

The Iland of
Galanta.

The Iland of
Guadalupe.

Villages of xx. or
xxx. houses.

The building of
their houses.

hauing also within the house certain strong and short proppes or posts which susteyne the trees from falling. They couer them with the leaues of date trees, and other trees strongly compact and hardened, wherwith they make them close from winde and weather. At the short posts or proppes within the house, they tie ropes of the cotton of gossampine trees, or other ropes made of certaine long & rough roots, much like vnto the shrubbe called Shartum, wherof in old time they vsed to make bands for vines, and gables and ropes for shippes. These they tye ouerthwart the house from post to post, on these they lay as it were certaine mattresses made of the cotton of gossampine trees, which growe plentifully in these llandes. This cotton the Spanyards call Algodon, and the Italians Bombasine: and thus they sleepe in hanging beddes. At the entrance of one of their houses, they sawe two Images of woode like vnto serpentes, which they thought had beene such idoles as they honour: but they learned afterwarde that they were set there onely for comelinesse, for they know none other God then the sunne & moone, although they make certaine images of gossampine cotton to the similitude of such phantasies as they say appeare to them in the night. Our men found in their houses, all kinds of earthen vessels, not much vnlike vnto ours. They found also in their kytchens, mans flesh, duckes flesh, & goose flesh, all in one pot, and other on the spits ready to be layd to the fire. Entring into their inner lodgings, they founde faggottes of the bones of mens armes and legges, which they reserue to make heades for their Arrowes, because they lacke iron, the other bones they cast away when they haue eaten the fle-h. They found likewise the head of a yong man fastened to a post, and yet bleeding. They haue in some villages, one great hall or pallace, about the which their common houses are placed. To this they resort, as often as they come together to play. When they perceiued the comming of our men, they fledde. In their houses they founde also aboute thirtie children captiues, which were reserued to bee eaten, but our men tooke them away to vse them for interpreters. Searching more diligently the inner parts of the llande, they found seuen other riuers, bigger then this which wee spake of before, running through the llande, with fruitfull and pleasant bankes, delectable to beholde. This llande they called Guadalupea, for the similitude that it hath to the moût Guadalupe in Spayne, where the image of the virgine Marie is religiously honoured, but the inhabitantes call it Carucueria, or Queraquiera: It is the chiefe habitatiō of the Canibales. They brought from this lland vii. Popiniayes, bigger then Phesantes, much differing from other in colour, hauing their backes, brestes, and bellies of purple colour, and their winges of other variable colours: in all these llandes is no lesse plentie of Popyniayes, then with vs of sparrowes or starelinges. As wee bring vp capons and hennes to franke and make them fat, so do they these bigger kindes of Popiniayes for the same purpose. After that they had thus searched the lland, and driuen these Canibales to flight (which ran away at their first approche, as soone as they had espyed them) they called their companie together, and as soone as they hadde broken the Canibales boates or lighters (which they call Canoas) they loosed their ankers the day before the Ides of Nouember, and departed from Guadalupea. Colonus the Admiral, for the desire he had to see his companions, which at his first voyage he left the yeere before in Hispaniola to search the country, let passe many llands both on his right hand, & left hande, and sayled directly thither. By the way there appeared from the North a great lland, which the captiues that were taken in Hispaniola, called Madanino, or Matinino, affirming it to be inhabited only with women, to whom the Canibales haue accesse at certaine times of the yeere, as in old time the Thracians hadde to the Amazonas in the llande of Lesbos: the men children they sende to their fathers, but the women they keepe with themselves. They haue great and strong caues or dennes in the grounde, to the which they flee for safegard if any men resorte vnto them at any other time then is appoynted, and there defende themselves with bowes and arrowes, against the violence of such as attempt to inuade them. They could not at this time approche to this llande by reason of the North Northeast winde, which blewe so vehemently from the same, whereas they nowe followed the East Southeast. After they departed from Madanino, and sayled by the space of xl. myles, they passed not farre from an other llande which the captiues sayde to bee very populous, and

Gossampine
cotton.Bombasine.
Hanging bedes.

Images.

Fine cockerie.

Arrowheades of
hornes.The mount
Guadalupea.

Carucueria.

Popiniayes
bigger then
Phesantes.The Canibals
driue to flight.Matinino an
llande of women.

and replenished with all things necessarie for the life of man. This they called Mons Serratus, because it was full of mountaines. The captiues further declared, that the Canibales are wont at sometime to goe from their owne coastes about a thousande myles to hunt for men. The day following they sawe another Ilande, the which because it was rounde, they called Sancta Maria Rotunda. The next day, they found another, which they called S. Martini, which they let passe also, because they had no leasure to tarry. Likewise the thirde day they espied another, whose Diametral side, extending from the East to the West, they iudged to be a hundred & fiftie myle. They affirme all these Ilandes to be maruelous faire and fruitfull: This last, they called Sancta Maria Antiqua. Sayling forward, and leauing many other Ilandes, after they had sayled about fortie myles, they chaunced vpon another, much bigger then any of the rest, which the inhabitants call Ay Ay, but they named it Insula crucis: Here they cast anker to fetch fresh water. The Admirall also commanded xxx. men to goe aland out of his owne ship, and to search the Ilande: Here they found foure dogges on the shore. The inhabitantes are Canibales, and maruelous expert in shooting, aswell women as men, and vse to infect their arrowes with poison. When they had taried there two dayes, they sawe a farre of a Canoa, in the which were eight men, and as manie women, hauing with them bowes and arrowes. They fiercely assayed our menne without all feare, and hurt some of them with their venomous arrowes. Among these there was a certaine woman, to whom the other gaue reuerence, and obeyed as though shee were their queene. Her sonne wayted vpon her, beeing a young man, strongly made, of terrible and frowning countenance, and a Lions face. Our menne, least they should take the more hurt by beeing wounded a farre of, thought it best to ioyne with them. Therefore with all speed, setting forward with their ores the brigade in which they were set a lande, they ouerturned their Canoa, with a great violence, which being ouerwhelmed, they notwithstanding, as well the women as the men, swimming, cast their dartes at our men thicke and threefolde. At the length, gathering themselues vpon a rocke couered with the water, they fought manfully vntill they were overcome and taken, one beeing slayne, and the queenes sonne sore wounded. When they were brought into the Admirals shippe, they did no more put of their fiercenes and cruel countenances, then do the Lions of Lybia when they perceiue themselves to bee bound in chaynes. There is no man able to behold them, but he shall feele his bowels grate with a certayne horror, nature hath endued them with so terrible menacing and cruell aspect. This coniecture I make of my selfe, & others which oftentimes went with me to see them at Methymna Campi: but nowe to returne to the voyage. Proceeding thus further and further, more then fife hundred myles, first towarde the West Southwest, then towarde the Southwest, and at the length towarde the West Northwest, they entred into a maine large sea, hauing in it innumerable Ilandes, marueilously differing one from another for some of them were very fruitfull, and full of hearbes and trees, other some, very drie, barren and rough, with hie rockye mountaines of stone, whereof some were of bright blew, or asurine colour, and other glistering white: wherefore they supposed them, by good reason, to be the mynes of mettalles & precious stone: but the roughnesse of the sea, and multitude of Ilandes standing so thicke together, hindered them so, that they could cast no anker, least the bigger vesselles should runne vpon the rockes: therefore they deferred the searching of these Ilandes vntill another time: they were so many, and stode so thicke, that they coulde not number them, yet the smaller vesselles which drewe no great deapth, entred among them, and numbred fourtie and sixe Ilandes, but the bigger vessels kept aloofe in the mayne sea, for feare of the rockes. They call the sea where this multitude of Ilandes are situate, Archipelagus. From this tracte proceeding forward, in the midde way there lyeth an Iland which the inhabitants call Burichina, or Buchena: but they named it Insula. S. Iohannis. Diuers of them whome we hadde deliuered from the Canibales, sayde that they were borne in this Iland, affirming it to be very populous and fruitfull, hauing also many faire woodes and hauens. There is deadly hatred and continuall battaile betweene them and the Canibales. They haue no boates to passe from their own coasts to the Canibales: but if it bee their chance to overcome them when they

The Ilandes of
Mons Serratus.

Hunting for
men.

Sancta Maria
Rotunda.
Sanctus Martinus.

Sancta Maria
Antiqua.

Insula crucis, an
Iland of the Canibales.

The Canibales
are expert Archers.

Arrowes infected
with venime.

A Conflict with
the Canibales.

The fiercenes
and terrible
countenance of
the Canibales.

Methymna
Campi.

Innumerable
Ilandes.

The Mynes of
mettals & precious
stones.

The sea called
Archipelagus.

Insula. S. Iohannis
or Buchena.

they make incursion into their cuntry to seeke their pray (as it sometime happeneth, the fortune of warre being vncertaine) they serue them like sause, requiring death for death. For one of them mangleth another in pices, and rost them, and cate them euen before their eyes. They taryed not in this llande: Yet in the West angle thereof, a fewe of them went a lande for fresh water, and found a great and high house after the manner of their building, hauing. xii. other of their vulgare cotages placed about the same, but were all left desolate, whether it were that they resorted to the mountains by reason of the heate which was that time of the yeece, and to returne to the plaine when the ayre waxeth colder, or else for feare of the Canibales which make incursion into the llande at certaine seasons. In all this lland is onely one king. The South side hereof extendeth about two hundreth myles. Shortly after, they came to the llande of Hispaniola, beeing distant from the first llande of the Canibales, fīue hundreth leagues. Here they found all things out of order, and their fellowes slaine which they left here at their first voyage. In the beginning of Hispaniola (hauing in it many regions and kingdomes as wee haue sayde) is the region of Xamana, whose king is named Guaccanarillus. This Guaccanarillus ioyned friendship with our men at the first voyage, and made a league with them: but in the absence of the Admirall, he rebelled, and was the cause of our mens destructiō, although he dissimuled the same, and pretended friendship at the Admiralls returne. As our men sayled on yet a litle further they espied a long Canoa with many ores, in which was the brother of Guaccanarillus, with onely one man waiting on him. He brought with him two images of golde, which hee gaue the Admirall in the name of his brother, and tolde a tale in his language as concerning the death of our men, as they proued afterwarde, but at this time hadde no regarde to his communication for lacke of interpretours, which were eyther all dead, or escaped and stolne away when they drew neare to the llands. But of the ten, seuen dyed by chaunge of ayre and dyet. The inhabitantes of these llandes haue beene euer so vsed to liue at libertie, in play and pastime, that they canne hardly away with the yoke of seruitude, which they attempted to shake of by all meanes they may. And surely if they had receiued our religion I woulde thinke their life most happie of all menne, if they might therewith enioy their auncient libertie. A fewe thinges content them, hauing no delight in such superfluities, for the which in other places menne take infinite paynes, and commit manie vnlawfull actes, and yet are neuer satisfied, whereas manie haue too much, and none enough. But among these simple soules, a fewe clothes serue the naked: weightes and measures are not needfull to such as cannot skill of craft and deceite, and haue not the vse of pestiferous money, the seed of innumerable mischeiues: so that if we shall not bee ashamed to confesse the trueth, they seeme to liue in that golden worlde of the which olde writers speake so much, wherein menne liued simply and innocently without enforcement of lawes, without quarrelling, iudges, and libelles, content onely to satisfie nature, without further vexation for knowledge of things to come. Yet these naked people also are tormēted with ambition, for the desire they haue to enlarge their dominions: by reasō wherof, they keep war and destroy one another, from the which plague I suppose the golden world was not free. For euen then also, Cede non cedam, that is, giue place, and I will not giue place, had entred among men. But nowe to returne to the matter from which wee haue digressed. The Admiral desirous to know further of the death of his men, sent for Guaccanarillus to come to him to his ship, dissimuling that he knew any thing of the matter, after that he came aboard ship, saluting the Admirall and his company, giuing also certaine golde to the capitaines and officers, turned him to the women captiues, which not long before our men had deliuered from the Canibales, and earnestly beholding one of them whom our men called Katherine, he spake gently vnto her. And thus when hee had scene and marueyled at the horses, and such other thinges as were in the shippe, vnknowne to them, and had with a good grace and merily asked leaue of the Admirall, he departed. Yet some there were which counselled the Admirall to keepe him still, that if they might by any meanes prouee that he was consenting to the death of our men, he might be punysshed accordingly. But the Admirall considering that it was yet no time to incense the inhabitantes mindes to wrath, dismissed him.

Death for death.

The mountaine
are colder than
the playnes.From Dominica
to Hispaniola
fīue hundred
leagues.The Spanyards
left in the lland
are slaine.King Guaccanarillus
rebelled.
Two Images of
golde.Libertie and
idleness.A happie kind of
life.
Superfluitie.Many haue too
much, & none
enough.The golden
worlde.Naked men
troubled with
ambition.

Giue place.

The Admirall
sendeth for the
king.No horses in
the llandes.

him. The next day following, the kinges brother resorting to the shippes, eyther in his owne name or in his brothers, seduced the women. For on the next night about midnight, this Katherine, aswell to recouer her owne libertie, as also her fellowes, being suborned thereto either by the king or his brothers promises, attempted a much more difficult and dangerous aduenture then did Cloelia of Rome, which beeing in hostage with other maydes to the king Porcena, deceiued her keepers, and rode ouer the riuer Tiber, with the other virgins which were pledges with her. For whereas they swamme ouer the riuer on horse-backe, this Katherine with seuen other women, trusting onely to the strength of their owne armes, swam aboue three long myles, and that also at such time as the sea was somewhat rough: for euen so farre of from the shore lay the shippes at rode, as nigh as they coule coniecture. But our men following them with the shipboates, by the same light scene on the shore, wherby the women were ledde, tooke three of them, supposing that Katherine with the other foure, went to Guaccanarillus: for in the spring of the morning, certaine messengers being sent vnto him by the Admirall, had intelligence that hee was fled with all his familie and stuffe, and the women also, which thing ministred further suspicion that hee was consenting to the death of our men. Wherefore the Admirall sent forth an armie of three hundred men, ouer the which he appointed one Melchior to be capitaine, willing him to make diligent search to finde out Guaccanarillus. Melchior therefore with the smallest vesselles entring into the countrey by the riuers, and scouring the shores, chaunced into certaine crooked goulfes, defended with fiew litle & steepe hils, supposing that it hadde been the mouth of some great riuer. He founde here also a very commodious and safe hauen, & therefore named it Portus Regalis. They say that the entrance of this is so crooked and bending, that after the ships are once within the same, whether they turne them to the left had, or to the right they can not perceiue where they came in, vntill they returne to the mouth of the riuer, although it be there so broad that three of the biggest vessels may sayle together on a front. The sharpe and high hilles on the one side and on the other, so brake the winde, that they were vncertaine how to rule their sayles. In the middle gulfes of the riuer, there is a promontorie or point of the land with a pleasant groue, full of Popiniayes and other birdes, which breede therein & sing very sweetly: They perceiued also that two riuers of no smal largenesse fell into the hauen. While they thus searched the lande betweene both, Melchior espied a high house a farre of, where supposing that Guaccanarillus had lye hid, hee made towarde it: and as he was going, there met him a man with a frowning countenance, and a grymme looke with a hundred men following him, armed with bowes and arrowes, and long and sharpe stauies like iaelynnes, made harde at the endes with fire, who approching towardes our men, spake out aloud with a terrible voyce, saying that they were Taini (that is) noble men, and not Canibales: but when our men had giuen them signes of peace, they left both their weapons and fiercenesse. Thus giuing each of them certaine hawkes bels, they tooke it for so great a rewarde, that they desired to enter bonds of neare friendship with vs, and feared not immediatly to submit themselues vnder our power, and resorted to our shippes with their presentes. They that measured the house (being made in round forme) found it to be from side to side xxxii. great paces, compassed about with xxx. other vulgare houses, hauing in them many beames crosse ouer, & couered with reedes of sundry colours, wrethed & as it were weaued with marueilous art. When our men asked some of them where they might find Guaccanarillus? They answered, that that region was none of his, but their kinges, being there present: Yet they sayde they supposed that Guaccanarillus was gone from the playne to the mountaines. Making therefore a brotherly league with this Cacicus (that is to say a king) they returned to the Admirall, to make relation what they hadde seene and heard: whereupon he sent forth diuers other Centurians with their hundredes, to search the countrey yet further: among which were Hoiedus and Gorualanus, noble young gentlemen, and of great courage. And as they went towarde the mountaines to seeke Guaccanarillus, diuiding the mountaines betweene them, one of them found on the one side thereof, foure riuers falling from the same mountaynes, and the other founde three on the other side. In the sands of all these riuers is founde great plentie

A time for all things.

A desperate aduenture of a woman.

Cloelia of Rome.

Guaccanarillus sought. Melchior.

Popiniayes and birdes.

Taini.

Hawkes bels.

A large house.

Reedes of sundry colours.

Cacicus.

Hoiedus and Gorualanus.

Gold in riuers falling from mountaines.

The manner of
gathering golde.
Graines of golde.

A masse of rude
golde weighing
nine ounces.

Caunaboa, king
of the house of
golde.
Holsome water,
and plenty of
fish.
The day and
night of equall
length in De-
cember.
Birdes breede
in December.
The eleuation
of the pole.
The starres are
called guardes
of the pole.

The Equinoctial
line.

A chappel and
priestes.

Marchantes Sy-
rophenicians.

The Cinamome
tree.

Xiloloes, or
lignum aloes.

plentie of golde, which the inhabitantes of the same llande which were with vs, gathered in this manner: making holes in the sande with their handes a Cubite deepe, and taking vp sande with their left handes from the bottome of the same, they picked out graines of golde with their right handes without any more art or cunning, and so deliuered it to our men, who affirme that many of them thus gathered, were as bigge as tares or fitches. And I my selfe sawe a masse of rude golde (that is to say, such as was neuer moulted) like vnto such stones as are founde in the bottomes of riuers, weighing nine ounces, which Hoieda himselfe founde. Being contented with these signes, they returned to the Admirall to certifie him hereof. For the Admirall had commaunded vnder payne of punishment, that they should meddle no further then their commission: which was onely, to search the places with their signes. For the same went that there was a certaine king of the mountaines from whence those riuers had their fall, whom they cal Cacicus Caunaboa, that is, the Lord of the house of gold, for they call a house Boa, golde, Cauni, and a king or Lorde Cacicus, as we haue sayde before. They affirme that there can no where bee found better fish, nor of more pleasant tast, or more holsome then in these riuers: also the waters of the same to bee most holsome to drinke. Melchior himselfe tolde me, that in the moneth of December, the daies and nights be of equall length among the Canibales: but the sphere or circles of the heauen agreeth not thereunto, albeit that in the same moneth, some birdes make their nestes, and some haue already hatched their egges by reason of the heate, being rather continuall then extreme. He tolde me also when I questioned with him as concerning the eleuation of the pole from the horizontal line, that all the starres called Planstrum or Charles wayne, are hid vnder the North pole to the Canibales. And surely there returned none from thence at this voyage, to whom there is more credit to be giuen, than to this man. But if he had bin skilfull in Astronomie, he shoulde haue sayde that the day was almost equal with the night: For in no place towards the stay of the sun (called Solsticium) can the night be equall with the day. And as for them, they neuer came vnder the Equinoctial, forasmuch as they hadde euer the North pole their guide, and euer eleuate in sight about the Horizontal. Thus haue I briefly written vnto your honour, as much as I thought sufficient at this time, and shall shortly hereafter (by Gods fauour) write vnto you more largely of such matters as shall bee daily better knowne. For the Admirall himselfe (whom I v-e familiarly as my verie friende) hath promised me by his letters, that he will giue me knowledge of all such thinges as shall chance. He hath now chosen a strong place where he may build a city, neare vnto a comodious hauen, and hath already builded many houses, & a chapel, in the which (as in a newe worlde heretofore voyde of all religion) God is dayly serued with xiii. priestes, according to the manner of our churches. When the time nowe approached that hee promised to sende to the King and Queene, and hauing prosperous winde for that purpose, sent backe the xii. Carauelles, wherof we made mention before: which was no small hinderance and grieue vnto him, especially considering the death of his men whom hee left in the llande at the first voyage, whereby we are yet ignorant of many places and other secretes, whereof wee might otherwise haue had further knowledge: but as time shall reueale them againe, so will I aduertise you of the same. And that you may the better knowe by conference hadde with the Apothecaries and marchaunt strangers Sirophenicians, what this Regions beare, & how hot their ground is, I haue sent you all kindes of graynes, with the barke and inner partes of that tree which they suppose to be the Cinamome tree. And if it bee your pleasure to tast either of the graines, or of the small seedes, the which you should perceiue to haue fallen from these graynes, or of the wood it selfe, touch them first softly, mouing them to your lippes, for although they be not hurtfull, yet for their excesse of heate, they are sharpe, and bite the tongue if they remaine any while thereon: but if the tongue be blistered by tasting of them, the same is taken away by drinking of water. Of the corne also wherof they make their bread, this bringer shall deliuer some graines to your Lordship, both white and blacke, and therewith also a trunke of the tree of Aloes, the which if you cut in peeces, you shall feelee a sweete sauour to proceede from the same. Thus fare you hartily well, from the Court of Methymna Campi, the third day before the Calendes of May. Anno Dom. 1494.

The

The thirde booke of the first Decade, to Lodouike Cardinall of Aragonie, and Ne-
uiewe to the King.

YOU desire that foolish Phaeton should againe rule the chariots of the Sunne, and con-
tende to drawe sweete licours out of the harde flint, whereas you require mee to describe
vnto you the newe world, found in the West by the good fortune and gouernance of the
Catholique Princes Ferdinandus and Elizabeth, your Vncle and Aunte, shewing me also the
letters of king Frederike your Vncle, written to me in that behalfe: But sith you haue layde
this burden on my backe, in whose power it is to commaunde mee to take vpon mee more
then I am well able, yee both shall receiue this precious stone rudely closed in lead after my
manner of workmanship. Wherefore, when you shall perceiue the learned sort friendly,
the malicious enuiously, and the hackbiters furiously, to bend their slaunderous darts against
our faire Nymphes of the Ocean, you shall freely protest in howe short time, and in the mid-
dest of what troubles and calamities you haue enforced me to write of the same. Thus fare
you well, from Granata the ninth day before the Calendes of May.

We haue declared in the booke here before, how the Admirall passed by the coasts of the
Canibals, to the Iland of Hispaniola with his whole naue: But nowe wee entende further to
shewe what hee found as concerning the nature of this Ilande, after that he had better
searched the secretes of the same: Likewise of the Iland of Cuba neare vnto it, which he
supposed to be the firme lande. Hispaniola therefore (which hee affirmeth to bee Ophir,
whereof wee reade in the thirde booke of the kinges) is of latitude fise South degrees,
hauing the North pole eleuate on the North side xxvii. degrees, and on the South side (as
they say) xxii. degrees, it reacheth in length from East to West, seuen hundred and foure-
score myles, it is distant from the Ilands of Gades (called Cales) xlix. degrees, and more,
as some say: the fourme of the Ilande resembleth the leafe of a Chesnutte tree. Vpon a
high hill on the North side of the Ilande, hee builded a cittie, because this place was most
apt for that purpose, by reason of a myne of stones which was neare vnto the same, seruing
well both to builde with, and also to make Lyme: at the bottome of this hill, is there a great
playne of threescore myles in length, and in breadth somewhere xii. somewhere xx. myles
where it is broadest, & sixe myles where it is narrowest: through this playne runne diuers
sayre riuers of wholesome waters, but the greatest of them, which is nauigable, falleth into
the haue of the citie for the space of halfe a furlong: how fertile and fruitful this valley is,
you shall vnderstande by these thinges whiche followe. On the shore of this riuer, they haue
limitted and enclosed certaine ground, to make gardens and orchaydes, in the which all
kinde of bigger hearbes, as radishe, letuse, coleworts, borage, & such other, waxe ripe
within xvi. daies after the seed is sowed, likewise Melones, Gourdes, Cucumers, and such
other, within the space of xxxvi. dayes, these garden hearbes they haue fresh and greene
all the whole yeere. Also the roots of the canes or reedes of the licour whereof sugar is
made, growe a cubite high within the space of xv. dayes, but the licour is not yet hardened.
The like they affirme of plantes or shroudes of young vines, and that they haue the seconde
yeere gathered ripe and sweete grapes of the same: but by reason of to much rankenesse
they beare but fewe clusters. Furthermore, a man of the countrey sowed a little Wheate
about the Calendes of Februarie, and brought with him to the citie an handfull of the ripe
eares of the same the third day before the Calends of Aprill, which was that yeere the vigile
of the Resurrection of our Lord. Also, all kindes of pulse, as beanes, peason, fitches, tares,
& such other, are ripe twise in the yeere, as all they which come from thence affirme with
one voyce, yet the ground is not vniuersally apt to beare wheate. In the meane time while
these thinges were doing, the Admirall sent out a companie of xxx. men to search the Region
of Cipanga, otherwise called Cibana. This Region is full of mountaynes and rockes, and in
the middle backe of the whole Ilande is great plentie of Golde. When they that went to
search the Region were returned, they reported maruelous things as touching the great riches
of this Region. From these mountaines, descend foure great riuers, which by the maruelous
industry of nature, diuideth the whole Iland into foure partes, in maner equal, ouerspreading
& watering

Hispaniola.

Ophir, whither
Solomons ships
sailed for Golde.

Isabella.

A token of mar-
uelous fruitfulness.

Herbs greene
all the whole
yeere.
Sugar reedes,
Plantes and
vines.

Corn & graine
ripe twise a
yeere.

The region of
Cipanga, or Ci-
bana.
Golde.

& watering the whole Iland with their branches. Of these foure riuers, the one reacheth towarde the East, this the inhabitantes call Iunna: another towarde the West, and is called Attibunicus: the thirde toward the North, named Iachem, the last reacheth into the South, and is called Naiba. The day before the Ides of March, the Admirall himselfe, with all his horsemen, and foure hundred footemen, marched directly towarde the Southside of the golden Region. Thus passing ouer the riuier, the playne, and the mountaine which enuironed the other side of the playne, hee chaunced vpon another vale, with a riuier much bigger then the first, and many other meane riuers running through. When he had also conueighed his army ouer the riuier, and passed the seconde vale, which was in no part inferior to the first, he made away through the thirde mountaine where was no passage before, and descended into another vale, which was nowe the beginning of Cibana. Through this also runne many floudes and riuers out of euery hill, and in the sandes of them all is founde great pientie of golde. And when hee hadde nowe entred threescore and twelue myles into the golden Region from the cittie, he intended to builde a fortresse vppon the toppe of a hill, standing by the shore of a certaine great riuier, that hee might the better and more safely search the secretes of the inner partes of the Region: this hee called the fortresse of saint Thomas, the which in the meane time, while hee was building, the inhabitantes beeing desirous of hawkes belles, and other of our thinges, resorted daily thither, to whom the Admirall declared, that if they would bring golde, they should haue whatsoever they woulde aske. Foorthwith turning their backs, and turning to the shore of the next riuier, they returned in a shorte time, bringing with them their handes full of golde. Amongst all other, there came an olde man, bringing with him two pibble stones of golde, weighing an ounce, desiring them to giue him a bell for the same: who when hee sawe our men marueyle at the bignesse thereof, he made signes that they were but small and of no value in respect of some that he had seene, and taking in his hande foure stones, the least whereof was as bigge as a Walnut, and the biggest as bigge as an Orange, hee sayd that there was founde peeces of gold so bigge in his countrey, being but halfe a dayes iourney from thence, and that they had no regarde to the gathering thereof, whereby we perceiued that they passe not much for golde, inasmuch as it is golde only, but so farre esteeme it, as the hande of the Artificer hath fashioned it in any comely fourme. For who doth greatly esteeme rough marble, or vnwrought Iuorie? but if they be wrought with the cunning hande of Phidias or Praxiteles, and shaped to the similitude of the faire Nymphes or Fairies of the sea (called Nerciades) or the Fayries of the woods (called Hamadriades) they shall neuer lacke buyers. Beside this old man, there came also diuers other, bringing with them pybble stones of golde, weighing x. or xii. drammes, & feared not to confesse, that in the place where they gathered that golde, there were found sometime stones of golde as bigge as the head of a child. When he had taried here a few dayes, he sent one Luxanus, a noble yōg gentleman, with a few armed men, to search all the partes of this region: who at his returne, reported that the inhabitants shewed him greater thinges then we haue spoken of herebefore, but he did openly declare nothing thereof, which they thought was done by the Admirals commandement. They haue woods ful of certaine spices, but not such as wee commonly vse: these they gather euen as they doe gold, that is, as much as will serue for their purpose, euery man for himselfe, to exchange the same with the inhabitants of other countreys adioyning to them, for such thinges as they lacke, as dyshes, pottes, stooles, and such other necessities. As Luxanus returned to the Admirall (which was about the Ides of March) hee founde in the woodes certaine wilde vines, ripe, and of pleasant tast, but the inhabitantes passe not on them. This region, though it be full of stones & rockes (and is therefore called Cibana, which is as much to say as a stone) yet it is well replenished with trees and pastures, yea they constantly affirme, that if the grasse of these mountaines be cutte, it groweth againe within the space of foure daies higher then wheate. And forasmuch as many shoures of raine doe fall in this region, whereof the ryuers and floudes haue their encrease, in euery of the which golde is founde mixt with sande in all places, they iudge that the golde is driuen from the mountaines, by the vehement course of the streames which fall from the same, and runne

The golden region of Cibana.

The vale of Cibana.

Golde for hawkes belles.

Graynes and pibble stones of golde.

They passe not for golde, in that it is golde only but, &c.

Stones of gold as big as the head of a child.

Spices.

Wilde vines of pleasant tast.

Fruitful mountaynes.

Golde in the sand of riuers falling from the mountaines.

runne into the riuers. The people of this region are giuen to idlenesse and play, for such as inhabite the mountaines, sit quaking for colde in the Winter season, and had rather to wander vp and downe idly, then take the paynes to make them apparell, whereas they haue woodes full of Gossampine cotton: but such as dwell in the vallies or playnes feeles no colde in Winter. When the Admirall hadde thus searched the beginning of the region of Cibana, he repared to Isabella (for so hee named the citie) where, leauing the gouernance of the Ilande with his Deputies, hee prepared himselfe to search further the limittes of the Ilande of Cuba or Iohanna, which hee yet doubted to bee the firme lande, and distant from Hispaniola onely lxx. myles. This did hee with more speedie expedition, calling to remembrance the Kinges commaundement, who willed him first with all celeritie, to ouerrunne the coastes of the new Ilands, least any other Prince should in the meane time attempt to inuade the same, for the King of Portugale affirmed that it pertained only to him to discouer these vnknowne lands: but the bishop of Rome, Alexander the sixt, to auoide the cause of this dissention, granted to the king of Spaine by the authoritie of his leaden bulles, that no other Prince should bee so bold, as to make any voyages to any of these vnknowne Regions, liing without the precinct of a direct lyne drawn from the North to the South a hundred leagues Westwarde, without the paralels of the Ilandes called Capud Virde, or Cabouerde, which wee thinke to be those which in old tyme were called Hesperides: these pertaine to the King of Portugale, and from these his Pylotes, which doe yeerely search newe coastes and regions, direct their course to the East, sayling euer towarde the left hande by the backe of Aphrike, and the seas of the Ethiopians: neither to this day had the Portugales at any time sayled Southwarde or Westwarde from the Ilandes of Cabouerde. Preparing therefore three shippes, he made hast towarde the Ilande of Iohanna or Cuba, whither he came in short space, and named the point thereof, where hee first arriued, Alpha and O, that is, the first and the last: for he supposed that there had bene the ende of our East, because the sunne falleth there, and of the West, because it riseth there. For it is apparant, that Westwarde, it is the beginning of India beyonde the riuier of Ganges, and Eastwarde, the furthest ende of the same: which thing is not contrary to reason, forasmuch as the Cosmographers haue left the limittes of India beyond Ganges vndetermined, whereas also some were of opinion, that India was not farre from the coastes of Spaine, as we haue said before. Within the prospect of the beginning of Cuba, hee found a commodious hauen in the extreme angle of the Ilande of Hispaniola, for in this parte the Ilande receiueth a great goulfe: this hauen hee named Saint Nicolas porte, being scarcely twentie leagues from Cuba. As hee departed from hence, and sayled Westwarde by the Southside of Cuba, the further that he went, so much the more the sea seemed to be extended in breadth, and to bende towarde the South. On the South side of Cuba, hee founde an Ilande which the inhabitantes call Iamaica, this he affirmeth to be longer & broder then the Iland of Scicile, hauing in it onely one mountaine, which on euery part beginning from the sea, ryseth by litle and litle into the midst of the Ilande, and that so playnely without roughnesse, that such as goe vppe to the toppe of the same, can scarcely perceiue that they ascende: This Ilande hee affirmeth to be very fruitful and full of people, aswell in the inner partes of the same, as by the shore, and that the inhabitants are of quicker witte then the other Ilandes, and more expert Artificers, and warlike men: For in many places where hee would haue arriued, they came armed against him, and forbode him with threatning wordes: but being overcome, they made a league of friendship with him. Thus departing from La Maica, he sayled toward the West, with a prosperous winde, for the space of threescore and tenne daies thinking that he had passed so far by the compasse of the earth being vnderneath vs, that he had bin neere vnto Aurea Chersonesus (now called Malaccha) in our East India, beyond the beeginning of Persides: for he plainly beleued that he had left only two of the twelue houres of the sunne, which were vnknown to vs, for the olde writers haue left halfe the course of the sunne vntouched, wheras they haue but only discussed that superficial parte of the earth which lyeth betweene the Ilandes of Gades, and the riuier of Ganges, or at the vttermost, to Aurea Chersonesus. In this Nauigation, he chaunced on manie furious seas, running with a fall as it

Libertie and idlenesse. The mountaines are colde.

The Iland of Cuba.

Least any other prince, &c.

Dissention betweene the Portugales and Spaniards.

The Ilandes of Cabouerde or Hesperides.

The Portugales voyages.

The end of the East and West.

Note. India not farre from Spaine.

Saint Nicholas porte.

The Iland of Iamaica.

Quickie witted people.

The compassing of the earth.

Aurea Chersonesus, or Malaccha.

A secrete of Astronomie. The riuier of Ganges.

Dangerous
straights by
reason of many
Ilandes.

A large hauen.

Rosted fish &
serpents of viii.
foote long.

Crocodiles of
Egypt.

The kinges
fishers.

Serpents esteem-
ed for delicate
meate.

Blossomes &
fruites both at
one time.

had beene the streames of floudes, also many whirle-pooles, and shelles, with many other dangers, and strayghts, by reason of the multitude of Ilandes which lay on euery side. But not regarding all these perilles, hee determined to proceed, vntil he had certaine knowledge whether Cuba were an Ilande, or firme lande. Thus he sayled forward, coasting euer by the shore toward the West for the space of CC.xxii. leagues, that is, about a thousande and three hundred myles, and gaue names to seuen hundred Ilandes by the way, leauing also on the left hande (as he feared not to report) three thousand here and there. But let vs nowe retorne to such thinges as hee founde woorthy to be noted in this Nauigation. Sayling therefore by the side of Cuba, and searching the nature of the places, he espied not farre from Alpha and O a large hauen, of capacity to harborowe many shippes, whose entrance is bending, beeing inclosed on both sides with capes or poyntes which receiue the water: this hauen is large within, and of exceeding depth. Sayling by the shore of this porte, hee sawe not farre from the same, two cotages, couered with reedes, and in many places fire kindled. Here he sent certaine armed men out of the shippes to the cottages, where they found neither man nor woman, but rostmeate enough, for they found certaine spittes of woode lying at the fire, hauing fishe on them about an hundred pounce weight, and two serpentes of eyght foote long a peece whereat marueiling, and looking about if they could espie anie of the inhabitantes, and that none appeared in sight (for they fledde all to the mountaines at the comming of our men) they fell to their meate, and to the fish taken with other mens traualle, but they abstained from the serpents, which they affirme to differ nothing from the Crocodiles of Egypt, but only in bignes: for (as Plinie sayth) Crocodiles haue sometimes bin found of xviii. cubits long, but of these the biggest were but of eight foote. Thus being wel refreshed, they entred into the next wood where they found many of the same kinde of serpentes, hanging vpon boughes of trees, of the which, some had their mouthes tyed with stringes, and some their teeth taken out. And as they searched the places neere vnto the hauen, they sawe about lxx. men in the top of a high rocke, which fled as soone as they had espied our menne: who by signes and tokens of peace calling them againe, there was one which came neere them, and stood on the toppe of a rocke, seeming as though he were yet fearefull: but the Admirall sent one Didacus to him, a man of the same country, whom he had at his first voyage taken in the Ilande of Guanahani, being neere vnto Cuba, willing him to come neare, and not to be afraide. When he hearde Didacus speake to him in his owne tongue, he came boldly to him, and shortly after resorted to his companie, perswading them to come without all feare. After this message was done, there descended from the rockes to the shippes, about threescore and ten of the inhabitants, profering friendship and gentlenesse to our men: which the Admirall accepted thankfully, and gaue them diuers rewards, & that he rather, for that he had intelligence by Didacus the interpreter, that they were the kinges fishers, sent of their Lorde to take fish against a solemne feast which hee prepared for another king. And whereas the Admiralles men had eaten the fish which they left at the fire, they were the gladder thereof, because they had left the serpentes: for there is nothing among their delicate dishes, that they esteeme so much as these serpentes, in so much that it is more lawfull for common people to eate of them, then Peacocks or Phesantes among vs: as for the fishes, they doubted not to take as many more the same night. Being asked why they first roasted the fish which they intended to beare to the King? they answered, that they might be the fresher and vncorrupted. Thus ioyning handes for a token of further friendship, euery man resorted to his owne. The Admirall went forward as he had appoynted, following the falling of the sunne from the beginning of Cuba, called Alpha and O: the shores or sea bankes euen vnto this hauen, albeit they bee full of trees, yet are they rough with mountaines: of these trees, some were full of blossomes and flowres, and other laden with fruites. Beyond the hauen, the lande is more fertile and populous, whose inhabitantes are more gentle, and more desirous of our thinges: for as soone as they had espied our shippes, they flocked all to the shore, bringing with them such breade as they are accustomed to eate, and gourdes full of water, offering them vnto our men, and further, desiring them to come alande. In all these Ilandes is a certaine kinde of trees as bigge as Elmes,

Elmes, which beare gourdes in the steede of fruites, these they vse onely for drinking pottes, and to fetch water in, but not for meate, for the inner substance of them is sowrer then gall, and the hark as harde as any shell. At the Ides of May, the watchmen looking out of the top castle of the shippe, towards the South, sawe a multitude of Ilandes standing thicke together, being all well replenished with trees, grasse, and hearbes, and well inhabited: in the shore of the continent, hee chaunced into a nauigable riuer, whose water was so hot, that no man might endure to abide his hand therein any time. The day following, espying a farre of a Canoa of fishermen of the inhabitantes, fearing least they shoulde flee at the sight of our men, he commanded certaine to assaile them priuily with the ship-boates: but they fearing nothing, taryed the comming of our men. Nowe shall you heare a newe kinde of fishing. Like as wee with Greyhoundes doe hunt Hares in the playne fieldes, so doo they, as it were with a hunting fishe, take other fishes: this fish was of shape or fourme vnknown to vs, but the body thereof not much vnlike a great yeele, hauing on the hinder parte of the head a very tough skinne, like vnto a great bagge or purse: this fish is tyed by the side of the boate with a corde, let downe so farre into the water that the fish may lie close hid by the keele or bottome of the same, for shee may in no case abide the sight of the ayre. Thus when they espie any great fish, Tortoyse (whereof there is great abundance, bigger then great targettes) they let the corde at length, but when she feeleth her selfe loosed, she inuadeth the fish or Tortoyse as swiftly as an arrowe, and where she hath once fastened her hold, she casteth the purse of skinne, whereof we spake before, and by drawing the same together, so graspereth her pray, that no mans strength is sufficient to vnloose the same, except by little and litle drawing the lyne, shee bee lifted somewhat aboue the brimme of the water, for then, as soone as she seeth the brightnesse of the ayre, shee letteth goe her holde. The pray therefore beeing now drawn neere to the brimme of the water, there leapeth sodenly out of the boate into the sea, so many fishers as may suffice to holde fast the pray, vntill the rest of the company haue taken it into the boate. Which thing done, they loose so much of the corde, that the hunting fish may againe returne to her place within the water, whereby another corde, they let downe to her a peece of the pray, as we vse to rewarde greyhoundes after they haue killed their game. This fish, they cal Guaicanium, but our men call it Reuersum. They gaue our men foure Tortoyse taken by this meanes, and those of such biggnesse, that they almost filled their fishing boate: for these fishes are esteemed among them for delicate meate. Our men recompenced them againe with other rewardes, and so let them depart. Being asked of the compasse of that lande, they answered that it had no ende Westwarde. Most instantly they desired the Admirall to come a lande, or in his name to send one with them to salute their Cazicus, (that is) their king, affirming that hee woulde giue our men many presentes, if they would goe to him. But the Admirall, least he should be hindered of the voyage which he had begunne, refused to goe with them. Then they desired to knowe his name, and tolde our men likewise the name of their king. Thus sayling on yet further euer towarde the West, within fewe dayes he came neere vnto a certaine exceeding high mountaine, wel inhabited by reason of the great fertilitie of the same. The inhabitantes of this mountaine, brought to our ship, bread, gossampine cotton, conies, & sundry kindes of wilde foule, demanding religiously of the interpretores, if this nation descended not from heauen. The king of this people, and diuers other sage men that stood by him, informed him that that Iland was no Iland. Shortly after, entring into one of the Ilandes being on the left hande of this Iland they found no bodie therein, for they fled all at the comming of our men: Yet founde they there foure dogges of maruelous deformed shape, & such as coulde not barke. This kind of dogges, they eate as we doe goates. Here is great plenty of geese, ducks, and hearons. Betweene these Ilandes and the continent, he entered into so narrowe streightes, that hee coulde scarcely turne backe the shippes, and these also so shalow, that the keele of the ships sometime rased on the sands. The water of these streights, for the space of fourtie myles, was white and thicke, like vnto mylke, and as though meale had bene sparkled throughout all that sea. And when they hadde at the length escaped

Trees which
beare gourdes.

A multitude of
Ilandes.

Hotte water.

A strange kinde
of fishing.

Abundance of
Tortoyse.

Fisher men.

The fish
Guaicanium.

Humane peo-
ple.

A Mountaine
fruitfull & wel
inhabited.

Dogges of
strange shape
and dumme.

White and
thicke water.

escaped these straights, & were now come into a maine & large sea, and hadde sayled thereon for the space of fourescore myles, they espied an other exceeding high mountaine, whether the Admirall resorted to store his shippes with fresh water and fuell. Heere among certaine woodes of Date trees, & pyne apple trees of exceeding height, hee founde two nauie springes of fresh water. In the meane time, while the woode was cutting, and the barrellles filling, one of our archers went into the woode to hunt, where he espied a certaine man with a white vesture, so like a fryer of the order of saynt Marie of Mercedis, that at the first sight he supposed it had bin the Admirals priest, which he brought with him, being a man of the same order: but two other followed him immediately out of the same woodes. Shortly after, hee sawe a far of a whole companie of men clothed in apparel, being about xxx. in number. Then turning his backe, and crying out to his fellowes, hee made hast to the shippes with all that he might driue. These apparell men, made signes and tokens to him to tary, and not to be afraid, but that not withstanding he ceased not to flee. The Admirall being aduertised hereof, and not a little reioycing that hee hadde founde a ciuile people, incontinently sent fourth armed menne, with commandement that if neede shoulde so require, they should enter fourtie myles into the llande, vntill they might finde eyther those apparell men, or other inhabitauntes of that country. When they had passed ouer the wood, they came into a great plaine ful of grasse and hearbes, in which appeared no token of any pathway. Here attempting to goe through the grasse and hearbes, they were so entangled and bewrapt therein, that they were scarcely able to passe a myle, the grasse beeing there litle lower then our ripe corne: being therefore wearyed, they were enforced to returne agayne, finding no pathway. The day following he sent fourth xxv. armed men another way, commanding them to make diligent search and inquisition what maner of people inhabited the land: Whō departing, when they had found, not farre from the sea side, certaine steps of wilde beastes, of the which they suspected some to be of Lions feete, being stricken with feare, returned backe agayne. As they came, they founde a woode in the which were many natie vines, here and there creeping about high trees, with many other trees bearing aromatical fruites and spices. Of these vines they brought with them into Spayne many clusters of grapes, very ponderous, and full of licour: but of the other fruites they brought none, because they putrified by the way in the ship, & were cast into the sea. They say also that in the landes or medowes of those woodes, they sawe flockes of great Cranes, twice as bigge as ours. As hee went forward, and turned his sayles towarde certaine other mountaines, hee espied two cotages on the shore, in the which he saw onely one man, who being brought to the shippe, signified with head, fingers, and by all other signes that he coulde deuise, that the land which lay beyonde those mountaines was very full of people: and as the Admirall drew neere the shore of the same, there met him certaine Canoaes, hauing in them many people of the country, who made signes and tokens of peace and friendship. But here Didacus the interpretour, which vnderstoode the language of the inhabitants of the beginning of Cuba, vnderstoode not them one whit, whereby they considered that in sundry prouinces of Cuba, were sundry languages. He had also intelligence, that in the llande of this region was a king of great power, and accustomed to weare apparell: hee sayde that all the tracte of this shore was drowned with water, and ful of mudde, besette with many trees, after the manner of our marishes: Yet whereas in this place they went alande for freshe water, they found many of the shel fishes in the which pearles are gathered. But that coulde not cause the Admirall to tracte the time there, entending at this voyage, only to proue how many lands & seas he could discouer according to the kings commandement. As they yet proceeded forward, they sawe here and there all the way along by the shore, a great smoake rysing, vntill they came to another mountaine fourescore myles distant, there was no rocke or hill that coulde be seene, but the same was all of a smoake. But whether the fires were made by the inhabitantes for their necessarie businesse, or (as wee are wont to sette beacons on fire when we suspect the approach of our enemies) thereby to giue warning to their neighbours to bee in a readinesse, & gather together, if perhaps our men shoulde attempt any thing against them, or otherwise as (seemeth most vnlikely) to cal them together, as to a wonder,

to

Woodes of date trees.

Men apparellled like whyte fryers.

Apparellled men.

Natie vines. Trees bearing spices & sweet fruites.

Diuers languages in the llande of Cuba.

Pearles in shel fishes.

to beholde our shippes, they knowe yet no certainty. In this tracte, the shores bended sometime toward the South, and sometime towarde the West and West Southwest, and the sea was euery where entangled with llandes, by reason whereof the keeles of the shippes oftentimes rased the sandes for shalownesse of the water: So that the shippes beeing very sore bruised and appayred, the sayles, cables, and other tackelings, in maner rotten, and the vitales (especially the biskette breade) corrupted by taking water at the ryfes euill closed, the Admirall was enforced to turne backe againe: This last poynte where hee touched of Cuba (not yet being known to be an lland) he called Euangelista. Thus turning his sayles towarde other llandes lying not farre from the supposed continent, hee chaunced into a mayne sea, where was such a multitude of great Tortoysses, that sometime they stayed the shippes: Not long after, he entred into a goulfe of white water, like vnto that whereof wee spake before. At the length, fearing the shelves of the llandes, hee returned to the shore of Cuba by the same way which he came. Here a multitude of the inhabitantes, as well women as men, resorted to him with cheereful countenances, and with feare, bringing with them popingayes, bread, water, and conies, but especially stocke doues, much bigger then ours, which he affirmeth in sauour and taste, to bee much more pleasant then our partryches. Wherefore where as in eating of them hee perceiued a certaine sauoure of spice to proceede from them, he commanded the croppe to bee opened of such as were newly killed, and founde the same full of sweete spices, which hee argued to bee the cause of their strange tast: For it standeth with good reason, that the flesh of beastes, shoulde drawe the nature and qualitie of their accustomed nourishment. As the Admirall hearde masse on the shore, there came towarde him a certaine gouernour, a man of foure score yeares of age, and of great grauitie, although hee were naked sauing his priuie parts. Hee had a great trayne of men wayting on him. All the while the prieste was at masse he shewed himselfe very humble, and gaue reuerent attendance, with graue and demure countenance. When the masse was ended, hee presented to the Admirall a basket of the fruites of his countrey, deliuering the same with his owne handes. When the Admirall hadde gently entertained him, desiring leaue to speake, he made an oration in the presence of Didacus the interpreter to this effect: I haue bin aduertised (most mighty prince) that you haue of late with great power subdued many lands and Regions, hitherio vknowne to you, and haue brought no litle feare vpon all the people and inhabitantes of the same: the which your good fortune, you shall beare wth lesse insolency, if you remember that the soules of men haue two iourneyes after they are departed from this bodie. The one, foule and dark, prepared for such as are iniurious and cruell to mankind: the other pleasant and delectable, ordeined for them which in their life time loued peace and quietnes. If therefore you acknowledge your selfe to be mortal, and consider that euery man shal receiue condigne rewarde or punishment for such thinges as hee hath done in this life, you will wrongfully hurt no man. When hee had saide these wordes and other like, which were declared to the Admirall by the interpretation, he marueiling at the iudgment of the naked olde man, answered that he was gladd to heare his opinion as touching the sundry iourneies and rewards of soules departed from their bodyes, supposing that neither he, or any other of the inhabitantes of those Regions, had had any knowledge thereof: declaring further, that the chiefe cause of his comming thither, was to instruct them in such godly knowledg and true religion: and that he was sent into those countreies by the Christian king of Spaine (his Lord and master) for the same purpose, and specially to subdue and punish the Canibales, and such other mischieuous people, and to defend innocents against the violence of euill dooers, willing him, and all other such as imbrace vertue, in no case to bee afraide, but rather to open his minde vnto him, if eyther he, or any other such quiet men as he was, had sustained any wrong of their neighbours, and that he would see the same reuenged. These comfortable words of the Admirall so pleased the olde man, that notwithstanding his extreme age, he would gladly haue gone with the Admirall, as he had done indeede, if his wife and children had not hindered him of his purpose: but he marueiled not a little, that the Admirall was vnder the dominion of another: and much more when the interpretour tolde him of the glorie, magnificence, pompe, great power,

The sea entangled with llandes.

A multitude of great Tortoysses. A goulfe of white water.

The humanity of a reuerende olde gouernour.

An oration of the naked gouernour.

Their opinion of the soule of man.

Desire of gold founde that which religion could not finde. Virtus post nummos, &c.

The lande as
common as the
sunne and
water.

Simple dyet.

Hispaniola.

The Canibales.

Sicknes of too
much Watch-
ing.

power, and furnimentes of warre of our kinges, and of the multitudes of cities and townes, which were vnder their dominions. Intending therefore to haue gone with the Admirall, his wife and children fell prostrate at his feete, with teares desiring him not to forsake them and leaue them desolate at whose pitifull requestes, the worthy olde man beeing moued, remained at home to the comfort of his people and familie, satisfying rather them then himselfe: for not yet ceasing to wonder, and of heauie countenance because he might not depart, hee demaunded oftentimes if that lande was not heauen, which brought forth such a kinde of men? For it is certaine that among them the lande is as common as sunne and water, and that Mine and Thine (the seedes of all mischief) haue no place with them. They are content with so little, that in so large a countrey they haue rather superfluitie then scarcenesse: so that (as we haue sayde before) they seeme to liue in the golden worlde without toyle, liuing in open gardens, but intrinched with ditches, diuided with hedges, or defended with walles: they deale truely one with another without lawes, without booke, and without iudges: they take him for an euill and mischieuous man, which taketh pleasure in dooing hurt to other. And albeit that they delight not in superfluities, yet make they prouision for the increase of such roots whereof they make their bread, as Maizium, Iucca, and Ages, contented with such simple dyet, whereby health is preserued, and diseases auoided. The Admirall therefore departing from thence, and minding to returne againe shortly after, chaunced to come againe to the Ilande of Iamaica, being on the South side thereof, and coasted all along by the shore of the same from the West to the East, from whose last corner on the East side, when hee sawe towards the North side on his left hande certaine high mountaines, hee knewe at the length that it was the South side of the Ilande of Hispaniola, which hee hadde not passed by. Wherefore at the Calendes of September, entering into the haue of the same Ilande, called saint Nicholas haue, he repayed his shippes, to the intent that he might againe wast and spoyle the Ilandes of the Canibales, and burne all their Canoes, that those rauening Wolues might no longer persecute and deuoure the innocent sheepe: but he was at this time hindered of his purpose, by reason of a disease which hee had gotten by too much watching. Thus beinge feeble, and weake, hee was ledde of the Mariners to the citie of Isabella, where, with his two bretheren which were there, and other of his familiars, hee recouered his health in shorte space: yet coulde hee not at this time assayle the Canibales, by reason of sedition that was risen of late among the Spanyardes which he had left in Hispaniola, whereof we will speake more hereafter. Thus fare ye well.

The fourth booke of the first Decade, to Lodouike Cardinal of Aragonie.

East India.
The Spaniardes
rebell in the
Admirals ab-
sence.

The kinges of
the Ilande
rebell.
The Spanyardes
misbehaviour.

Colonus the Admirall of the Ocean, returning (as hee supposed) from the continent or firme land of East India, hadde aduertisement that his brother Boilus, and one Peter Margarita, an olde familiar of the Kings, and a noble man, with diuers other of those to whom he had left the gouernment of the Iland, were (of corrupted mind against him) departed into Spaine. Wherefore, aswel to purge himselfe of such crimes, as they should lay to his charge, as also to make a supply of other men in the place of them which were returned, and especially to prouide for victuals, as wheate, wine, oyle, and such other, which the Spanyardes are accustomed to eate, because they coulde not yet well agree with such meate as they founde in the Ilandes, determined shortly to take his voyage into Spaine: but what he did before his departure, I wil briefly rehearse.

The kinges of the Ilandes which had hitherto liued quietly, and content with their little which they thought abundant, wheras they now perceiued that our men began to fasten foote within their regiōs, & to beare rule among them, they tooke the matter so grieuously, that they thought nothing els but by what meanes they might vtterly destroy them, and for euer abolish the memorie of their name, for that kinde of menne (the *Espania* I meane, which followed the Admirall in the nauigation) were for the most part vnruy, regarding nothing but idlenesse play, and libertie, and woulde by no meanes abstaine from iniuries, rauishing of the women of the Ilandes beefore the faces of their husbandes, fathers, and brethren: by which their abhominable misdemeanour, they disquieted the minds of al the inhabitantes, insomuch

insomuch that wheresoeuer they found any of our men vnprepared, they slue them with such fiercenesse and gladnes as though they had offered sacrifice to God. Intending therefore to pacifie their troubled mindes, and to punish them that slue his men before he departed from thence, he sent for the king of that vale, which in the booke before we described to be at the foote of the mountayne of the region of Cibana, this kinges name was Guarionexius: who, the more straightly to concile vnto him the friendship of the Admirall, gaue his sister to wife to Didacus, a man from his childes age brought vp with the Admirall, whom he vsed for his interpreter in the prouinces of Cuba. After this, he sent for Caunaboa, called the Lord of the house of golde, that is, of the mountaines of Cibana: For this Caunaboa he sent one capitaine Hoieda, whom the ditionaries of Caunaboa had enforced to keepe his hold, besieging for the space of thirty dayes the fortress of saint Thomas, in the which Hoieda with his fystie souldiers stode at their defence, vntil the comming of the Admirall. While Hoieda remained with Caunaboa, manye ambassadours of the Kinges of diuers regions were sent to Caunaboa, perswading him in no condition to permit the Christians to inhabite the Ilande, except he hadde rather serue then rule. On the other partie, Hoieda aduertised Caunaboa to goe to the Admirall, and to make a league of friendship with him: but the ambassadours on the contrary part, threatned him, that if he woulde so doe, the other kinges woulde inuade his region. But Hoieda answered them againe, that whereas they conspired to mainteyne their libertie, they should by that meanes be brought to seruitude & destruction, if they entended to resist or keepe war against the Christians. Thus Caunaboa on the one side and the other being troubled, as it were a rocke in the sea beaten with contrary floudes, and much more vexed with the stormes of his guiltie conscience, for that he had priuily slaine xx. of our men vnder pretence of peace, feared to come to the Admirall: but at the length, hauing excogitated his deceyt, to haue slaine the Admirall and his companie, vnder the colour of friendship, if opportunity would so haue serued, he repayred to the Admirall, with his whole family, and so many other waiting on him, armed after their maner. Being demaunded why hee brought so great a rout of men with him, he answered, that it was not decent for so great a Prince as hee was, to goe out of his house without such a bande of men: but the thing chaunced much otherwise then he looked for, for he fell into the snares which he had prepared for other, for whereas by the way he began to repent him that he came forth of his house, Hoieda with many faire words and promises brought him to the Admirall, at whose commandement he was immediatly taken and put in pryson, so that the soules of our men were not long from their bodies vnreunged. Thus Caunaboa with all his familie being taken, the Admirall was determined to runne ouer the Ilande, but hee was certified that there was such famine among the inhabitautes, that there was already fiftie thousande men dead thereof, and that they dyed yet daily, as it were rotten sheepe, the cause whereof, was well knowne to be their owne obstinacie and frowardnes: for whereas they saw that our men entended to choose them a dwelling place in the Ilande, supposing that they might haue dryuen them from thence if the victualles of the Iland should faile, they determined with themselues, not only to leaue sowing and planting, but also to destroy and plucke vp by the rootes euery man in his own region, that which they had already sowne, of both kindes of breade, whereof wee made mention in the first booke, but especially among the mountaines of Cibana, otherwise called Cipanga, forasmuch as they hadde knowledge that the golde which aboundeth in that region, was the chiefe cause that deteyned our men in the Iland. In the meane time, hee sent forth a Captayne with a bande of men, to search the South side of the Ilande, who at his returne, reported that throughout all the regions that hee trauiayled, there was such scarcenesse of bread, that for the space of xvi. dayes, he eate nothing but the rootes of hearbes, and of young date trees, or the fruites of other wilde trees: but Guarionexius the king of the vale, lying beneath the mountaynes of Cibana, whose kingdome was not so wasted as the other, gaue our menne certaine victualles. Within a fewe dayes after, both that the iourneyes might be the shorter, and also that our men might haue more safe places of refuge, if the inhabitantes shoulde hereafter rebell in like manner, hee builded another fortress (which hee called the Towre of conception) betweene the citie of Isabella, and Saint Thomas fortress, in the marches of the kingdome of this

A iust reuenge.

Capitayne Hoieda.

Caunaboa conspireth the admirals death.

Famine in the Ilande of Hispaniola.

The hunger of golde causeth great famine.

The tower of conception.

this Guarionexius, within the precincte of Cibana, vpon the side of a hill, hauing a sayre riuier of wholesome water running harde by the same. Thus when the inhabitantes sawe newe buildinges to bee daily erected, and our shippes lying in the haven rotten and halfe broken, they began to dispayre of any hope of liberty, and wandred vp and downe with heauie cheare. From the Towre of Conception, searching diligently the inner partes of the mountaynes of Cibana, there was a certaine king which gaue them a masse of rude golde as bigge as a mans fyst, weighing xx. ounces: this golde was not found in the banke of that riuier, but in a heape of dry earth, and was like vnto the stone called Tophus, which is soone resolued into sande. This masse of golde I myselfe sawe in Castile, in the famous Citie of Methymna Campi, where the Court lay all that winter. I sawe also a great peece of pure Electrum, of the which bels, and Apothecaries morters, & many such other vessels and instrumentes may bee made, as were in olde time of copper in the Citie of Corinthus. This peece of Electrum was of such weight, that I was not onely with both my handes vnable to lift it from the ground, but also not of strength to remoue it eyther one way or other: they affirmed that it weied more then three hundred pounce weight, after eight ounces to the pounce, it was founde in the house of a certaine Prince, and left him by his predecessours: and albeit that in the dayes of the inhabitantes yet liuing, Electrum was no where digged, yet knewe they where the myne thereof was, but our men with much adoo coulde hardly cause them to shewe them the place, they bore them such priuie hatred, yet at the length they brought them to the myne, being now ruinate and stopped with stones and rubbishe: it is much easier to digge then is the yron myne, and might be restored againe, if myners and other workmen skillfull therein were appoynted thereto. Not farre from the Tower of Conception, in the same mountaine, is founde great plentie of Amber, and out of certaine rockes of the same, distilleth a substance of the yelowe colour which the Paynters vse. Not farre from these mountaines are many great woodes, in the which are none other trees then Brasile, which the Italians call Verzino. But here perhaps (right noble Prince) you woulde aske, what should be the cause, that where as the Spanyardes haue brought out of these Ilandes certaine shippes laden with Brasile, somewhat of Gossampine cotton, a quantitie of Amber, a litle golde, & some spices, why haue they not brought such plentie of golde, and such other rich marchaundizes, as the fruitfulnessse of these Regions seeme to promise? To this I answere, that when Colonus the Admirall was likewise demaunded the cause hereof, hee made aunswere, that the Spanyardes which hee tooke with him into these regions, were giuen rather to sleepe, play, and idlenesse, then to labour, and were more studious of sedition and newes, then desirous of peace and quietnesse: also, that being giuen to licentiousnesse, they rebelled & forsooke him, finding matter of false accusation against him, because hee went about to repress their outrageousnesse: by reason whereof, hee was not yet able to breake the power of the inhabitauntes, and freely to possesse the full dominion of the Ilande, and these hinderances to bee the cause that hitherto the gaynes haue scarcely counteruayled the charges: albeit, euen this yeere while I wrote these thinges at your request, they gathered in two monethes the summe of a thousande and two hundred poundes weight of golde. But because we entende to speake more largely of these thinges in their place, wee will nowe returne from whence we haue digressed. When the inhabitantes perceived that they coulde by no meanes shake the yoke from their necks, they made humble supplicatio to the Admirall, that they might stande to their tribute, and apply themselues to increase the fruites of their countrey, beeing now almost wasted. Hee granted them their request, and appoynted such order that euery Region shoulde pay their tribute, with the commodities of their countreyes, according to their portion, and at such time as they were agreed vpon: but the violent famine did frustrate all these appoyntments, for all the trauailes of their bodies, were scarcely able to suffice to finde them meate in the woodes, whereby to susteyne their liues, beeing of long time contented with rootes and the fruites of wyld trees: yet many of the kinges with their people, euen in this extreame necessitie, brought parte of their tribute, most humbly desiring the Admirall to haue compassion of their calamities and to beare with them yet a while, vntil the Ilande were restored to the olde state, promising further, that that which was nowe wanting, shoulde then be

double

Electrum is a metall naturally mixt of one portion of gold, and another of siluer, being of propriety to be-
wey payson, and was therefore in olde time in greater estimation then golde.
The mine of Electrum.

An other kinde of Amber is taken out of great whale fishes. Opiement or oker.

Woodes of Brasile trees.

Licentiousnesse of too much libertie.

And this only gathered, and not digged out of the body of the mine.

double recompenced. But fewe of the inhabitantes of the mountaines of Cibana kept their promise, because they were sorer oppressed with famine then anie of the other. They say that the inhabitants of these mountaines differ no lesse in language and manners from them whiche dwell in the playnes, then among vs the rusticalles of the countrey, from the gentlemen of the court: whereas notwithstanding they liue as it were both vnder one portion of heauen, and in many thinges much after one fashion, as in nakednesse, and rude simplicitie. But nowe let vs returne to Caunaboa the king of the house of golde, being in captiuitie. When hee perceiued him selfe to bee cast in pryson, fretting and grating his teeth, as it had beene a Lion of Libia, and dayly and nightly deuising with himselfe howe hee might bee deliuered, beeganne to perswade the Admirall, that forasmuch as he hadde nowe taken vnto his dominion the region of Cipanga or Cibana (wherof he was king) it shoulde be expedient to sende thither a garryson of Christian men, to defend the same from the incursions of his old enemies and borderers: for he sayde, that it was signified vnto him, that the countrey was wasted and spoyled with such incursions. By this craftie deuise, hee thought to haue brought to passe, that his brother which was in that region, and the other his kinsfolkes and friendes with their adherentes, should haue taken, eyther by sleight or force, as many of our men as might haue redeemed him. But the Admirall vnderstanding his craftie meaning, sent Hoieda with suche a companie of men, as might vanquishe the Cibaniens, if they shoulde moue warre againste them. Our menne had scarcelye entred into the region, but the brother of Caunaboa came against them with an armie of fyue thousande naked men, armed after their manner, with clubbes, arrowes tipt with bones, and speares made harde at the endes with fire. He stole vpon our men beeing in one of their houses, and encamped rounde about the same on euery side. This Cibanian, as a man not ignorant in the discipline of warre, about the distance of a furlong from the house, diuided his armie into fyue battayles, appoynting to euery one of them a circuite by equall deuision, and placed the froont of his owne battayle directly against our men. When he had thus set his battayles in good aray, he gaue certaine signes that the whole army should marche forwarde in order with equall paces, and with a larme freshly assayle their enemies, in such sort that none might escape. But our men iudging it better to encounter with one of the battayles, then to abide the brunt of the whole armie, gaue on esot on the maine battayle aranged in the playne, because that place was most commodious for the horsmen. When the horsmen therefore had giuen the charge, they overthrewed them with the brestes of their horses, and slue as many as abode the end of the fight, the residue being stricken with feare, disparcled, and fled to the mountaines and rockes: from whence they made a pitifull howling to our men, desiring them to spare them, protesting that they woulde neuer more rebell, but doe what so euer they woulde commaunde them, if they woulde suffer them to liue in their owne countrey. Thus the brother of Caunaboa being taken, the Admirall licenced the people to resort euery man to his owne: these thinges thus fortunately atchiued, this Region was pacified. Among these mountaines, the vale which Caunaboa inhabited, is called Magona, and is exceeding fruitfull, hauing in it many goodly springes and riuers, in the sande whereof is founde great plentie of golde. The same yeere in the moneth of Iune, they say there arose such a boystrous tempest of wind from the Southwest, as hath not lightly been heard of, the violence wherof was such, that it plucked vp by the roots whatsoever great trees were within the reach of the force thereof. When this whyrlewinde came to the hauen of the citie, it beate downe to the bottome of the sea three shippes, which lay at anker, and broke the cables in sunder, and that (which is the greater maruayle) without any storme or roughnesse of the sea, onely turning them three or foure times about. The inhabitantes also affirme, that the same yeere the sea extended it selfe further into the lande, and rose higher then euer it did beefore by the memorie of man, by the space of a cubite. The people therefore muttered among themselues, that our nation had troubled the elementes, & caused such portentous signes. These tempestes of the ayre (which the Grecians call Tiphones, that is, whirlewinds) they call Furacanes, which they say, doe often times chaunce in this llande: but that neyther they, nor their great graund-fathers, euer sawe such violent and furious Furacanes, that plucked vp great trees by the rootes, nei-

The nature of the region disposeth the manner of the people.

King Caunaboa in captiuitie.

Caunaboa his brother rebelleth.

A conflict betwene the Cibaniens & the Spanyardes.

A great tempest in the month of Iune.

Whirlewinds. Furacanes.

The death of
king Caunabo
and his
brother.

The golde mines
of Solomon.

Golde in the
superficiall
partes of the
earth.

The golden
tower.

Lacke of vi-
tayles.

Victualles
brought from
Spaine.

ther yet such surges and vehement motions on the sea, that so wasted the land as in deede it may appeare, forasmuch as wheresoeuer the sea bankes are neere to any plaine, there are in a maner euerie where flourishing medowes reaching euen to the shore: but now let vs returne to Caunabo. As king Caunabo therefore and his brother should haue been brought into Spaine, they dyed by the way, for very pensiuenesse and anguish of minde. The Admirall whose shippes were drowned in the foresaide tempest, perceiuing himselfe to be now enclosed, commaunded forthwith two other shippes (which the Spaniards call Carauelas) to bee made: for hee had with him all manner of Artificers perteyning thereunto. While these thinges were dooing, hee sent forth Bartholomeus Colonus his brother, beeing Lieutenant of the Ilande, with an armie of men to search the golde mynes, beeing distant threescore leagues from the citie of Isabella, which were founde by the conduct of certaine people of the Iland, before the mines of Cipanga or Cibana were knowne. In these mynes they found certaine deepe pits, which had bene digged in old time, out of these pittes, the Admirall (who affirmeth this Iland of Hispaniola to be Ophir, as we sayde before) supposeth that Solomon the king of Hierusalem had his great riches of gold, whereof we read in the olde Testament, and that his ships sayled to this Ophir by the goulfe of Persia, called Sinus Persicus. But whether it be so or not, it lieth not in me to iudge, but in my opinion it is far of. As the myners digged the superficiall or vppermost part of the earth of the mynes, during for the space of sixe myles, and in diuers places sifted the same on the drie land, they found such plentie of golde, that euery hyred labourer could easily finde euerie day the weight of three drammes. These mines beeing thus searched and found, the Lieuutenant certified the Admirall heereof by his letters, the which when he had receiued, the fift day of the Ides of March, Anno. 1495. he entred into his new ships, and tooke his voyage directly to Spaine, to aduertise the king of all his affaires, leauing the whole regiment of the Iland with his brother the Lieuutenant.

The fift booke of the first Decade, to Lodouike Cardinal of Aragonie.

AFTER the Admirals departing into Spayne his brother the Lieuutenant builded a fortresse in the golde mynes, as hee hadde commaunded him: this hee called the golden towre, because the labourers founde golde in the earth, and stone whereof they made the walles of the fortresse. Hee consumed three monethes in making the instrumentes wherewith the golde shoulde bee gathered, washed, tryed, and moulten: yet was hee at this time, by reason of wante of victualles, enforced to leaue all thinges imperfecte, and to goe seeke for meate. Thus as he, with a bande of armed menne, hadde entred threescore myles further within the land, the people of the country here and there resorting to him, gaue him a certaine portion of their breade, in exchange for other of our thinges: but hee coulde not long tary here, because they lacked meate in the fortresse, whither hee hasted with such as he had now gotten. Leauing therefore in the fortresse a garrison of ten men, with that portion of the Ilande breade which yet remained, leauing also with them a Hounde to take those kindes of little beastes which they call Vsias, not much vnlike our Conies, hee returned to the fortresse of Conception. This also was the moneth wherein the king Guarionexius, and also Manicautexius borderer vnto him, shoulde haue brought in their tributes. Remaining there the whole moneth of Iune, he exacted the whole tribute of the two kinges, and victualles necessary for him and such as he brought with him, which were aboute foure hundred in number. Shortly after, about the Calendes of Iuly, there came three Carauelles from Spayne, bringing with them sundry kindes of victualles, as wheate, oyle, wine, bakon, & Martelmas beefe, which were diuided to euery man according as neede required, some also was lost in the caryage for lack of good looking to. At the arriual of these shippes, the Lieutenant receiued commaundement from the King and the Admirall his brother, that he with his men should remoue their habitation to the South side of the Ilande, because it was neerer to the golde mynes: Also that hee shoulde make diligent search for those Kinges which had slayne the Christian men, and to sende them with their confederates bound into Spaine. At the next voyage therefore he sent three hundred captiues, with three kinges, and when hee had diligently searched the coastes of the South side, he transported his habitation, and builded a fortresse there, vpon the

the toppe of an hill, neare vnto a sure hauen: this fortresse hee called ^{Sancti} Dominici ^{Saint Dominickes tower.} tower. Into this hauen runneth a riuer of wholesome water, replenished with sundry kinde of good fishes: they affirme this riuer to haue many benefites of nature, for where so euer it runneth, all thinges are exceeding pleasaunt and fruitfull, hauing on euery side groues of Date trees, and diuers other of the Ilande frutes so plentifully, that as they sayled along by the shore, oftentimes the braunches thereof, laden with flowres and frutes, hong so ouer their heades, that they might plucke them with their handes: also that the fruitfulness of this ground, is eyther equall with the soyle of Isabella, or better. ^{Isabella.} In Isabella hee left onely certaine sicke men, and shippe wrightes, whome hee had appointed to make certaine carauels, the residue of his men, hee conueighed to the South, to saint Dominickes tower. After hee had builded this fortresse, leauing therein a garrison of xx. men, hee with the remnant of his souldiers, prepared themselves to search the inner partes of the West side of the Ilande, hitherto knowne onely by name. Therefore about xxx. leagues, (that is) fourescore and tenne myles from the fortresse, hee chaunced on the ryuer Naiba, which wee sayde to descende from the mountaines of Cibana, right towarde the South, by the midst of the Ilande. When he had ouerpassed this riuer with a companie of armed menne diuided into xxv. decurions, that is, tenne in a companie, with their capitaines, he sent two decurions to the regions of those Kinges in whose landes were the great woodes of brasile tree. Inclining towarde the left hande, they founde the woodes, ^{Woods of Brasile trees.} entred into them, and felled the high and precious trees, which were to that day vntouched. Each of the decurions filled certaine of the Ilande houses with the trunks of brasile, there to bee reserued vntill the shippes came which should cary them away. But the Lieutenant directing his iourney towarde the right hande, not farre from the bankes of the riuer of Naiba, found a certain king whose name was Beuchius Anacauchoa, encamped against the inhabitants of the prouince of Naiba, to subdue them vnder his dominion, as he had don many other kings of the Iland, borderers vnto him. The palace of this great king, is called Xaragua, and is situate towarde the West end of the Ilande, distant from the riuer of Naiba, xxx. leagues. All the princes which dwell betweene the West ende & his palace, are ditionaries vnto him. All that region from Naiba, to the furthest marches of the West, is vtterly without golde, although it be full of mountaines. When the king had espied our men, laying apart his weapons, and giuing signes of peace, he spake gently to them (vncertaine whether it were of humanitie or feare) and demanded of them what they would haue. The Lieutenant answered, That hee should pay tribute to the Admirall his brother, in the name of the Christian King of Spayne. To whom he sayde, How can you require that of me, whereas neuer a region vnder my dominion bringeth forth golde? For he had heard, that there was a strange nation entred into the Iland, which made great search for gold: But he supposed that they desired some other thing. The lieutenant answered againe, God forbidde that wee shoulde enioyne any manne to pay such tribute as he might not easily beare, or such as were not engendered or growing in the region but wee vnderstande that your regions bring forth great plenty of Gossampine cotton, and hempe, with such other, whereof wee desire you to giue vs parte. When he heard these wordes, he promised with chearefull countenance, to giue him as much of these thinges as hee would require. Thus dismissing his army, and sending messengers before, he himselfe accompanied the Lieutenant, and brought him to his palace, being distant (as we haue sayde) xxx. leagues. In all this tracte, they passed through the iurisdiction of other princes, being vnder his dominion: Of the which, some gaue them hempe, of no lesse goodnesse to make tackelings for shippes then our woode: Other some brought breade, and some Gossampine cotton. And so euery of them payde tribute with such commodities as their countries brought forth. At the length they came to the kinges mansion place of Xaragua. Before they entred into the palace, a great multitude of the kinges seruantes and subiectes resorted to the court, honorably (after their maner) to receiue their king Beuchius Anacauchoa, with the strangers which he brought with him to see the magnificence of his court. But now shall you heare howe they were entertained. Among other triumphes & sightes, two are especially to bee ^{noted:}

The kinges
wiues.

Well fauoured
women.

Dryades.

A pretie pastime.

Fourte men
slayne in sport.

Prouision for
diseased men.

The castels or
towers of Hispaniola.

The golden
mountaynes of Cibana.

noted: First, there mette them a companie of xxx. women, beeing all the kinges wiues and concubines, bearing in their handes branches of date trees, singing and daunsing: they were all naked, sauing that their priuie partes were couered with breeches of Gossampine cotton: but the virgins, hauing their haire hanging downe about their shoulders, tyed aboute the foreheade with a fillet, were vterly naked. They affirme, that their faces, breasts, pappes, hands, and other parts of their bodie, were exceedinge smooth, and well proportioned, but somewhat inclining to a louely broune. They supposed that they had seene those most beutifull Dryades, or the natiue nymphes or fayries of the fountaines whereof the antiques spake so much. The braunches of date trees which they bore in their right handes when they daunced, they deliuered to the Lieutenant, with lowlie courtesie and smiling countenance. Thus entring into the kinges house, they founde a delicate supper prepared for them, after their manner. When they were well refreshed with meate, the nyght drawing on, they were brought by the kinges officers, euery man to his lodging, according to his degree, in certaine of their houses about the pallace, where they rested them in hanging beds, after the maner of the cuntry, whereof we haue spoken more largely in another place.

The day following, they brought our men to their common hall, into the which they come together as often as they make any notable games or triumphes, as we haue sayde before. Heere after many daunsynges, singinges, maskinges, runnings, wrestlinges, and other trying of mastries, sodainly there appeared in a large plaine neere vnto the hal, two great armies of men of warre, which the king for his pastime had caused to bee prepared, as the Spaniardes vse the play with reedes, which they call Iuga de Canias. As the armies drewe neere together, they assayed the one the other as fiercely, as if mortall enemies with their banners spleade, should fight for their goods, their landes, their liues, their libertie, their cuntry, their wiues and their children, so that within the moment of an houre, foure men were slayne, and many wounded. The battayle also shoulde haue continued longer, if the king had not, at the request of our men caused them to cease. The thirde day, the Lieutenant counsayling the King to sowe more plentie of gossampine vpon the bankes neere vnto the waters side, that they might the better paye their tribute priuately, according to the multitude of their houses, hee prepared to Isabella, to visite the sicke menne which hee hadde left there, and also to see howe his woorkes went forwarde. In the time of his absence, xxx. of his menne were consumed with diuerse diseases. Wherefore beeing sore troubled in his minde, and in manner at his wittes ende, what he were best to doe, for as much as hee wanted all thinges necessarie, as well to restore them to health which were yet acrated, as also vitayles to maintaine the whole multitude, where as there was yet no shippe come from Spayne: at the length, hee determined to sende abroad the sicke men here and there to sundry Regions of the Ilande, and to the castelles which they had erected in the same. For directly from the citie of Isabella to saint Dominickes tower, that is, from the North to the South, through the Ilande, they had builded thus many Castles. First xxxvi. myles distant from Isabella, they builded the Castell of Sperantia. From Sperantia xxv. miles, was the Castell of Saint Katharine. From Saint Katharines xx. miles, was Saint James tower. Other xx. myles from Saint James tower, was a stronger fortesse then any of the other, which they called the towre of Conceptiō, which he made the stronger, because it was situate at the rootes of the golden mountaynes of Cibana, in the great and large playne, so fruitefull and well inhabited as we haue beefore described. Hee builded also another in the mydde way betweene the tower of Conception, & saint Dominickes tower, the which also was stronger then the tower of Conception, because it was within the lymittes of a great King, hauing vnder his dominion fise thousand men, whose chiefe citie and heade of the Realme, being called Bonauum, he willed that the Castel should also be called after the same name. Therefore leauing the sicke men in these Castels, and other of the Iland houses neere vnto the same, hee himselfe repayred to Saint Dominickes, exacting trybutes of all the kinges which were in his way. When hee had taryed there a fewe dayes, there was a rumour spreade, that all the kinges about the borders of the towre of Conception, hadde conspired

conspired with desperate myndes to rebell against the Spanyardes. When the Lieutenant was certified hereof, hee tooke his iourney towardes them immediately, not being discouraged eyther by the length of the way, or feeblenesse of his souldiers, beeing in manner forewearing with trauayle. As hee drewe neere vnto them, he hadde aduertysment that king Guarionexius was chosen by other Princes to bee the Capitayne of this rebellion, and that hee was enforced thereto halfe vnwilling, beeing seduced by perswasions and prouocations: the which is more likely to be true, for that hee hadde before hadde experience of the power and policie of our men. They came to geather at a day appoynted, accompanied with xv. thousande men, armed after their manner, once againe to proue the fortune of warre. Heere the Lieutenant, consulting with the Capitaine of the fortresse and the other souldiers of whom he had the conduct, determined to sette vpon them vnwares in their owne houses, before they coulde prepare their armie. He sent forth therefore to euery king a Centurion, that is, a captayne of a hundred, which were commanded vpon a sudden to inuade their houses in the night, and to take them sleeping, before the people (being scattered here and there) might assemble together. Thus secretly entering into their villages, not fortified with walles, trenches, or bulwarkes, they broake in vpon them, tooke them, bound them, and led away euery man his prisoner according as they were commanded. The Lieutenant himselfe with his hundred men, assayled king Guarionexius as the worthier personage, whom he tooke prysoner, as did the other captaines their kings, and at the same houre appoynted. Foureteene of them were brought the same night to the tower of Conception. Shortly after, when he had put to death two of the Kings whiche were the chiefe authors of this new reuolte, and had suborned Guarionexius and the other kings to attempt the same, least the people for sorowe of their kinges shoulde neglect or forsake their cuntry, which thing might haue bin great incommodie to our men, who by the increase of their seedes and fruites were often times ayded, he freely pardoned and dismissed Guarionexius and the other kinges, the people in the meane time flocking together about the tower, to the number of fife thousande without weapons, with pitifull houlng for the deliuerance of their kinges. The ayre thundered, & the earth trembled through the vehemencie of their outcry. The Lieutenant warned Guarionexius and the other kinges, with threatninges, with rewardes, and with promises, neuer hereafter to attempt any such thing. Then Guarionexius made an oration to the people, of the great power of our men, of their clemencie toward offenders, & liberalitie to suche as remaine faithfull, desiring them to quiet their myndes, and from thenceforth neither indeed nor thought to enterprise any thing against the Christians, but to obey and serue them, except they woulde dayly bring themselves into further calamities. When the oration was finished, they tooke him vppe, and set him on their shoulders, and so caryed him home to his owne pallace: and by this meanes, this Region was pacified for a while. But our menne, with heauie countenance wandered vp and downe, as desolate in a strange cuntry, lacking victailles, and worne out of apparell, whereas xv. monethes were nowe passed since the Admiralls departure, duryng which time, they coulde heare nothing out of Spayne. The Lieutenant comforted them all that hee coulde with sayre words and promises. In the meane time, Beuchius Anachaucoa (the king of the West partes of the Region of Xaragua (of whome wee spake before) sent messengers to the Lieutenant, to signifie vnto him, that hee had in a readines the gossampine cotton, and such other thinges as he willed him to prepare for the payment of his trybute. Whereupon the Lieutenant tooke his iourney thither, and was honorably receiued of the king and his sister, sometime the wife of Caunaboa the king of Cibana, bearing no lesse rule in the gouernance of her brothers kingdome, then he himselfe: For they affirmed her to bee a wise woman, of good maners, & pleasant in companie. She earnestly perswaded her brother, by the example of her husband, to loue & obey the Christians. This woman was called Anacaona. Hee founde in the palace of Beuchius Anacauchoa. xxxii. kinges, which had brought their tributes with them, and abode his comming. They brought with them also, beside their tribute assigned them further to demerite the fauour of our men, great plenty of vitails, as both kindes of bread, conies, and fishes, already dried, because they should

The kinges
rebell.

An armie of
xv. thousand
Barbarians.

The kinges are
taken prysoners.

King Guarionexius is pardoned.

Lacke of vytails.

xxxii. kinges.

Serpentes eaten. should not putrifie: Serpentes also of that kinde which wee sayde to be esteemed among them as most delicate meat, & like vnto Crocodiles sauing in bignesse. These Serpents they cal Iuannas, which our men learned (somwhat too late) to haue bin engendered in the Ilande: For vnto that day, none of them durst aduenture to tast of them, by reason of their horrible deformity and lothsomnes. Yet the Lieutenant, being entised by the pleasantnes of the kinges sister, determined to tast of the Serpentes. But when hee felt the fleshe thereof to bee so delicate to his tongue, hee fel to amaine without all feare: the which thing his companions perceiuing, were not behinde him in greedynesse insomuch that they had now none other talke, then of the sweetnesse of these serpentes, which they affirme to be of more pleasaunte taste, then eyther our Phesantes or Partriches: but they loose their taste, except they be prepared after a certaine fashion, as doe Peacockes and Phesantes, except they be enterlarded before they be roasted. They prepare them therfore after this manner: First, taking out their bowelles, euen from the throte to the thyghes, they washe and rubbe their bodies verie cleane both within & without, then rolling them together on a circle, inuolued after the maner of a sleeping snake, they thrust them into a pot, of no bigger capacitie then to hold them only this done, putting a little water vnto them, with a portion of the Ilande Pepper, they seethe them with a soft fire of sweete wood, and such as maketh no great smoake: Of the fat of them being thus sodde, is made an exceeding pleasant broth or pottage. They say also, that there is no meate to be compared to the egges of these serpentes, which they vse to seethe by themselves they are good to bee eaten as soone as they are sodde, and may also be reserued many dayes after. But hauing sayde thus much of their entertaynement and dayntie fare, let vs nowe speak of other matters. When the Lieutenant had filled one of the Ilande houses with the Gossampine cotton which he had receiued for tribute, the kinges promised furthermore to giue him as much of their bread as he would demaunde: he gaue them hartie thanks, & gently accepted their friendly proffer. In the meane time, whyle this bread was a gathering in sundry regions, to be brought to the palace of Beuchius Anacauchoa king of Xaragua, he sent messengers to Isabella, for one of the two Carauelles whiche were lately made there, intending to sende the same thither againe laden with bread. The Mariners glad of these tydings, sayled about the Ilande, and in shorte space brought the shippe to the coastes of Xaragua. The sister of king Beuchius Anacauchoa, that wise and pleasaunt woman Anacaona (the wife sometime of Caunaboa the king of the golden house of the mountaynes of Cibana, whose husband died in the way when he shoulde haue bene caryed into Spayne) when she heard say that our shyppe was arriued on the shore of her natiue countrey, perswaded the king her brother, that they both myght goe together to see it; for the place where the shyppe lay was not paste. vi. myles distant from Xaragua. They rested all night in the midway, in a certaine village in the which was the treasure or iewel house of Anacaona. Her treasure was neither golde, siluer, or pretious stones, but only thinges necessary to be vsed, as chayres, stooles, settels, dishes, potingers, pottes, pannes, basons, treyes, and such other housholde stuffe and instrumentes, workemanly made of a certaine blacke and harde shyning wood, which that excellent learned phisition Iohn baptist Elisius, affirmeth to be Hebene. Whatsoeuer portion of wit nature hath giuen to the inhabitantes of these Ilandes the same doth moste appeare in these kinde of workes, in which they shewe great art and cunning, but those which this woman had were made in the Iland of Guanabba, situate in the mouth of the West side of Hispaniola: In these they graue the liuely images of such phantasies as they suppose they see walke by night, which the antiques called Lemures: Also the images of men, serpents, beastes & what so euer other thing they haue once seene. What would you thinke (moste noble prince) that they could do, if they had the vse of Iron and steele? For they onely first make these soft in the fire, & afterwarde make them holowe and carue them with a cerayne stone which they find in the riuers. Of stooles and chayres, shee gaue the Lieuテナント fourteene, and of vesselles pertaining to the table and kitchen, shee gaue him threescore, some of wood, and some of earth, also gossampine cotton readie spunne foure great bottomes of exceeding weight. The day following when they came to the

The dressing of
Serpentes to be
eaten.

Serpentes egges
eaten.

Gossampine cot-
ton.

Queene Ana-
caona.

The treasure of
Queene Ana-
caona.

Hebene wood.

The Ilande of
Guanabba.

Cunningy Arti-
ficers.

A stone in the
riuer of Iron.

the sea side where was an other village of the kinges, the Lieutenant commaunded the shippe boate to be brought to the shore. The king also had prepared two Canoes, painted after their maner one for himselfe and certayne of his gentlemen, an other for his sister Anacaona and her wayting women: but Anacaona desired to be caried in the shippe boate with the Lieutenant. When they nowe approched neare vnto the shippe, certayne great peeces of ordinance were discharged of purpose, the sea was filled with thunder, and the ayre with smoke, they trembled and quaked for feare, supposing that the frame of the world had beene in danger of falling, but when they sawe the Lieutenant laugh, and looke chearefully on them, they called againe their spirites, and when they yet drewe nearer to the ship, and heard the noises of the fluites, shalmes, and drummes, they were wonderfully astonied at the sweete harmony thereof. Entryng into the shippe, and beholding the fore-ship and the sterne, the toppes castel, the mast, the hatches, the cabbins, the keele, and the tacklynges, the brother fixing his eyes on the sister, and the sister on the brother, they were both as it were dumme and amased and wiste not what to say for too much wondrousing. While beholding these things, they wandered vp and downe the shippe, the Lieutenant commaunded the ankers to be loosed, and the sayles to be hoysed vp. Then were they further astonished, when they sawe so great a mole to moue as it were by it selfe, without ores: & without the force of man: for there arose from the earth such a wynd, as a man would haue wished for of purpose: Yet furthermore, when they perceiued the shippe to moue sometime forwarde, and sometime backwarde, sometime toward the right hand, and sometime towarde the left, and that with one winde and in manner at one instant, they were at their wittes end for to much admiration. These thinges finished, and the shyppes laden with bread, and such other rewardes, they beeing also recompenced with other of our thinges, he dismissed not onely the king Beuchius Anacauchoa and his sister, but likewise all their seruantes and women, replenished with ioy and wondering. After this, he himselfe tooke his iourney by foote with his souldiers to the citie of Isabella, where hee was aduertised that one Roldanus Ximenus, a noughty fellow (whom before, being his seruant, he had preferred to bee capitayne of the miners and labourers, and after made him a Iudge in causes of controuersie) had vsed himselfe outrageously, and was maliciously mynded against him, and further, the cause of much mischief in his absence. For king Guarionexius (who a while beefore was pardoned of his former rebellion, & perswaded the people to obey the Spaniardes) was by his noughty vsage, and such other as were confedered with him, so accensed to reuenge the iniuries whiche they susteyned at his handes, beside the abhominable actes which they, following onely the law of nature, abhorred to admit, that he, with his familie, familiers, and ditionaries, of desperate minde fledde to the mountaynes, being distant from Isabella onely tenne leagues westwarde, towarde the North side of the sea. These mountaynes, and also the inhabitauntes of the same, they call by one name, Ciguaios. The great king of all the kinges and Regions of these mountaines is called Maiobanexius, and his court or palace is named Capronus: the mountaynes are rough, high, and such as no manne can passe to the toppes thereof, they are also bending, and haue their corners reaching downe to the sea. Betweene both the corners of the mountaynes, is there a great playne, by the whiche many riuers fall from the mountaynes into the sea, the people are very fierce and warlike men, hauing their originall of the Canibales: for when they descende from the mountaines to the playnes, to keepe warre with their borderers, they eate all such as they kill. Guarionexius therefore, fleeing to the king of these mountaynes, gaue him many presentes of such thinges as are wanting in his country, therewith declaring how vilely, villanously, and violently hee had beene vsed of our men, with whom he could nothing preuayle, neither by faire meanes, nor by foule, neither by humility, nor by stoutnesse, and that to be the cause of his resorting to him at that time, most humbly desiring him to be his defence against the oppressions of such mischieuous people. Maiobanexius heereupon, made him promise to ayde and helpe him against the Christians all that he might. The Lieutenant therefore made hast to the fortresse of Conception, whither, as soone as hee was come, hee sent for Roldanus Ximenus, who with such as followed him,

Musicali instruments.

Ignorance causeth administration.

The intemperancy & malice of a seruile wit aduanced.

Ciguaians.

lay in certaine of the Iland villages, xii. myles distant from the fortesse. At his comming, the Lieuetenant asked him what all these stirres and tumultes meant? Hee answered without abashment, Your brother the Admirall hath to do therewith, and shall aunswere for the same before the king, for we perceiue that the king hath so put him in trust, that he hath no regarde to vs: here wee perish for hunger, while wee followe you, and are dryuen to seeke our vnhappie food in the desertes: Your brother also assigned mee assistaunt with you in gouerning the Ilande. Wherefore sith you haue no more respect vnto vs, we are determined no longer to bee vnder your obedience. When Roldanus had spoken these wordes, and such other, the Lieuetenant woulde haue layde handes on him, but he escaped his fingers, and fledde to the West partes of the region of Xaragua, hauing with him a trayne of threescore and ten men, which were of his confederacie. Here this filthy sinke of rebelles thus conspired, playde their vages, and liued with loose bridles in all kinde of mischief, robbing the people, spoyling the countrey, and rauishing both wyues and virgins. Whyle these thinges were doing in the Ilande, the Admirall had eight shippes appoynted him by the king, of the which hee sent two laden with victualles, from Cales or Gades of Hercules pyllers, directly to the Lieutenant his brother. These shippes by chaunce arriued first on the side c^t the Ilande where Roldanus Ximenus ranged with his companions. Roldanus in shorte time hadde seduced them, promising them in the steede of mattockes, wenches pappes: for labour, pleasure: for hunger, abundance: and for wearynesse and watching, sleepe & quietnesse. Guarionexius in the meane time assembled a power of his friendes and confederates, & came oftentimes downe into the plaine, and slue as manie of the Christian men as hee coulde meete conueniently, and also of the Ilande menne which were their friendes, wasting their grounde, destroying their seedes, and spoyling their vyllages. But Roldanus and his adherents, albeit they had knowledge that the Admirall woulde shortly come, yet feared they no thing, because they had seduced the newe men which came in the first shippes. While the Lieuetenant was thus tossed in the myddest of these stormes, in the meane time his brother the Admirall set forwarde from the coastes of Spayne: but not directly to Hispaniola, for he turned more towarde the South. In the which voyage, what he did, what coastes both of the lande and sea he compassed, and what newe regions he discovered, wee will first declare: for to what ende and conclusion the sayd tumultes and seditious came, we will expresse in the ende of the booke following. Thus fare ye well.

The sixth booke of the first Decade, to Lodouike Cardinal of Aragonie.

Colonus the Admirall, the thirde day of the Calendes of Iune, in the yeare of Christe 1498. hoysed vp his sayles in the hauen of the towne Barramedabas, not farre distant from Cales, & set forward on his voyage with eight ships laden with victualles and other necessaries. He diuered from his accustomed race, which was by the Ilandes of Canarie, by reason of certaine Frenchmen pyrates and rousers on the sea, which lay in the right way to meete with him. In the way from Cales to the Ilands of Canarie, about fourescore and tenne myles toward the left hand, is the Iland of Madera, more southward then the city of Ciuile by foure degrees, for the pole Artike is eleuate to Ciuile xxxvi. degrees, but to this Ilande (as the Mariners say) onely xxxii. He sayled therefore first to Madera, and sending from thence directly to Hispaniola the residue of the shippes laden with victualles and other necessaries, he himselfe with one shippe with deckes, and two Marchant Carauelles, coasted toward the South to come to the Equinoctiall lyne, and so forth to followe the tracte of the same toward the West, to the intent to search the natures of such places as he coulde finde vnder or near vnto the same, leauing Hispaniola on the North side on his right hande. In the middle of this race, lye xiii. Ilandes of the Portugales, whiche were in olde time called Hesperides, and are now called Caput Viride, or Cabouerde, these are situate in the sea, right ouer against the inner partes of Ethiope, Westwarde two dayes sayling. One of these the Portugales call Bonauista. With the Snailles, or rather the Tortoyes of this Ilande, many leproous men are healed and clensed of their leprosie. Departing sodainly from hence, by reason of the contagiousnesse of the aire, he sayled. CCClxxx. myles toward the West Southwest,

Licentiousnes
in libertie.

Hercules pyl-
lers.

A violent per-
swasion.

The furie of
Guarionexius.

The third voyage
of Colonus the
Admirall.

Frenchmen
pyrates.

The Iland of
Madera.

Healing of the
leper.

Southwest, whiche is in the middist betweene the West and the South. There was he so vexed with maladies and heate (for it was in the moneth of Iune) that his ships were almost set on fire: The hoopes of his barrels cracked and brake, and the fresh water ranne out: the men also complained that they were not able to abide that extremitie of heat. Here the North pole was eleuate onely. v. degrees from the Horizontall. For the space of viii. dayes, in the which he suffered these extremities, onely the first day was sayre, but all the other, cloudy and raynye, yet neuerthesse feruent hotte: Wherefore it oftentimes repented him not a litle, that euer he tooke that way. Being tossed in these dangers and vexations eyght continuall dayes, at the length an Eastsoutheast wynde arose, and gaue a prosperous blaste to his sayles. Which wynde following directly towarde the West, he founde the starres ouer that paralel placed in other order, and other kinde of ayre, as the Admirall himselfe tolde me. And they all affirme, that within three dayes sayling, they founde most temperate and plesauant ayre. The Admirall also affirmeth, that from the clime of the great heat & vnhol-some ayre, hee euer ascended by the backe of the sea, as it were by a high mountayne to-wardes heauen, yet in all this tyme, coulde he not once see any land: But at the length, the day before the Calendes of Iuly, the watchman looking forth of the top castell of the greatest ship, cried out aloud for ioy that he espied three exceeding high mountaines, exhorting his fellows to be of good cheare, & to put away all pensiuenes: for they were very heauie and sorrowfull, aswel for the griefe which they susteyned by reason of the intollerable heate, as also that their fresh water sayled them, which ranne out at the ryfles of the barrels, caused by extreame heate, as we haue said. Thus being well comforted, they drew to the land, but at their first approach they could not arryue by reasoⁿ of the shalownes of the sea neere the shore, yet seeing out of their shippes, they might well perceiue that the region was in-habited, and well cultured, for they sawe very faire gardens, and plesant medowes: from the trees and hearbes whereof, when the morning dewes beeganne to rise, there proceeded manie sweete sauoures. Twentie myles distant from hence, they chaunced into a hauen, very apte to harborowe shippes but it had no ryuer running into it. Sayling on yet somewhat further, he found at the length a commodious hauen, wherein he might repayre his shippes, and make prouision of freshe water and fuel. Arenalís calleth this land Puta. They found no houses neere vnto the hauen, but innumerable steppes of certaine wild beastes feete, of the which they founde one deade, much like a goate. The day following, they sawe a Canoa comming a farre of, hauing 'n it foure and twenty young men of goodly corporature and high stature, all armed with targets, bowes and arrowes: the hayre of their heades was long and playne, and cutte on the forehead much after the manner of the Spanyardes, their priuie partes were couered with fyllets of Gossampine cotton, of sundry colours enterlaced, & were beside all ouer naked. Here the Admirall, considering with himselfe the corporature of this people, and nature of the land, he beleued the same to be so much the neerer heauen, then other regions of the same paralel, & further remoued from the grosse vapours of the vales, & maryshes, howe much the highest toppes of the biggest mountaynes are distant from the deepe vales. For he earnestly affirmeth, that in all that nauigation, he neuer went out of the paralels of Ethiope: So great difference is there betweene the nature of the inhabitantes, and of the soyles of diuers regions, all vnder one clime or paralel, as is to see betweene the people and regions beeing in the firme lande of Ethiope, and them of the Ilandes vnder the same clime, hauing the pole starre eleuate in the same degree. For the Ethiopians are all blacke, hauing their hayre curled, more like wool then haire: but these people of the Iland of Puta (being as I haue sayde vnder the clime of Ethiope) are whyte, with long hayre, and of yellow colour. Wherefore it is apparant, the cause of this so great difference, to be rather by the dispositiō of the earth, then constitution of heauen. For wee knowe that yee falleth on the mountaynes of the Equinoctiall, or burnt lyne, and the same to endure there continually: wee knowe likewise, that the inhabitantes of the regions farre distant from that line toward the North, are molested with great heate. The Admirall, that he might allure the young men to him with gentlenesse, shewed them looking glasses, fayre and bright vessels of copper, hawkes belles, and such other thinges vknowne to them. But the more they were called, so

Contagious ayre
and extreme
heate.

The Iland of
Puta.

People of comly
corporature and
long haire neere
the Equinoctiall.

The higher, the
colder.

Musicall instru-
mentes.

The violent
course of the
water from the
East to the
West.

The gulfe called
Os Draconia.

A sea of fresh
water.

Marmasets.
Monkeyes.

The fayre and
large region of
Paria.

Humane people.

much the more they suspected craft and deceyt, and fledde backward: Yet did they with their great admiration behold our menne and their thinges, but still hauing their ores in their handes ready to flee. When the Admirall sawe that he could by no meanes allure them by giftes, hee thought to proue what hee coulde doe with musicall instrumentes, and therefore commaunded that they which were in the greatest ship, should play on their drummes and shawmes. But the young men supposing this to be a token of battayle, left their ores, & in the twinkling of an eye hadde their arrowes in their bowes, and their targets on their armes: and thus directing their arrowes towarde our men, stoode in expectation to know what this noyse might meane. Our menne likewise preparing their bowes and arrowes, approached towarde them by litle and litle. But they departing from the Admirals shippe, and trusting to the dexteritie of their ores, came so neere one of the lesse shippes, that one of them plucked the cloke from the gouernour of the shippe, and as well as they coulde by signes required him to come alande, promising faith that they woulde commune with him of peace. But when they sawe him goe to the Admirals ship, whither hee went to aske leaue that he might comune with them, suspecting heereby some further deceit, they leapt immediately into the Canoa, and fledde as swift as the winde, so that to conclude, they could by no meanes be allured to familiarity: Wherefore the Admirall thought it not conuenient to bestow any long time there at this voyage. No great space from this llande, euer towarde the West, the Admiral saith he found so outrageous a fal of water, running with such a violence from the East to the West, that it was nothing inferiour to a mightie streame falling from high mountaynes. Hee also confessed, that since the first day that euer hee knewe what the sea meant, hee was neuer in such feare. Proceeding yet somewhat further in this daungerous voyage, hee founde certaine goulfes of eight myles, as it had bin the entraunce of some great hauen, into the which the sayde violent streames did fall. These goulfes or streyghtes hee called Os Draconis, that is, the Dragoness mouth: and the lland directly ouer against the same, hee called Margarita. Out of these strayghtes, issued no lesse force of freshe water, whiche encountering with the salt, dyd striue to passe forth, so that betweene both the waters, was no small conflict: But entering into the goulfe, at the length hee founde the water thereof very fresh and good to drinke. The Admirall himselfe, and they which were his companions in this voyage, beeing men of good credite, and perceiuing my diligence in searching for these matters, tolde mee yet of a greater thing, that is, that for the space of xxvi. leagues, amountyng to a hundreth and foure myles, hee sayled euer by fresh water, insomuch that the further he proceeded, especially towarde the West, hee affirmed the water to bee the fresher. After this, hee came to a high mountaine inhabited onely with Monkeyes or Marmasets, on that parte towarde the East: For that side was rough with rockie and stonie mountaynes, and therefore not inhabited with men. Yet they that went alande to searche the countrey, founde neere vnto the sea, manie fayre fieldes, well tilled and sowed, but no people, nor yet houses or cotages: Perhappes they were gone further into the countrey, to sowe their corne and applye their husbandrie, as we often see our husbandemen to leaue their stations and villages for the same purpose. In the West side of that mountaine, they espyed a large playne, whither they made hast, and cast anker in the broad riuier. As soone as the inhabitantes had knowledge that a strange nation was arryued in their coastes, they came flocking without all feare to see our men. Wee vnderstoode by their signes and poyntinges, that this Region was called Paria, and that it was very large: insomuch that the further it reacheth toward the West, to bee so much the better inhabited and replenished with people. The Admirall therefore, taking into his ship foure of the men of that lande, searched the West partes of the same. By the temperatenes of the aire, the pleasantnes of the ground, and the multitude of people which they saw daily more & more as they sayled, they conjectured that these thinges portended some great matter: as indeede their opinion failed them not, as we will further declare in his place. The sunne not yet risen, but beginning euen now to rise, being one day allured by the pleasantnesse of the place, and sweete sauours which breathed from the lande to the shippes, they went alande: Here they found a greater multitude of people, then in any other place. As our men approached towarde them, there came

came certaine messengers from their Cacici, that is, the kings of the countrey; to desire the Admirall in the name of their Princes to come to their palaces without feare, and that they and all theirs shoulde be at his commaundement. When the Admirall hadde thanked them, and made his excuse for that time, there came innumerable people with their boates to the shippes, hauyng for the most parte cheynes about their neckes, garlandes on their heades, and braselettes on their armes of pearle of India, and that so commonly, that our women in playes and triumphes, haue not greater plentie of stones of glasse and crystall in their garlandes, crownes, girdels, and such other tyrements. Beeing asked where they gathered them, they pointed to the next shore by the sea bankes. They signified also, by certayne scornfull gestures which they made with their mouthes and handes, that they nothing esteemed pearles. Taking also baskettes in their handes they made signes that the same might bee filled with them in shorte space. But because the corne wherewith his shippes were laden to be caryed into Hispaniola, had taken hurt by reaso of the salt water, he determined to deferre this marte to a more conuenient time: Yet he sent to land two of the ship boates laden with men, to the intent to fetch some garlands of pearles for exchange of our thinges, and so somewhat to search the nature of the Region, and disposition of the people. They entertayned our men gentlyly, and came flocking to them by heapes, as it had beene to behold some strange monsters. First there came to meete our men, two men of grauitie, whome the multitude followed: One of these was well in age, and the other but young. They thinke it was the father, with his sonne which shoulde succeed him. When the one had saluted and embraced the other, they brought our menne into a certaine round house, neere vnto the whiche was a great courte. Hither were brought many chayers and stooles made of a certaine blacke wood, and very cunningly wrought. After that our men and their Princes were sette, their wayting men came in laden, some with sundry delicate dyshes, and some with wyne: But their meate, was onely frutes, and those of diuers kindes, and vterly vknowne to vs. Their wine was both white and redde, not made of grapes, but of the lycour of dyuers frutes, and very pleasaunte in drinking. After this banquette made in the olde mans house, the young man brought them to his tabernacle or mantion place, where was a great companie both of men and women, but they stood disseuered the one from the other. They are white, euen as our men are, sauing such as are much conuersant in the sunne. They are also very gentle, and full of humanitie toward strangers. They couer their priuie partes with Gossampine cotton, wrought with sundry colours, and are beside all naked. There was fewe, or none, that had not eyther a collar, a chayne, or a bracelet of golde and pearles, and many had all. Beeing asked where they had that golde, they poynted to certaine mountaines, seeming with their countenance to dissuade our menne from going thither: For putting their armes in their mouthes, and grynning as though they bytte the same, still poynting to the mountaines, they seemed to insinuate that menne were eaten there: but whether they meant by the Canibales, or wilde beastes, our men coulde not well perceiue. They tooke it exceeding grievously, that they coulde neither vnderstande our men, nor our men them. When they whiche were sent to lande, were returned to the shippes about three of the clocke at afternoone the same day, bringing with them certaine garlandes, and collers of pearles, they loosed their ankers to departe, minding to come againe shortly, when all thinges were sette in good order in Hispaniola: but hee was preuented by another, which defeated him of the rewarde of his traualle. Hee was also hindered at this time by reason of the shalownesse of the sea, & violent course of the water, which with continuall tossing, bruised the greatest shippe as often as any great gale of wind arose. To auoyde the daungers of suche shalowe places and shelves, hee euer sent one of the smallest Carauelles beefore to try the way with sounding, and the biggest shippes followed beehinde. The Regions being in the large prouince of Paria, for the space of CCxxx. myles, are called of the inhabitants, Cumana, & Manacapana: from these regions distant. xl. leagues, is there an other region called Curiana. When he had thus passed ouer this long tract of sea, supposing still that it had bin an Iland, & doubting that he might passe by the West to the North directly to Hispaniola, he chaunced into a ryuer of xxx. cubites depth, and of such breadth as hath not lightly beene heard of.

For

Chayres and
stooler of He-
bene.White men
neere the Equi-
noctiall.Shalownesse of
the sea.The vse of Ca-
rauells or Bri-
gandines.A ryuer of mar-
ueylous depth
and breadth.

For hee affirmeth it to bee xxviii. leagues. A little further towarde the West, yet some what more southwarde, as the bendyng of the shore requyred, he entered into a sea full of herbes or weedes. The seede of the herbes which swymme on the water, are much like the berryes of the tree called *Lentiscus*, which beareth the sweete gumme called *Mastix*: they grewe so thicke, that they sometimes in maner stayed the shippes. The Admirall reported, that here there is not one day throughout all the yeere much longer or shorter then an other, and that the North pole is here eleuate onely fve degrees as at Paria, in whose tracte all these coastes lye. He also declared certayne thinges as concerning the varietie of the North pole: the which because they seeme contrarie to th'opinions of all the Astronomers, I will touche them but with a drye foote, as sayth the prouerbe. But it is well knowen (most noble prince) that which wee call the pole starre, or North starre (called of the Italians *Tramontana*) is not the very poynt of the pole Artyke, vpon the which the axes or extremities of heauens are turned about. The which thing may well be proued, if when the starres first appeare, you behold the pole starre through any narowe hole: For so, applying your instrument therto in the morning, somewhat before the day spring haue blemished their light, if then you looke through the same hole, you shall perceiue it to be moued from the place where you sawe it first. But how it cometh to passe, that at the beginning of the euening twilight, it is eleuate in that Region onely fve degrees in the moneth of Iune, and in the morning twylight to be eleuate. xv. degrees by the same quadrant, I doe not vnderstand, nor yet doe the reasons which hee bryngeth, in any poynt satisfie me. For he sayeth that he hereby coniectured, that the earth is not perfectly round, but that when it was created, there was a certayne heape raysed thereon, much higher then the other partes of the same. So that (as he sayth) it is not rounde after the forme of an aple or a bal (as other thinke) but rather like a peare as it hangeth on the tree, and that Paria is the Region which possesseth the superminient or highest port thereof nearest vnto heauen: In so much that he earnestly contendeth the earthly Paradise to be sytuate in the toppes of those three hilles, which we sayde before, that the watchman saw out of the toppes castel of the shippe, and that the outragious streames of the freshe waters which so violently issue out of the sayd gulfes, and striue so with the salt water, fall headlong from the tops of the said mountaines: But of this matter, it shall suffice to haue said thus much. Let vs now therefore returne to the hystorie from which wee haue digressed. When he perceiued himselfe to be thus inwrapped in so great a gulfe beyond his expectation, so that he had now no hope to finde any passage toward the North, whereby he might sayle directly to Hispaniola, he was enformed to turne backe the same way by the which hee came, and directed his voiage to Hispaniola by the North of that land lying toward the East. They which afterwards searched this land more curiously, will it to bee parte of the continent or firme land of India, and not of Cuba as the Admirall supposed: For there are many which affirme that they haue sayled round about Cuba. But whether it be so or not, or whether enuying the good fortune of this man, they seeke occasion of quarrelling against him, I can not iudge: But time shall speake, which in time appointed, reuealeth both truth & falsehood. But whether Paria be continent or not, the Admirall doth not much contende, but hee supposeth it to bee continent: He also affirmeth that Paria is more southward then Hispaniola by eyght hundred fourescore and two myles. At the length he came to Hispaniola (to see his souldiers which he left with his brethren) the third day of the calendes of September, in the yeare, 1498, but (as often times chaunceth in humane thinges) among his so many prosperous, pleasant, and luckie affayres, fortune mingled some seedes of wormewood, and corrupted his pure corne with the malicious weedes of cockle.

¶ The seauenth booke of the first decade, to the same Lodouike Cardinall, &c.

WHen the Admirall was now come to the Iland of Hispaniola, hee founde all thinges confounded and out of order. For Roldanus (of whom wee spake before) refused in his absence to obey his brother, trusting to the multitude of such as were confedered with him, and not onely behaued himselfe proudly against the Admiralles brother and Lieuetenaunt, sometime his maister, but also sent letters to his reproch to the Kyng of Spayne therein accusyng both

The eleuation of the Pole at Paria.

Note a secrete as concerning the Pole starre.

An experience.

A marueylous secrete.

Time reuealeth al thinges.

The Spaniards rebell in the Admirall's absence.

both the brethren, laying haynous matters to their charge. But the Admirall agayne sent messengers to the King, whiche might informe him of their rebellion, instantly desiring his grace to sende hym a newe supplye of menne, whereby he might suppress their licentiousnes, and punish them for their mischieuous actes. They accuse the Admiral and his brother to be vniust menne, cruell enemies, and shedders of the Spanyshe bloode, declaring that vppon euery light occasion they would racke them, hang them, and head them, and that they tooke pleasure therein, and that they departed from them as from cruell tyrantes and wilde beastes reioycing in bloode, also the kinges enemies: affirming likewise, that they well perceiued their entent to be none other then to vsurpe the empire of the Ilands, which thing (they sayde) they suspected by a thousande coniectures, and especially in that they woulde permit none to resort to the golde mynes, but onely such as were their familiars. The Admirall on the contrary part, when hee desired ayde of the king to infringe their insolencie, auouched that all those his accusers, which had aduised such lyes against him, were noughtie fellowes, abhominable knaues and vilands, theeuers, and baudes, ruffians, adulterers, & rauishers of women, false periured vagaboundes, and such as had bin eyther conuict in prysons, or fledde for feare of iudgement: so escaping punishment, but not leauing vice, wherein they still contynued, and brought the same with them to the Iland. liuing there in like maner as before, in theft, lechery, & all kindes of mischief, and so giuen to idlenes and sleepe, that whereas they were brought thither for myners, labourers, & scullians, they would not now goe one furlong from their houses, except they were borne on mens backs, like vnto them which in olde time were called Ediles Curules: For, to this office they put the miserable Iland men whom they handled most cruelly. For least their hands shoulde discontinue from shedding of blood, and the better to try their strength and manhood, they vsed now & then for their pastime, to striue among themselves, & proue who could most cleanly with his sworde at one stroke strike of the heade of an innocent: So that hee which coulde with moste agilitie make the head of one of those poore wretches to flee quite and cleane from the body to the ground at one stroke, hee was the best man, and counted most honourable. These things, and many such other, the one of them laid to the others charge before the king. While these things were doing, the Admirall sent his brother the Lieutenaut with an armie of fourescore and tenne footemen, and a fewe horsemen (with three thousande of the Ilande men which were mortall enemies to the Ciguauians) to meete the people of Ciguana, with King Guarionexius their graunde capitayne, who hadde doone much mischief to our menne, and such as fauoured them. Therefore when the Lieutenaut had conducted his army to the bankes of a certaine great ryuer running by the playne, which wee sayde before to lye betweene the corners of the mountaynes of Ciguana and the sea, he found two scoutes of his enemies lurking in certeyne bushes, whereof the one, casting himselfe headlong into the sea, escaped, and by the mouth of the riuer swamme ouer to his companions: the other being taken, declared that in the woode on the other side the riuer, there lay in campe sixe thousande Ciguauians ready, vnwares to assayle our men passing by. Wherefore the Lieutenaut finding a shalow place where he might passe ouer, he with his whole armie entred into the ryuer, the which thing when the Ciguauians had espyed, they came runnyng out of the woodes with a terrible cry, and most horrible aspect, much like vnto the people called Agathyrsi, of whom the poet Virgil speaketh: For they were all paynted and spotted with sundry colours, and especially with blacke and red, which they make of certaine fruits norished for the same purpose in their gardens, with the iuyce whereof they paynt themselves from the forehead, euen to the knees, hauing their hayre (which by art they make long and blacke, if nature denye it them) wreathed and rolled after a thousande fashions, a man would thinke them to be deuilles incarnat newly broke out of hell, they are so like vnto helhounds. As our men waded ouer the ryuer, they shotte at them, and hurled dartes so thicke, that it almost tooke the light of the sunne from our men: insomuch that if they hadde not borne of the force thereof with their targettes, the matter had gone wrong with them. Yet at the length, many being wounded, they passed ouer the ryuer: which thing when the enimies sawe, they fled

The Spaniards
accuse the Ad-
miral.

The Admirals
answers.

These had the
custodies of the
temples.

A cruell &
deuillish pas-
time.

Hayre made
long & blacke by
arte.

whom

Kyng Maiobanexius.

An army of eight thousand Ciguauians.

King Guarionexius.

Naturall hatred of vyce.

The Lieutenantes gentlesse towards Maiobanexius.

whom our men pursuing, slue some in the chase, but not many, by reason of their swiftnesse of foote. Thus being in the wooddes, they shotte at our men more safely, for they being accustomed to the wooddes, and naked without any let passed through the bushes and shrubbes, as it had bin wild bores or Hartes, whereas our men were hindred by reason of their apparell, targets, long iauelins & ignorance of the place. Wherefore, when he had rested there all that night in vaine & the day folowing he sawe no stirring in the wooddes, he went (by the counsel and conduct of the other Ilande men which were in his army) immediately frō thence to the mountaines in the which king Maiobanexius had his cheefe mansion place, in the village called Capronum, by the which name also the kings place was called, being in the same village. Thus marching forward with his armie, about twelue myles of, he encamped in the village of another king, which the inhabitautes had forsaken for feare of our men: Yet making diligent search, they found two, by whom they had knowledg that there was tenne kinges with Maiobanexius in his palace of Capronum, with an armie of eight thousand Ciguauians. At the Lieutenants first approach, he durst not giue them battayle, vntill he had somewhat better searched the regions: yet did he in the meane time skirmish with them twice. The next nyght about midnight, hee sent forth scoutes, and with them guides of the Ilande men which knew the country. Whome the Ciguauians espying frō the mountaines prepared themselues to the battayle, with a terrible cry or alarum after their maner, but yet durst not come out of the woods supposing that the Lieutenant with his mayne army had bin euen at hand. The day folowing, when he brought his army to the place where they encamped, leaping out of the wooddes they twice attempted the fortune of warre, fiercely assaying our men with a mayne force: and wounding many before they coulde couer them with their targettes: Yet our men put them to flight, slue many, tooke many, the residue fled to the wooddes, where they kept them still as in their most safe holde. Of them which were taken, he sent one, and with him another of the Iland men, which was of his part, to Maiobanexius, with commaundement in this effect, The Lieutenant brought not hither his army (O Maiobanexius) to keepe warre either against you, or your people, for he greatly desireth your friendship: but his intent is, that Guarionexius, who hath perswaded you to be his ayde against him, to the great destruction of your people, and vndoing of your country, may haue due correction, as wel for his disobedience towards him, as also for raying tumultes among the people: Wherefore he requireth you, and exhorteth you to deliuer Guarionexius into their hands the which thing if you shall perfourme, the Admiral his brother will not only gladly admit you to his friendship, but also enlarge and defend your dominion. And if herein you refuse to accomplyshe his request, it will followe, that you shall shortly repente you thereof: For your kingdome shalbe wasted with sworde and fire, and shall abide the fortune of warre, whereof you haue had experience with fauour, as you shall further know heereafter to your payne, if with stubbornesse you prouoke him to shewe the vttermoste of his power. When the messenger had thus done his arant, Maiobanexius answered, that Guarionexius was a good man, indued with many vertues as al men knewe, and therefore he thought him worthy his ayde, especially in as much as he fled to him for succoure, and that he had made him such promise, whom also he had proued to be his faithful friend: againe, that they were noughty men, violent, and cruell, desiring other mens goodes, and such as spared not to shed innocents blood: in fine, that hee would not haue to doe with such mischieuous men, nor yet enter into friendshippe with them. When these thinges came to the Lieutenantes eare, he commanded the village to be burnt where he himselfe encamped, with many other villages there about: and when he drew nere to the place where Maiobanexius lay, he sent messengers to him againe, to commune the matter with him, & to will him to send some one of his most faithfull friendes to entreate with him of peace. Wherevpon the king sent vnto him one of his cheefe gentlemen, and with him two other to wayte on him. When he came to the Lieutenantes presence, he friendly required him to perswade his lord and maister in his name, and earnestly to admonishe him, not to suffer his flourishing kingdome to be spoyled, or himselfe to abide the hazard of warre for Guarionexius sake: and further to exhort him to deliuer him, excepte he would

would procure the destruction both of himselfe, his people, and his country. When the messenger was returned, Maiobanexius assembled the people, declaring vnto them what was done: but they cryed out on him to deliuer Guarionexius, and began to curse the day that euer they had receiued him, thus to disturbe their quietnesse. Maiobanexius answered them, that Guarionexius was a good man, & had well deserved of him, giuing him many princely presentes, and had also taught both his wife and him to sing and dance, which thing he did not little esteeme, and was therefore fully resolu'd in no case to forsake him, or agaynst all humanitie to betray his friend, which fled to him for succour, but rather to abide all extremities with him, then to minister occasion of obloquy to slaundersers, to reporte that he had betrayed his ghest, whom he tooke into his house with warranties. Thus dimissing the people, sighing and with sorrowfull harts, he called Guarionexius before him, promising him agayne, that he would be partaker of his fortune, while life lasted: in so much that he thought it not best to send any further woordes to the Lieutenant, but appoynted him whom beefore he sent to him, to keepe the way with a garrison of men, to the intent, that if any messengers shoulde be sent from the Lieutenaut to stay them by the way, & admit none to communication, or further entreatie of peace. In the meane time, the Lieutenaut sent two, whereof the one was a captiue Ciguauian, and the other an Ilande man, of them which were friendes to our men: and they were both taken and slayne. The Lieutenant followed them onely with ten footmen & foure horsemen, finding his messengers deade in the way, hee was further prouoked to wrath, and determined more extreamely to deale with Maiobanexius, & therfore went forward incontinently with his whole army to his chiefe pallace of Capronum, where he yet lay in campe. At his approch, all the kings fled, euery man his way, & forsooke their capitaine Maiobanexius, who also with all his family, fledde to the rough mountaynes. Some of the Ciguauians sought for Guarionexius to slay him, for that hee was the cause of all these troubles: but his feete saued his life, for he fledde in time to the mountaynes, where he lurked in maner alone among the desolate rockes. Whereas now the Lieutenantes souldiers were forewearyed with long warre, with watching, labour, and hunger (for it was nowe three moneths since the warres began) many desired leaue to depart to the tower of Conception, where they had granges, & exercised tillage. He gaue them their passeports with allowance of victayles, and so that onely thirtie remained with him. These three monethes warre, they continued verie painefull and miserably: So that during all that time, they had none other meate but only Cazibi, that is, such roots whereof they make their bread, and that but seldome to their fill: also Vsias, that is, little beastes like Conies, if by chaunce nowe and then they tooke some with their hounds. Their drinke was none other then water, suche as they founde, sometime sweet and sometime muddy, sauouring of the maryshes. Among these delicats, that little sleepe that they had, was euer for the most part abroad vnder the firmament, and that not without watchmen, and in continuall remouing as the nature of warre requireth. With these fewe therefore, the Lieutenant determin'd to search the mountaynes, dennes, and caues, if he could in any place finde the steppes of Maiobanexius or Guarionexius. In the meane time certaine of his men (whome hunger enforced to goe a hunting, to proue if they could take any conies) chanced vpon two of Maiobanexius familiars, which were sent to certaine villages of his, to make prouision of bread. These he enforced to declare where their lord lay hid, & vsed the same also for guides, to bring our men to the place. Twelue of our men tooke this enterpryse in hand, painting themselves after the maner of the Ciguauians: So that by this stratageme or policie, they came sodenly vpon Maiobanexius, and tooke him prysoner, with his wyfe, children and family, and conueighed them to the towre of Conception to the Lieutenant. Within a fewe dayes after, hunger compelled Guarionexius to come out of the denne, whome certaine of the people fearing the Lieutenant, beewrayed to our hunters. The Lieutenant beeing certified hereof, sent foorth a bande of foote men, commanding them to lye in ambush vtill such time as Guarionexius went from the playnes to the mountaynes, and then sodenly to entrappe him. They went as they were commaunded, tooke him, and brought him away with them, and by this meanes were all the regions neare about pacified

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A rare faithfulness in a barbarous king.

The Lieutenantes messengers are slaine.

The Spanyards are painfull in the warre.

A desperate adventure with thirtie men.

A policie.

A beautifull
woman.

The kinges sub-
mit themselves
to the Lieuten-
nant.

A new gouern-
nour of the
Ilande.

The Ocean sea
heretofore vn-
knowne.

The nauigation
of Petrus Al-
phonsus.

and quieted. A certayne noble woman of neere kinned to Maiobanexius, and wife to another king, whose dominion was yet vntouched, followed him in all these aduersities. They affirme this woman to bee the fayrest and most beautifull, that euer nature brought forth in the Iland: Whom, when the king her husbände, who loued her most ardently (as her beautie deserued) hearde say that she was taken prisoner, hee wandred vp and downe the desartes like a man out of his witte, not knowing what to doe or say. But at the length, he came to the Lieutenant, promising most faithfully, that hee woulde submit himselfe and all that he coulde make, vnder his power, so that hee woulde restore him his wife. The Lieutenant accepted the condition, & restored him his wife, with certain other rulers and gentlemen which he had taken prisoners before: charging them, and binding them with an othe, to be ready at his commaundement. Shortly after, this king of his owne free motion, came agayne to the Lieutenant, bringing with him fūe thousande men without weapons, sauing onely such instrumentes as they vse in tillage of their ground. He brought with him also seedes to sow, wherewith at his owne charge, hee caused such plentie of their corne and fruites to grow in sundry places of the large vale, whereof we spake before, that shortly after were seene many fayre and fruitfull fieldes that came thereof and for his gentlenesse beeing rewarded of the Lieutenaunt with certaine of our thinges, hee departed ioyfully. When the report hereof came to the Ciguauians, it moued the minds of the kinges to hope of clemencie, whereupon they came together to the Lieutenant with humble submission and faithfull promise, euer after to bee vnder his obedience, desiring him to restore vnto them their king with his familie. At their request, the Kinges wife and his housholde was sette at libertie, but the king kept still as a prisoner. These thinges did the Lieutenaunt in the Ilande, not yet knowing what his aduersaries and accusers hadde layde to his charge before the king of Spayne: who being disquieted with their quarrellinges and accusations, and especially for that by reason of their dissention, of so great abundance of golde and other thinges, there was as yet but little brought into Spayne, appointed a newe gouernour, which shoulde see a redresse in these thinges: and eyther to punishe such as were faultie, or else to sende them to him. What was founde against the Admirall and his brother, or against his aduersaries which accused him, I doe not well knowe. But this I am sure of, that both the brethren are taken, brought, & caste in pryson, with their goods confiscate. But as soone as the king vnderstood that they were brought bound to Cales, he sent messengers in post, with commaundement that they should be loosed and come freely to his presence: wherby he declared that he tooke their troubles grievously. It is also said, that the new gouernour sent letters to the king, written with the Admiralles hande in straunge and vknowne sypheringes, to his brother the Lieutenaunt being absent, willing him to bee in a readines with a power of armed men to come and aid him, if the Gouernour shoulde proffer him any violence. Whereof the gouernour hauing knowledge (as hee sayth) beeing also aduertised that the Lieutenaunt was gone to his brother before the menne which hee had prepared there in a readines, apprehended them both vnwares, before the multitude came together. What will followe, tyme, the most true and prudent iudge will declare. Thus fare ye well.

¶ The eight booke of the first Decade, to Cardinal Lodouike.

THE great, rich, and plentifull Ocean sea, heretofore vknowne, and now found by Christophorus Colonius the Admiral, by the authoritie & furtherance of the Catholike king, I haue presēted vnto your honor (right noble prince) like a golden chaine vnworkmanly wrought: but you shal now receiue a precious iewel to be appendant therto. Therefore among such as were pylots or gouernors vnder the Admiral, & had diligētly marked the courses & differēces of the windes, many had lycences granted them of the king to seeke further at their own charges, vpon cōditiō to pay him faithfully his portion, which is the fift part. But because amonge all other, one Petrus Alphonsus, called Nignus by his surname, sayled toward the South with more prosperous fortune then any of the other, I thinke it best first to speake somewhat of his voyage. He therefore with only one ship, wel furnished

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at his owne charges, after that he had his passeporte, with commaundement in no case to cast anker past fiftie leagues distant from any place where the Admirall had touched, sayled first to Paria, where the Admiral found both the men and women so laden with cheines garlandes, and braselettes of pearles, as we haue saide before. Coasting therefore along by the same shore, according to the kings commandement (yet leauing behind him the regions of Cumana and Manacapaná he came to the regions which thinhabitantis therof cal Curiana, where he found a hauen (as he saith) much like the porte of Gades or Cales: into the which etering he sawe a farre of certayne houses on the shore, and perceiued, when hee drewe neere, that it was a village of onely eight houses. Proceeding yet further for the space of three myles, he espied an other village well replenyshed with people, where there met him fiftie naked men on a company, hauing with them a certaine ruler, who desired Alphonsus to come to their coastes. He brought with him at this time, many haukes belles, pynnes, needels, braselettes, cheynes, garlandes, and rynges, with counterfet stones and glasses, and such other trifelles, the which within the moment of an houre, he had exchanged for fiftene ounces of their pearles, which they wore aboute their neckes and armes. Then they yet more earnestly desired him to sayle to their coastes, promising him that he should there haue as many pearles as he would desire. Hee condescended to their request: and the day folowing, came to the place where they appoynted him: Lying there at anker, a great multitude of people resorted to him, instantly requyryng him to come a land. But when he considered the innumerable multitude of people which was there assembled, and he had only. xxxiii. men in his company, he durst not commit him selfe to their handes, but gaue them to vnderstand by signes and tokens, that they should come to the ship with their Canoaes: for their boates (which the men of the lland cal Canoaes) are made only of one whole peece of wood as in the llands, yet more rude, and not so artificially as theirs are: these they call Gallitas. These swarmed therefore to the ship as faste as they might, bringing with them great plenty of pearles (which they cal Tenoras) exchanging the same for our marchaundies. He found this people to bee of gentle nature, simple, and innocent, being conuersant with them in their houses, for the space of xx. dayes. Their houses are made of wood, couered with the leaues of date trees. Their meate for the most parte, is the shel fishes in the which the pearles are engendered, wherof their sea costes are full. They haue also great plenty of wild beastes, as harts, wild bores, and connies like vnto hares, both in coloure and bignesse, stocke doues also, and turtle doues: likewise geese and duckes, which they norishe in their houses as we doe. Peacockes flie aboute in maner in euery wood and groue, but they are not distinct with sundry colours as ours are: for the cockes are like vnto the hennes. These people of Curiana are craftie hunters, & exceeding cunning archers, so that they will not lightly misse any beaste or birde that they shoote at. Our men consumed certaine daies heere very pleasantly: during which time, whosoever brought them a peacock, had for the same foure pinnes: he that brought a pheasaunt, had two, and for a stocke doue, or turtle doue, one, and for a goose, a smale looking glasse, or a little stöe of glasse. Thus they bought and sold with profering and bidding, denying and refusing, as it had bin in a great market. When pinnes were profered them, they asked what they shoulde doe with them, being naked: But our men satisfied them with a craftie answer, declaring by tokēs that they were very necessary, to picke their teeth, and to pull thornes out of their fleshe. But aboute all thinges, haukes belles were most esteemed among them, for their sound & faire colour, & would therefore giue much for one of them. Our men, lodging in their houses, heard in the night season horrible noise & ringes of the wild beastes in the woodes which are full of exceding great and high trees of sundrie kindes: but the beastes of these woodes, are not noysome to men, for the people of the countrey goe daylye a hunting naked, with their bowes and arrowes, yet hath it not beene heard of, that any man hath beene slayne of any wild beast. As many hartes and wild bores as our men would desire them to bring, they would kill in the woods with their arrowes, and not fayle to bring them. They lacke kyne, goates and sheepe. Their bread is made of rootes, as is theirs of the llandes. This nation, hath blacke hayre, grosse and somewhat curld, yet long also. They

Pearles for
trylla.Great plenty of
Pearles.Shel fishes in
which pearles
are engendered.Their manner of
bargaining.The vse of
pynnes.
Haukes belles in
great estimation.Roring of wild
beastes.Hartes and wilde
bores.

keepe their teeth very white, and for that purpose vse to cary a certaine hearbe betweene their lypes for the most part of the day, and to wash their mouthes when they cast it away. The women doe all their busines at home in their houses, and haue also the cure of tyllage of the ground: but the men apply themselves to the warres and hunting, to play, synging and daunsyng. They haue sundry kindes of water pottes iugges, and drinking cuppes made of earth in other places about them, and brought thither for exchange of other things. For they vse sayres and markettes for the same purpose, and are greatly desirous of such thinges, as are not brought forth or made in their countrey, as nature hath giuen a disposition to all men, to desire and be delighted with new and strange thinges. Many of them had hanging at their pearles the images of certeine beastes and birdes, very artificiously made of gold, but not pure: these also are brought them from other places for exchang of other thinges. The gold whereof they are made, is native and of much like finenes to that whereof the florens are coyned. The menne of this countrey, enclose their priue members in a gourd, cut after the fashiō of a codde peice, or els couer the same with the shell of a tortoyse, tyed about their loynes with laces of gossampine cotton: In other places of that tract, they thrust the sinew within the sheath thereof, and binde the skinne fast with a string. The great wild beastes whereof we spake before, and many other thinges which are not found in any of the Ilandes, testifie that this region is part of the continent or firme lande. But the chieffest coniecture whereby they argue the same, is, that by the coastes of that lande, from Paria toward the West, they sayled about three M. myles, finding no signe or token of any end. These people of Curiana (which some call Curtana) being demaunded where they had such plenty of golde, signified that it was brought them from a region called Canchieta, or Cauchietæ, being distant from them sixe sunnes, that is, sixe dayes iourney westward: and that their images of golde were made in the same region. Whereupon our men directed their voyage thither immediatly, and arryued there at the Calendes of Nouember, in the yeare of CHRIST a thousand and fiue hundred. The people of the countrey resorted to them without feare, bringing with them of the golde which we sayd to bee native in that region. This people hadde also collers of pearles about their neckes, which were brought them from Curiana for exchange of their marchandise. None of them would exchange any of those thinges which they hadde out of other countreys: as neyther the Curians golde, nor the Canchietans pearles: yet among the Canchietans they found but litle gold ready gathered: They tooke with them from thence certain very sayre Marmasets or Munkeyes, and many Popingayes of sundry coloures. In the moneth of Nouember, the ayre was there most temperate, and nothing colde. The guardens of the North pole were out of sight to both these people, they are so neare the Equinoctial. Of the degrees of the pole, they can giue none other accompt. These people are well disposed men, of honest conditions, and nothing suspitious, for almost all the night long they resorted to the shippe with their boates, and went aboorde shippe without feare, as did the Curians. They call pearles, Corixas. They are somewhat iealous, for when any straungers come among them, they euer place their women beehind them. In this region of Canchieta, the gossampine trees growe of themselves commonly in many places, as doe with vs Elmes, Willowes, and Sallowes: and therefore they vse to make breeches of cotton, wherewith they couer their priue partes in many other Regions thereabout. When they had yet sayled on forward by the same coastes, there came forth against them about two thousand men, armed after their manner, forbydding them to come a land. These people were so rude and sauage, that our men could by no meanes allure them to familiaritie. Our men therefore, cōtented only with their pearles, returned backe the same way they came, where they remayned with the Curians continually for the space of xx. dayes, and filled their bellies wel with good meate. And here it semeth to me not farre from my purpose, to declare what chaunced vnto them in their returne when they came now within the sight of the coast of Paria. They happened therefore in the way, at Os Draconis, and the gulfes of Paria (wherof we spake before) to meete with a nauy of xviii. Canoes of Canibals, which went a rousing to hunt for men who assoone as they had espied our men, assailed their ship fiercely, & without feare enclosed the same, disturbing

Cunning artificers.
Base golde.

Tokens of the continent or firme lande.

The golden region of Canchieta.

The Equinoctial line.

Gossampine trees.

Canibales in the gulfes of Paria.

disturbing our men on euery side with their arrowes: but our men so feared thē with their gunnes, that they fled immediatly, whom our men following with the shipp boate, tooke one of their Canoaes, and in it only one Canibal (for the other had escaped) and with him another man bounde, who with teares running downe his cheekes, and with gesture of his handes, eyes, and head, signified that sixe of his companions had bin cruelly cut in peeces, and eate of that mischeiuous nation, and that he should haue bin likewise handled the day folowing: wherefore they gaue him power ouer the Canibal, to do with him what he would. Then with the Canibals owne clubbe, he laide on him all that he might driue with hand and foote, grinning and fretting as it had ben a wild bore, thinking that he had not yet sufficiently reuenged the death of his companions, when he had beaten out his braynes and guttes. When he was demanded after what sort the Canibales were wont to inuade other countries, he answered, that they euer vsed to carye with them in their Canoaes, a great multitude of clubbes, the which, wheresoeuer they doe land they pitch in the grounde, and encampe themselves within the compasse of the same, to lie the more safely in the night season. In Curiana they found the head of a capitaine of the Canibales, nayled ouer the doore of a certaine gouernour for a token of victorie, as it had bin the standerd or helmet taken from the enimie in battaile. In these costes of Paria is a region called Haraia, in the which great plentie of salt is gathered after a strange sorte: for the sea being there tossed with the power of the wyndes, dyueth the salt waters into a large plaine by the sea side, where, afterwarde when the sea waxeth calme, and the sunne beginneth to shine, the water is congealed into most pure and white salte, wherewith innumerable shippes might bee laden, if men did resort thether for the same before there fall any rayne: For the rayne melteth it, and causeth it to sinke into the sand, and so by the poares of the earth to returne to the place from whence it was dryuen. Other say, that the playne is not filled from the sea, but of certaine springes whose water is more sharpe and salt then the water of the sea. Thinhabitantes doe greatly esteeme this bay of sault, which they vse, not onely for their owne commoditie, but also working the same into a square forme like vnto bricke, they sell it to strangers for exchange of other thinges which they lacke. In this Region, they stretch and drie the dead bodies of their kinges and noble men, laying the same vpon a certayne frame of wcod, much like vnto a hurdle or grediron, with a gentell fire vnder the same, by lyttle and little consuming the flesh, and keeping the skinne hole with the bones inclosed therein. These dried carcasses, they haue in great reuerence, and honour them for their houshold and familiar gods. They say that in this place they sawe a man, & in an other place a women, thus dried and reserued. When they departed from Curiana, the. viii. day of the Ides of February, to returne to Spayne, they had threescore and. xvi. poundes weight (after viii. vneces to the pound) of pearles, which they bought for exchange of our thinges, amounting to the value of siue shillings. Departing therfore, they consumed threescore dayes in their iourney (although it were shorter then from Hispaniola) by reason of the continual course of the sea in the West, which did not only greatly stay the shippe, also but sometimes driue it backe. But at the length they came home so laden with pearles, that they were with euery mariner, in maner as common as chaffe. But the master of the shippe Petrus Alphonsus, being accused of his companions that he had stolen a great multitude of pretious pearles, and defrauded the king of his portion which was the fifth parte, was taken of Fernando de Vega a man of great learning and experience, & gouernour of Gallecia, where they aryued, and was there kept in prison a long time. But hee still denieth that euer he deteyned any part of the pearles. Many of these pearles were as bigge as hasell nuttes and as oriente (as we call it) as they be of the East partes: Yet not of so great price, by reason that the holes thercof are not so perfecte. When I my selfe was present with the right honorable duke of Methyna, and was biddē to dynner with him, in the citie of Ciuille, they brought to him aboue a hundred and twentie ounces of pearles to bee solde, which surely dyd greatly delight me with their fairenes and brightnes. Some say, that Alphonsus had not these pearles in Curiana, being distant from Os Draconis more then a hundred & twentie leagues, but that they had them in the regions of Cumana and Manacapana, nere vnto

Death for death.

How the Canibales fortifie their campe.

Haraia.

Springes of salt waters.

The bodies of prynces dried and reserued.

Orient pearles as bygge as Hasell nutts.

The Ilande of
Margarita.

vnto Os Draconis and the Iland of Margarita: for they deny that there is any pearles founde in Curiana. But sith the matter is yet in controuersie, we will passe to other matters. Thus much you haue, whereby you may coniecture, what commoditie in time to come may be looked for from these newe landes of the West Ocean, whereas at the first discovering, they shewe such tokens of great riches. Thus fare ye well.

¶ The. ix. booke of the first Decade to Cardinall Lodouike.

The nauigation
of Vincentius,
and Aries Pin-
zonus.

Vincentiagnes Pinzonus, and also Aries Pinzonus, his neuiew by his brothers syde, which accompanied the Admirall Colonus in his first voyage, & were by him appoynted to be maisters of two of the small shippes which the Spaniards call Carauelas, being moued by the great ryches & amplitude of the new landes, furnished of their owne charges foure Carauelas, in the hauen of their owne country, which the Spaniardes call Palos, bordering on the West Ocean. Hauing therfore the kings licence & passeport to depart, they loosed from the hauen, about the Calendes of December, in the yeere. 1499. This hauen of Palos, is threescore & twelue myles distante from Gades, cōmonly called Cales, and lxiii. miles from Ciuile. All thinhabitantes of this towne, not one excepted, are greatly giuē to searching of the sea, and continually exercised in sayling. They also directed their viage first to the Iland of Canarie by the Ilands of Hesperides, now called Cabouerde, which some call Gorgodes Meducias. Sayling therfore directly toward the South from that Iland of Hesperides which the Portugales (being possessers of the same) call Sancti Iacobi, and departing from thence at the Ides of Ianuary, they followed the Southwest winde, being in the middest betwene the South and the West. When they supposed that they had sayled about three hundred leagues by the same winde, they say that they lost the sight of the North starre: and were shortly after tossed with exceeding tempestes both of wind, and sea, and vexed with intolerable heate: Yet sayled they on further (not without great daunger) for the space of two hundred & fortie leagues folowing yet the same wind by the lost pole. Wherefore, whether habitable regions be vnder the Equinoctiall line or not, let these men and the oulde wryters, aswell Philosophers as poetes and cosmographers discusse. For these men affirme it to be habitable and meruelously replenished with people: and they, that it is vnhabitable by reason of the sunne beames depending perpendicularly or directly ouer the same. Yet were there many of the old writers, which attempted to proue it habitable. These maryners being demaunded, if they saw the South pole, they answered that they knew no star there like vnto this pole, that might be decerned about the poynt: but that they sawe an other order of starres, and a certeine thick myst rysyng from the horizontal lyne, which greatly hindered their sight. They contende also, that there is a great heape or rising in the middest of the earth, which taketh away the sight of the South pole, vntill they haue vtterly passed ouer the same: but they vtterly belecue that they sawe other images of starres, much differing from the situation of the starres of our hemispherie, or halfe circle of heauen. How so euer the matter be, as they informe vs, we certifie you. At the length, the seuenth day of the Calendes of February, they espied lande a farre of, and seeing the water of the sea to be troubleous, sounding with their plummet, they founde it to be xvi. fathames deepe. Going aland, and taryng there for the space of two dayes, they departed, because they sawe no people stirring, although they found certeyne steppes of men by the sea side. Thus grauing on the trees & the stones neere vnto the shore, the kinges name and theirs, and the time of their comming thither, they departed. Not farre from this station, following the fiers on the land by night, they founde a nation lying vnder the open firmament, after the manner of warre. Our men thought it not best to trouble them vntill the morning: Therefore, at the rysing of the sunne, fortie of our men well armed went toward them: against whom came forth. xxxii. of them with bowes, slinges and dartes, euen ready to fight. The other company followed them, armed after the same maner. Our men affirme that they were of higher stature then either the Almaynes or Pannonians. They behelde our men with frowning and threatning countenance: but our men thought it not good to fall to bickering with them, vncertayne whether it were for feare, or because they would not driue them to flight.

Wherefore

The Ilandes of
Canarie.
Cabouerde.

S. James Ilande.

The northpole
out of sight.

Habitable re-
gions vnder the
Equinoctial
lyne.

People of high
stature.

Wherefore they went about to allure them by faire meanes & rewardes but they refused all kinde of gentleness, and stood euer in a readinesse to fight, declaring the same by signes and tokens. Thus our men resorted to their shippes, and they to the place from whence they came, without any further busines. The same night about midnight, they fledde, & left the place voyde where they lay in the campe. Our men suppose them to be a vagabound and wandering nation, like vnto the Scithians, without houses or certaine dwelling places, liuing onely with the fruites of the earth, hauing their wiues and children following them. Suche as measured their footesteppes in the sande, affirme with great othes, that one of their secte is almost as long as two feete of our men of the meane sorte. Sayling on yet further, they found an other riuer, but not of depth sufficient to beare the Carauels: they sent therefore the foure shippe boates to lande, full of armed men to search the country. They espyed vppon a high hill neere vnto the sea side, a great multitude of people, to whom our companie sent forth one man with certayne of our thinges to allure them to exchange. And when he had cast a hawkes bel towarde them, they cast downe a wedge of golde a cubit longe: the whiche as hee stouped to take vp, they sodenly inclosed him and caryed him away. But hee was shortly after rescued by his companions, to some of their paines: for they slue eight of our men, & wounded many a farre of, with their arrowes, and dartes made of wood, hardened at the endes with fire. After this they encompassed our shippe boates within the riuer, and came rashly within the reach of our menne, laying holde on the boates sides, where they were thrust through, and hewen in peeces as it had bin sheepe, by reason they were naked. Yet woulde they not for all this giue ouer, but tooke from our men one of their boats hauing no men in it: for the gouernour thereof beeing slayne with an arrowe, the other fledde and escaped. And thus they left this fierce and warlike people, sayling towarde the Northwest, along by the same coastes, with sorrowfull heartes for the death of their companions. When they had sayled about xl. leagues, they chanced into a sea of freshe water, that they filled their barrells and hoggesheades therewith. Searching the cause heereof, they vnderstoode that a vehement course of riuers descended with great violence from the toppes of certaine great hilles. They say also that there lyeth within the sea, manie fortunate and fruitefull Ilandes, and well inhabited, and that the inhabitantes of this tract are men of meeke nature, and such as doe not refuse straungers, yet little profitable to them, because they haue no marchandyes for their purpose, as golde, or precious stones: for lacke whereof, they brought from thence thirtie captiues to sell for slaues. The inhabitantes call this region Mariatambal. The region of the East parte of that ryuer, is called Camomorus, and that of the West part Paricora, in the midlande whereof, the inhabitantes signified that there is great plentie of golde: For, following this riuer directly toward the North (as the bending of the shore required) they recouered againe the sight of the North pole. All the coaste of this tract, pertaineth to Paria, the which (as we said before) was first found by Colonius himselfe, and hath in manner in euery place great abudaunce of pearles. They say that these coastes are adioynning vnto, and all one with Os Draconis, and also bordering vppon the regions of Cumana, Manacapana, Curiana, Cauchieta, and Cuchibachoa. Wherefore they thought it to be part of the firme land of India beyond the riuer of Ganges. For the great & large compasse therof, doth not permit that it should be an Ilande, albeit the whole earth vncouered with water, largely taken, may be called an Ilande. From the poynt of that land where they lost the sight of the North pole, sayling by a continuall tracte about three hundred leagues towarde the West side of Paria they say that (almost in the midway) they chanced into a riuer called Maragnonum, which they affirme to bee of such exceeding breadth, that it might seeme incredible, if the antiques did not make mention of the like. Being demaunded of me if it were not salt water where it diueded the lande, they answered that the water therof was very freshe and sweete, and that the further it ranne, to be so much the fresher: also full of Ilandes and wholesome fishe: they dare auouch the breadth therof to be more then thirtie leagues. Yet if we well weigh and consider the largenesse and widenesse of Boriostomea and Spiriostomea, the mouthes of the famous riuer of Ister (now called Danubius) and howe farre they violate or corrupt

A vagabound kinde of men.

Giants.

Desperate boldnes.

A sea of fresh water.

Many fruitfull Ilandes.
Humane people.

Regions of Paria.

Gold & pearles.

The commodities of the regions & lands about Paria. Brasile.

Canibales.

Trees of Cassia fistula.

A monstrous beast.

Extreme remedie in a desperate case.

Cinamome and Ginger.

Topases.

corrupt the salt water with their freshnesse, we shall cease to marueyle, although this other riuer be greater: for who can diminish the power of nature, but that it may make this bigger then the other, and another bygger then this? And I suppose this to bee the ryuer whereof Colonus the Admirall made mention in the description of his voyage in these coastes. But we shall hereafter haue further knowledge hereof: let vs nowe therefore returne to the cōmodities of these regions. They found in many llands about Paria: great woodes of Brasile trees, and brought away with them three thousande poundes weighte thereof. They say that the Brasile of Hispaniola, is much better then this to dye cloth with a more faire and durable colour. From hence, folowing the windes (which the Spaniardes cal Northest, and the Italians Græco) they passed by many llandes very fruitfull, yet left desolate and wasted by reason of the crueltie of the Canibales: for they went alande in many places, they found the ruines of many destroyed houses: yet in some places, they found men, but those exceeding fearefull, flieing to the mountaines, rockes, and woodes at the sight of euery straunger or shippe, & wandering without house or certaine abyding places, for feare of the Canibales laying waite and hunting after them. Here they found those great trees which of them selues in diuers places bring forth that fruite or spice, which the Apothecaries cal Cassia Phistula, and that of no lesse goodnesse, then that which the phisitions minister to such as be diseased with the ague, but it was not ripe at their being there. They affirme that there are trees of such bygnesse, that. xvi. men ioyning handes together, and standing in compasse, can scarcely embrace some of them. Among these trees is found that monstrous beaste with a snout like a foxe, a tayle like a marmasette, eares like a bat, handes like a man, and feete like an ape, bearing her whelpes aboute with her in an outward bellie much like vnto a greate bagge or purse. The dead carkasse of this beast, you sawe with mee, and turned it ouer and ouer with your owne handes, marueyling at that new belly, and wonderful prouision of nature. They say it is knowne by experience, that shee neuer letteth her whelpes goe out of that purse, except it be either to play, or to sucke vntill such time that they bee able to gette their liuing by themselves. They tooke this beaste with her whelpes: But the whelpes died shortly after in the shippes. Yet the damme liued certaine monethes: but at the length, not being able to abide so great alteration of ayre, and change of meat, she died also in the way. But of this beaste, wee haue said enough. Let vs now therefore returne to the aucthours of these thinges. These two Pinzoni, the vncke and the newiew, sustained many greate troubles & horrible tempestes and perilles in this nauigation. For when they had now sailed by the coastes of Paria about sixe hūdred leagues, & (as they supposed) beyond the citie of Cathay and the costes of East India beyond the riuer of Ganges, there rose sodenly so fierce a tempest in the month of Iuly, that of the foure Carauels which they had with them, two were drowned euen before their eyes: and the third lying at anker, with like sodennes caried out of their sight through the violence of the tempest: the fourth also lying at anker, was so shaken and broosed, that all the seames thereof were almost loosed: Yet came they to land out of this last shyp, but vterly despairing of the ship. Wherefore consulting with themselves what was best to bee done in so extreeme a case, and how to prouide them a safe dwelling place in those Regions, being out of all hope how to depart from thence, they determined to stay all the inhabytauntes of the country neere about them, least they with the other should conspire together to kill them, but their fortune was better: For the Carauel which the tempest had caried away, was come to them againe. This had in it. xviii. men: And the other that remained, was saued and repaired. With these two therefore, they tooke their voyage directly to Spayne and thus being tossed with tempestes, & vexed with aduersities they returned to their natieue country of Palos, to their wyues and children, the day before the Calendes of October, with the losse of many of their deere friēds & neighbours. They brought with them Cinamome and ginger: but not very good, because they were not there fully seasoned with the heate of the sunne, before they brought them from thence. They brought also certayne precious stones, which Baptista Elysius that excellent philosopher, and your Lordshippes Phisition, affirmeth to be true Topases. After these mens returne, other of their neighbours being moued thereto by a certayne emulation, to proue if their fortune would

would be any better, like men of good corage, being no thing discomforted by the harde fortune of their neighbours, knowing that it oftentimes chaunceth, that that which is one mans vndoing, is another mans making, attempted a new voiage toward the South by the coastes of Paria, following the steps of Colonus the Admirall, who hadde first discovered the same. They also brought with them great plentie of Cassia fistula, and found that precious medicine callet of the Spaniards Animæ album, whose perfume is of most excellent effect to heale the reumes, murrus, and heauines of the head. As touching this viage, as yet I know no other newes that I thought worthy to certifie you of, wherefore, I will now make an end of this book, because you put me so often in remembrance of your departure: Yet to accom- plishe the Decade, I will declare somewhat of the superstitions of Hispaniola. You shal now therefore vnderstand the illusions wherewith the people of the llande haue beene seduced after the errors of the old gentilitie, and wandered in the ignorance and blindness of humane nature, corrupted of the disobedience of our first parentes, which hath remayned in all nations vpo the face of the earth, except where it hath pleased God by the light of his spirite by his worde, to powre vpon his elect the grace of renouation, by the light whereof the naturall darknes receiueth some clearnesse as in a glasse, vntil imperfection shall be abolished. Our men therefore were long in the lland of Hispaniola, before they knew that the people thereof honoured any other thing then the lightes of heauen, or hadde any other religion: but when they hadde beene longe conuersaunt with them, and by vnderstanding their language, drew to a further familiaritie, they had knowledge that they vsed diuers rites and superstitions: I haue therefore gathered these fewe thinges following, out of a booke written by one Ramonus an Heremite, whome Colonus hadde left with certayne kinges of the llande to instruct them in the Christian faith. And because in maner their whole religion is none other thing then idolatrie, I will beegin at their idoles. It is therefore apparant by the images which they honour openly and commonly, that there appeare vnto them in the night visions, certayne phantasies and illusions of euil spirites, seducing them into many fonde and foolish errors for they make certaine images of Gossampine cotton, folded or wreathed after their manner, and hard stopped within. These images they make sitting, muche like vnto the pictures of spirits and deuilles which our paynters are accustomed to paynt vpon wallles: but forasmuch as I my self sent you foure of these Images, you may better presently signifie vnto the king your vncler, what manner of thinges they are, and howe like vnto paynted deuilles, then I can expresse the same by writing. These images, the inhabitauntes call Zemes, whereof the leaste, made to the likenesse of young deuilles, they binde to their foreheades when they goe to the warres against their enemies, and for that purpose haue they raine bee lacking, likewise sayre weather: for they think that these Zemes are the mediatours and messengers of the great God, whom they acknowledge to be onely one, eternall, without end, omnipotent, and inuisible. Thus euery king hath his particular Zemes, which he honoureth. They call the eternall ged by these two names, locauna and Guamaconocon, as their predecessours taught them, affirming that hee hath a father called by these five names: that is, Attabeira, Mamona, Guacarapita, Liella, Guimazoa. Nowe shall you heare what they fable on the earth as touching the originall of man. There is in the llande, a region called Caunana, where they faime that mankinde came first out of two caues of a mountaine: and that the biggest sorte of men came forth of the mouth of the biggest caue, and the least sort out of the least caue. The rocke in the which tense caues are, they call Cauta. The greatest denne, they name Cazibaxagua, and the lesse Amaiauna. They say, that before it was lawfull for men to come forth of the caue, the mouth of the caue was kept and watched nightly by a man whose name was Machochael: this Machochael, departing somewhat farre from the caue, to the intent to see what thinges were abroad, was sodenly taken of the sunne, (whose sight he was forbidden) & was turned into a stone. They sayne the like of diuers other, that whereas they went forth in the night season a fishing so farre from the caue, that they could not returne before the rising of the sunne (the which it was not lawfull for them to behold) they were transformed

Men of noble courage. Another voyage.

Animæ album.

The superstitions of Hispaniola. The errors of the olde gentilitie.

Idolatrie and idoles.

Illusions of euil spirites. Images of gossampine cotton.

Young deuils.

Fables muche like Ouide his transformations.

into Myrobalane trees, which of themselves grow plentifully in the Iland. They say furthermore, that a certayne ruler called Vagoniona, sent one forth of the caue to goe a fishing, who by like chance was turned into a Nightingale, because the sunne was risen beefore hee came agayne to the caue: and that yeerely about the same time that he was turned into a bridge, he doth in the night with a mourning song bewaile his misfortune, and call for the helpe of his maister Vagoniona: And this they thinke to bee the cause why that bird singeth in the night season. But Vagoniona, being sore troubled in his mind for the losse of his familiar friend whom he loued so entirely, leauing the men in the caue, brought forth onely the women with their sucking children, leauing the women in one of the Ilandes of that tract, called Mathinino, and caryed the children away with him: which poore wretches oppressed with famine, faynted and remayned on the banke of a certayne ryuer, where they were turned into frogges, and cryed toa, toa, that is, mamma, mamma, as children are wont to crye, for the mothers pappe. And heereof they say it commeth that frogges vse to cry so pitifully in the spring time of the yeare: And that men were scattered abroade in the caues of Hispaniola without the companie of women. They say also, that wheras Vagoniona himselfe was accustomed to wander in diuers places, and yet by a speciall grace neuer transformed, descended to a certayne faire woman whom he sawe in the bottome of the sea, & receiued of her certayne pibble stones of marble (which they called Cibas) and also certayne yellowe and bright plates of lattin which they call Guaninos. These thinges to this day are had in great estimation among the kinges, as goodly iewelless, and most holy reliques. But nowe (most noble prince) you shall heare a more pleasaunt fable. There is a certayne caue called Iouanaboina, in the territorie of a certayne king whose name is Machinnech: This caue they honour more religiously then did the Greekes in time paste, Corinth, Cyrrha, or Nysa, and haue adourned it with pictures of a thousand fashions. In the intrance of this caue they haue two grauen Zemes, whereof the one is called Binthaitel, and the other Marohu. Being demanded why they had this caue in so great reuerence, they answered earnestly, because the sunne and the moone came first out of the same to giue light to the world: they haue religious concourse to these caues, as we are accustomed to goe on Pylgrimage to Rome, or Vaticane, Compostella, or Hierusalem, as most holy & head places of our religion. They are also subject to another kind of superstition: for they thinke that dead folks walke in the night, and eate the fruite called Guannaba, vnknowne vnto vs, & somewhat like vnto a Quinse: affirming also that they are cōuersant with liuing people: euen in their beddes, and to deceiue women in taking vpon them the shape of men, shewing themselves as though they would haue to doe with them: but when the matter commeth to actual deede, sodainly they vanishe away. If any do suspect that a dead body lyeth by him, whē he feeleth any strāg thing in the bed, they say he shall bee out of doubt by feeling of the bellie thereof: affirming that the spirites of dead men may take vpon them all the members of mans body, sau- ing onely the nauel. If therefore by the lacke of the nauel he doe perceiue that a dead body lyeth by him, the feeling is immediately resolued. They beleue verily, that in the night, and oftentimes in ther iourneies, and especially in common and high wayes, dead men doe meete with the liuing: Against whom, if any man bee stout and out of feare, the fantasie vanisheth incontinently: but if anie feare, the fantasie or vision dooth so assaulte him and strike him with further feare, that many are thereby astonysed, and haue the lymmes of their bodies taken. The inhabitauntes beeing demanded of whom they had those vaine superstitions, they answered, that they were left them of their forefathers, as by discent of inheritance, and that they haue had the same before the memorie of man, composed in certaine rimes and songes, which it was lawfull for none to learne, but onely the kinges sonnes, who committed the same to memorye because they had neuer any knowledge of letters. These they sing before the people on certaine solemne and festiuall dayes as most religious ceremonies: while in the meane time they play on a certaine instrument made of onewhole peece of wood somewhat holowe like a timbrel. Their priestes and diuines (whom they call Boitios) instructe them in these superstitions: These priestes are also phisitions, deuising a thousand craftes and subtilties howe to deceiue the simple people which haue them in great reuerence:

for

The Nightyn-
gale.The Ilande of
Mathinino.Children turned
into frogs.

A speciall grace.

Holy reliques.

A holy caue.

The originall
of the sunne
and moone.Walkyng
spirites.A remedie a-
gainst walking
spirites.Priestes and
diuine Phi-
sitions.

for they perswade them that the Zemes vse to speak with them familiarly, and tel them of things to come. And if any haue ben sicke, and are recouered they make the beleue that they obtained their health of the Zemes. These Boitii bind themselves to much fasting, & outward cleanness, and purginges, especially when they take vpon them the cure of any prince, for then they drinke the powder of a certaine herbe by whose qualitie they are driuen into a fury, at which time (as they say) they learne many things by reuelation of the Zemes. Then putting secretly in their mouthes, eyther a stone, or a bone, or a peece of flesh, they come to the sick persō commanding al to depart out of that place except one or two whom it shall please the sicke man to appoynt: this done, they goe about him three or foure times, greatly deforming their faces, lipps, and nostrils with sundry filthy gestures, blowing, breathing, and sucking the forehead, temples, and necke of the patient, whereby (they say) they drawe the euil ayre from him, and sucke the disease out of the vaynes: then rubbing him, about the shoulders, thighes and legges, and drawing downe their handes close by his feete, holding them yet faste together, they runne to the doore being open, where they vnclose and shake their hands, affirming that they haue driuen away the disease, and that the patient shall shortly be perfectly restored to health. After this comming behinde him, hee conueigheth a peece of fleshe out of his owne mouth like a iuggeler, and sheweth it to the sicke man, saying, Behold, you haue eaten to much, you shall nowe bee whole, because I haue taken this from you. But if he entend yet further to deceiue the patient, hee perswadeth him that his Zemes is angry, eyther because he hath not builded him a chappell, or not honoured him religiously, or not dedicated vnto him a groue or garden. And if it so chauce that the sicke person die, his kinsfolks, by witchcrafte, enforce the dead to confesse whether he died by naturall destey, or by the negligēce of the Boitius, in that he had not fasted as he should haue done, or not ministred a cōuenient medicine for the disease: so that if this phisition be found faultie, they take reuenge of him. Of these stones or bones which these Boitii cary in their mouthes, if the women can come by them, they keepe them religiously, beleeu- ing them to be greatly effectuell to helpe women traueling with childe, and therefore honour them as they do their Zemes. For diuers of the inhabitantes honour Zemes of diuers fashions: some make them of wood, as they were admonished by certaine visions appearing vnto them in the woods: Other, which haue receiued aunswer of them among the rockes, make them of stone and marble. Some they make of rootes, to the similitude of such as appeare to them when they are gathering the rootes called Ages, whereof they make their bread, as we haue said before. These Zemes they beleue to send plentie & fruitfulness of those rootes, as the antiquitie beleued such fayries or spirits as they called Dryades, Hamadryades, Satyros, Panes, and Nereides, to haue the cure & prouidence of the sea, woods, springes, and fountaines, assigning to euery thing their peculiar goddes: Euen so doe thinhabitantes of this Iland attribute a Zemes to euery thing, supposing the same to giue eare to their inuocations. Wherefore, as often as the kings aske counsell of their Zemes as concerning their warres, increase of fruites or scarcenes, or health & sicknesse, they enter into the house dedicate to their Zemes, where, snuffing vp into their nosthryles the poudre of the herbe called Cohobba (wherwith the Boitii are dryuen into a furie) they say that immediatly they see the houses turned topsie turnie, and men to walke with their heeles vppward, of such force is this poudre, vtterly to take away al sence. As soone as this madnesse ceaseth, he embraceth his knees with his armes, holding downe his head. And when he hath remayned thus awhile astonysed, hee lifteth vp his head, as one that came newe out of sleepe: and thus looking vp toward heauen, first he fumbleth certaine confounded wordes with himselfe, then certayne of the nobilitie or chiefe gentlemen that are about him (for none of the common people are admitted to these mysteries) with loude voyces giue tokens of reioicing that hee is returned to them from the speech of the Zemes, demanding of him what he hath scene. Then hee opening his mouth, doateth that the Zemes spake to him during the time of his trance, declaring that he had reuelations either cōcerning victorie or destruction, famine or plentie, health or sicknesse or whatsoever happeneth first on his tongue. Now (most noble Prince) what neede you hereafter

Ignorance is
nourished with
superstition.

A powder of
marvellous
effect.

A strange man-
ner of furyng.

Angry gods.

They make the
dead to speake.

Fayries or spi-
rites of the gen-
tiles, much like
to the payntes.

The poudre of
the herbe Co-
hobba.

Secrete mys-
teries.

Reuelation:

The spirit of
Apollo.
The Sibylles.

Children with
two crownes.

Wandering
images.

A woman Zemes
of great power.
Mediatours.

A marueylous
illusion of the
deuyll.

The idollies
abolished.

hereafter to marueyle of the spirite of Apollo so shaking his Sibylles with extreame furie: you hadde thought that the superstitious antiquitie hadde perished. But nowe whereas I haue declared thus much of the Zemes in general, I thought it not good to let passe what is sayde of them in particular. They say therefore that a certaine king called Guamaretus, had a Zemes whose name was Corochotum, who (they say) was oftentimes wont to descend from the highest place of the house where Guamaretus kept him close boūd. They affirme that the cause of this his breaking of his bandes and departure, was eyther to hide himselfe, or to goe seeke for meate, or else for the acte of generation: and that sometimes beeing offended that the king Guamaretus had bin negligent and slacke in honouring him, he was wont to lie hid for certaine dayes. They say also, that in the kinges village there are sometime children borne hauing two crownes, which they suppose to be the children of Corochotum the Zemes. They faine likewise, that Guamaretus being ouercome of his enemies in battayle, and his village with the palace consumed with fire, Corochotus brake his bandes, and was afterwarde founde a furlong of, safe and without hurte. He hath also another Zemes called Epileguanita, made of woode, in shape like a foure footed beast: who also is sayde oftentimes to haue gone from the place where hee is honoured, into the woodes. As soone as they perceiue him to bee gone, a great multitude of them gather together to seeke him with deuout prayers: and when they haue founde him, bring him home religiously on their shoulders to the chappell dedicated vnto him. But they complaine, that since the comming of the Christian men into the Ilande, he fled for altogether, and coulde neuer since be founde, whereby they diuined the destruction of their country. They honoured another Zemes in the likenesse of a woman, on whom waited two other like men, as they were ministers to her. One of these, executed the office of a mediatour to the other Zemes, which are vnder the power and commaundement of this woman, to raise wyndes, cloudes, and rayne. The other is also at her commaundement a messenger to the other Zemes, which are ioyned with her in gouernance, to gather together the waters which fall from the high hils to the valleies, that beeing loosed, they may with force burst out into great floudes, and ouerflowe the countrey, if the people do not giue due honour to her Image. There remaineth yet one thing worthy to be noted, wherwith we will make an end of this booke. It is a thing well knowne, and yet freshe in memorie among the inhabitants of the Iland, that there was somtime two kings (of the which one was the father of Guarionexius, of whom wee made mention before) whiche were woont to abstaine fūe daies together continually from meate & drinke, to know somewhat of their Zemes of thinges to come, and that for this fasting being acceptable to their Zemes, they receiued answere of them, that within few yeeres there shoulde come to the Iland a nation of men couered with apparell, which shoulde destroy all the customes and ceremonies of the Iland, and either slay all their children, or bring them into seruitude. The common sort of the people vnderstoode this oracle to be ment of the Canibales, & therfore when they had any knowledge of their comming, they euer fled, and were fully determined neuer more to aduenture the battayle with them. But when they sawe that the Spanyardes hadde entred into the Ilande, consulting among themselues of the matter, they concluded that this was the nation whiche was ment by the oracle. Wherein, their opinion deceiued them not, for they are nowe all subiect to the Christians, all such beeing slayne as stubernely resisted: Nor yet remayneth there anie memorie of their Zemes, for they are all brought into Spayne, that wee might bee certyfyed of their illusions of euill spirites and Idollies, the which you your selfe (most noble Prince) haue seene and felt when I was present with you. I let passe many thinges because you put me in remembrance that to morowe you take your iorney towardes your country, to bring home the queene your aunt, whom you accompanied hither at the commaundement of king Frederike your vnclē. Wherefore I bid you farewell for this time, desiring you to remember your Martir, whom you haue compelled in the name of the king your vnclē, to gather these few thinges out of a large field of histories.

The

The tenth and last booke of the first Decade, as a conclusion of the former bookes:
written to Inacus Iopez Mendocius, Countie of Tendilla, & viceroy of
Granata.

AT the first beginning and newe attempte, when Colonus had taken vpon him the enterpryse to searche the Ocean sea, I was earnestly moued as I required by the letters of certaine of my frendes and noble men of Rome, to wryte those thinges as should happen. For they whispered with great admiration, that where as there were many newe landes founde, and nations which liued naked and after the lawe of nature, they could heare no certainty thereof, beeing greatly desirous of the same. In this meane time had fortune ouerthrowne Ascanius (his brother Lodovike beeing cast out of Millane by the Frenchmen) whose auctoritie would not suffer me to be idle, but euer to haue my pen in hand. To him I wrote the two first bookes of this decade, beside many other of my hid cōmentaries which you shal see shortly: but fortune did no lesse withdraw my mind from writing, then disturb Ascanius frō power. As he was tossed with contrary stormes, and ceased to perswade mee: euen so slacked my seruētnesse to enquire any further, vntil the yere of Christ 1500, when the Court remained at Granata where you are viceroy: At which time, Lodouike the Cardinal of Aragonie, neuiew to king Frederike by his brothers side (being at Granata with the queene Parthenopea the sister of our Catholique king) brought me king Frederikes letters, whereby he exhorted me to finishe the other bookes which folowed the two epistel bookes, which I write to Ascanius: For they both acknowledged that they had the copie of all that I write to cardinall Ascanius. And albeit that euen then I was sicke (as you knowe) yet tooke I the burden vpon me, and applyed my selfe to wryting, I haue therefore chosen these fewe thinges, out of a great heape of such as seemed to me must worthy to be noted among the large wrytinges of the authoures and searchers of the same. Wherefore, forasmuch as you haue endeouored to wrest out of my hands the whole example of all my woorkes, to adde the same to the innumerable volumes of your librarie, I thought it good nowe to make a briefe rehearsall of those things which were done from that yere of a thousand and fife hundred, euen vnto this yere which is the tenth from that: For I intend to write more largely of these thinges hereafter, if God graunt me life. I had written a whole booke by it selfe of the superstitions of the people of the Iland, supposing therewith to haue accomplished the whole Decade consisting of ten bookes. But I haue added this to the tenth as a perpendicular lync, and as it were a backe guide or rereward to the other: So that you may knitte the first tenth to the nynth, & impute this to occupye the place of the tenth to fill vp the Decade. This order I haue appointed, lest I should be compelled often times to wryte ouer the whole worke, or send you the same defaced with blottes and interlining. But nowe let vs come to our purpose. The ship maisters and mariners ran ouer many coastes during these ten yeres: But euer folowed such as were first found by Colonus. For rasing continually alonge by the trace of Paria, which they beleue to be part of the firme land or continent of East India, some of them chaunced vpon certaine naw landes towarde the East, and some toward the West, in which they found both gold and frankensence. For they brought from thence many jewels and ouches of gold, and great plentie of frankensence which they had of the people of those countreyes, partly for exchaunge of some of our thinges, and partly by force, ouer comming them by warre. Yet in some places, although they bee naked, they overcame our men, and slewe whole armyes. For they are exceeding fierce, and vse venomous arrowes, and long staues like iauelens, made hard at the ende with fire. They found many beastes, both creepyng and foure footed much differing from ours, varyable and of sundrye shapes innumerable: yet not hurtfull, except Lions, Tigers, and Crocodiles. This I meane in sundry regions of that great lande of Paria, but not in the Ilandes: no not so much as one, for all the beastes of the Ilandes, are meeke and without hurte, except men, which (as wee haue sayde) are in many Ilandes deuourers of mens fleshe. There are also diuers kindes of foules. And in many places battes of such bignes, that they are equall withall turtle doues. These battes, haue oftentimes assaulted men in the night in their

Millane in the
hands of the
Frenchmen.

The history fol-
lowing, con-
teyneth the
actes of ten
yeres.

Paria part of
the fyrme land
of East India.
Golde & Frank-
ensence.

The fiercenes of
the naked people.

their sleepe, and so bitten them with their venemous teeth, that they haue ben therby almost driuen to madnes, in so much that they haue ben compelled to flee from such places, from rauenous Harpies. In an other place, where certaine of them slept in the night season on the sands by the seaside a monster comming out of the sea, came vpon one of them secretlye, and caryed him away by the middest out of the sight of his fellowes, to whom he cried in vaine for helpe, vntill the beast leapt into the sea with her pray. It was the kinges pleasure that they should remaine in these landes, and builde townes and fortresses: whereunto they were so well willing that diuers profered them selues to take vpon them the subduing of the land, making great suite to the king that they might bee appointed thereto. The coast of this tracte is exceeding great and large, and the regions and landes therof extende marueilous farre, so that they affirme the continent of these regions with the llands about the same, to be thrise as bigge as al Europe, beside those landes that the Portugales haue found southward, which are also exceeding large. Therefore doubtlesse Spayne hath deserued great prayse in these our dayes, in that it hath made knowen vnto vs so many thousandes of Antipodes which lay hid before, and vnknown to our forefathers: and hath thereby ministred so large matter to wryte of, to such learned wittes as are desirous to set forth knowledge to the commoditie of men to whom I opened a way when I gathered these things rudely together as you see: the which, neuerthelesse I truste you will take in good part, aswell for that I can not adourne my rudenesse with better vesture, as also that I neuer tooke pen in hand to write like an historiographer, but onely by epistles scribed in haste, to satisfie them, from whose commaundementes I might not drawe backe my foote. But nowe I haue digressed enough, let vs now therefore returne to Hispaniola. Our men haue found by experience, that the bread of the lland is of smal strength to such as haue bin vsed to our bread made of wheat, and that their strengthes were much decayed by vsing of the same: wherefore the king hath of late commaunded that the wheate should be sowne there in diuers places, & at sundry times of the yeere: It groweth into holow reedes, with few eares, but those very bygge and fruitfull. They finde the like softnesse and delicatenesse to be in hearbes, which growe there to the height of corne. Neat or cattel, become of bigger stature and exceeding fat, but their fleshe is more vnsaurie, and their bones (as they say) either without marow, or the same to be very waterishe: but of hogges and swyne, they affirme the contrary that they are more wholesome, & of better taste, by reason of certaine wilde fruites which they eate, being of much better nourishment then maste. There is almost none other kind of fleshe commonly sold in the market. The multitude of hogges are exceedingly encreased, and become wilde as soone as they are out of the swine heardees keeping. They haue such plentie of beastes and foules, that they shall hereafter haue no neede to haue any brought from other places. The increase of all beastes grow bigger then the brood they came of, by reason of the ranknes of the pasture, although their feeding be only of grasse, with out eyther barley or other graine. But we haue saide enough of Hispaniola. They haue now found that Cuba (which of long time they thought to haue bin firme land, for the greate length thereof) is an lland: yet is it no maruaile that the inhabitants themselues told our men when they searched the length therof, that it was without ende. For this nation being naked, and content with a little, and with the limittes of their owne country, is not greatly curious to knowe what their neighbours doe, or the largenesse of their dominion, nor yet knewe they if their were any other thing vnder heauen, beside that which they walked on with their feete, Cuba is from the East into the West, much longer then Hispaniola, and in breadth from the North to the South, much lesse then they supposed at the first: for it is very narrowe in respect of the length, and is for the most part verie fruitfull and pleasaunt. Eastwarde, not farre from Hispaniola, there lyeth an llande lesse then Hispaniola more then by the halfe, whiche our men called Sancti Iohannis, beeing in manner square, in this they founde exceeding riche golde mynes: but being nowe occupied in the golde mynes of Hispaniola, they haue not yet sent labourers into the llande. But the plentie and reueneue of golde of all other regions, giue place to Hispaniola, where they giue themselues in manner to none other thing then to gather golde, of which worke
this

A man deuoured
of a monster of
the sea.

Note the
largenes of the
new llandes.

Antipodes.

The nature of
the place altereth
the forms and
qualities of
thynges.

Plentie of beastes
and foules.

Cuba an llande.

The descriptio
of Cuba.

The llande of
Burichens, of
S. Iohannis.
Golde mynes.

this order is appoynted. To euery such wittie and skilful man as is put in trust to be a sur-ueyour or ouerseer of these workes, there is assigned one or more kings of the lland, with their subiectes. These kings according to their league, come with their people at certayne times of the yeere, and resorte euery of them to the gold mines to the which hee is assigned, where they haue all manner of digging or mining tooles deliuered them, and euery king with his menne, haue a certaine rewarde alowed them for their labour. For when they departe from the mynes to sowing of corne, and other tyllage (wherunto they are addict at Tyllage. certaine other tymes, least their foode should faile them) they receiue for their labour, one a ierkin, or a dublet, another a shirt, another a cloke or a cap for they now take pleasure in these thinges, and goe no more naked as they were wont to doe. And thus they vse the helpe and labour of the inhabitantes, both for the tyllage of their ground and in their golde mynes, as though they were their seruantes or bondemen. They beare this yoke of seruitude with an euill will, but yet they beare it: they call these hired labourers, Anaborias: yet the king doth not suffer that they should bee used as bondemen, and onely at his pleasure, they are set at libertie, or appoynted to worke. At suche time as they are called together of their kinges to worke (as souldiers or pyoners are assembled of their centurions) many of them steale away to the mountaynes and woodes, where they lye lurking, beeing content for that time to liue with the wilde fruites, rather then take the paynes to labour. They are docible and apte to learne, and haue nowe vtterly forgotten their old superstitions. They beleue godly, and beare well in memory such thinges as they haue learned of our faith. They They abhorre labour. They are docible. Their kings children are brought vp with the chiefest of our men, and are instructed in letters and good maners. When they are grown to mans age, they sende them home to their cuntryes to be example to other, and especially to gouerne the people, if their fathers be dead, that they may the better set forth the Christian Religion, and keepe their subiectes in loue and obedience. By reason whereof, they come now by faire meanes & gentle perswasions, to the mynes which lye in two regions of the llande, about thirtie myles distaunte from the citie of Dominica, wherof the one is called Sancti Christophori: and the other beeing distaunt aboute fourscore and ten myles, is called Cibana, not farre from the chiefe haueu called Portus Regalis. These regions are very large, in the whiche in many places here and there, are found sometime euen in the vpper crust of the earth, and sometime among the stones, certaine rounde pieces or plates of golde, sometime of small quantytie, and in some places of great weight: in so much that there hath beene founde round pieces of three hundred pounce weight and one of three thousande, three hundred and tenne pounce weight, the whiche (as you hearde) was sent whole to the King in that ship in the whiche the gouernour Roadilla was commyng home into Spaine, the ship with all the men beeing drowned by the way, by reason it was ouer laden with the weight of gold and multitude of men, albeit, there were mo then a thousand persons which saw and handled the piece of gold. And whereas here I speake of a pounce, I doe not meane the common pound, but the summe of the ducate of golde, with the coyne called Triens, which is the third part of a pound, which they call Pesus. The summe of the weight heereof, the Spanyardes call Castelanum Aureum. All the gold that is digged in the mountaines of Cibana and Port Regale, is caryed to the tower of Conception, where shoppes with all things apperteyning are ready furnished to fine it, melt it, and cast it into wedges. That doone, they take the kinges portion thereof, which is the fift part, and so restore to euery man his owne whiche hee gotte with his labour. But the golde which is founde in saint Christophorus myne and the regions there about, is caryed to the shoppes which are in the village called Bonauentura. In these two shops, is moulten yeerely about three hundred thousad pound weight of gold. Three hundred thousand weight of gold molten yeerely in Hispaniola. If any man bee knownen deceitfully to keepe backe any portion of golde, whereof he hath not made the kinges officers priuie, he forfeiteth the same for fine. There chaunceth among them oftentimes many contentions & controuersies, the which vnlesse the magistrates of the lland doe finishe, the case is remoued by appellation to the high counsel of the court, from whose sentence it is not lawfull to appeale in all the dominions of Castile. But let vs nowe returne to the newe landes, from whence wee haue digressed. They are innumerable, diuers, and

They abhorre labour.

They are docible.

The kynges chylidren.

The two chief golde mines of Hispaniola.

A costly shypwracke.

Pesus.

The synnyng and distributing of gold.

Three hundred thousand weight of gold molten yeerely in Hispaniola.

The newe landes.

and exceeding fortunate. Wherefore the Spaniards in these our dayes, and their noble enterprises, doe not giue place either to the factes of Saturnus, or Hercules, or any other of the ancient princes of famous memory, which were canonized among the goddes, called Heroes, for their searching of new landes and regions, and bringing the same to better culture and ciuilitie. O God, how large & farre shal our posteritie see the Christian region extended? how large a campe haue they now to wander in, which by the true nobilitie that is in them, or moued by vertue, will attempt eyether to deserue like prayse among men or reputation of well doing before God? What I conceiue in my minde of these thinges, I am not able to expresse with penne or tongue. I wil now therefore so make an end of this perpendicular conclusion of the whole Decade, as minding hereafter to search and geather euery thing particularly, that I may at further leasure write the same more at large. For Colonus the Admiral, with foure ships, and a hundred, threescore, and ten men, appointed by the king, discovered in the yeere of Christ. 1520. the land ouer against the West corner of Cuba, distant from the same about a hundred and thirtie leagues, in the midst of which tracte, lieth an Iland called Guanassa. From hence hee directed his voiage backwarde toward the East, by the shore of that coast, supposing that he should haue found the coastes of Paria, but it chaunced otherwise. It is sayd also that Vincencius Agnes (of whom we haue spoken before) and one Iohannes Daiz (with diuers other, of whose voyages I haue as yet no certaine knowledge) haue ouerrunne those coastes: but if God graunt me life, I trust to knowe the trueth hereof, and to aduertise you of the same. Thus fare ye well.

The ende of the first Decade.

The first Chapter of the seconde Decade, to Leo Bishop of Rome, the tenth of that name, of the supposed continent or firme lande.

Since the time that Galeatius Butrigarius of Bononie, and Iohannes Cursius of Florence (most holy father) came to the Catholique king of Spayne, the one of your holinesse ambassage, and the other for the affayres of his common wealth, I was euer for the moste part in their company, and for their vertues and wisdom had them in great reuerence. And whereas they were greatly giuen to studie, and continuall reuoluing of diuers auctours, they chaunced vpon certayne bookes negligently let slyppe out of my handes entreating of the large landes and regions hitherto lying hid, and almost West Antipodes, found of late by the Spanyardes. Yet being allured & delighted with the newnesse and straungenesse of the matter although rudely adourned, they commended the same, therewith earnestly desiring me in their owne names, and requiring me in the name of your holinesse, to adde hereunto al such thinges as were found after that time, and to giue them a copie thereof, to send to your holinesse, that you might thereby vnderstand, both how great commodities is chaunced to the progenie of mankinde, as also increase of the militant congregation in these our dayes, by the fortunate enterpryses of the kings of Spayne. For like as rased and vnprinted tables, are apte to receiue what fourmes soeuer are first drawne thereon by the hande of the painter, euen so these naked and simple people, doe soone receiue the customes of our religion, and by conuersation of our men, shake of their fierce and natiue barbarousnesse. I haue thought it good therefore to satisfie the request of these wise men, especially vsing the authoritie of your name, whereunto npt to haue obeyed, I should esteeme my selfe to haue committed a haynous offence. Wherefore I will nowe briefly rehearse in order, what hid coastes the Spanyardes ouerran, who were the authours thereof, where they rested, what further hope they brought, and finally what greate thinges those tractes of lands doe promise in time to come. In the declaration of my decade of the Ocean, which is now printed and dispersed throughout Christendome vnwares to mee, I described howe Christophorus Colonus founde those Ilandes whereof we haue spoken, and that turning from thence towarde the left hand southward, he chaunced into great regions of landes, and large seas distant from the Equinoctiall lyne, onely from siue degrees to tenne: where he founde broad riuers and exceeding high mountaynes

Enlarging of the Christian religion.
The original of true nobility.

The Ilande of Guanassa.

The Voiage of Iohannes Diaz.

West Antipodes.

The increase of the Christian congregation.

Of landes distant from the Equinoctiall, from

mountaynes couered with snowe, and harde by the sea bankes, where were many commo-
dious and quiet hauens. But Colonus beeing nowe departed out of this life, the King
beganne to take care, how those lands might be inhabited with Christian men, to the in-
crease of our faith: Whereupon hee gaue lycence by his letters patentes to all such as would
take the matter in hand, and especially to two, whereof Diego Nicuesa was one, & the other
was Alphonsus Fogeda. Wherefore about the Ides of December, Alphonsus departing first
with three hundred souldiers from the Ilande of Hispaniola (in the which wee said the
Spaniards had builded a city, & planted their habitation) & sayling in maner full South
he came to one of the hauens found before, which Colonus named Portus Carthaginiis, both
because of the Iland stading against the course of the streame, and also that by reason of the
largnes of the place and bending sides, it is much like to the hauen of Spayne called
Carthago. The inhabitants call the Ilande Codego, as the Spanyardes call the Ilande of
their hauen Scombria. This region is called of the inhabitantes Caramairi, in the which they
affirme both the menne and women to bee of goodly stature, but naked. The menne haue
their hayre cutte rounde by their eares, but the women weare it long, both the men and
women are very good archers. Our men found certayne trees in this prouince, which beare
great plentie of sweete apples, but hurtfull, for they turne into woormes when they are eaten.
Especially the shadowe of the tree is contagious, for such as sleepe vnder it any time, haue
their heads swolne, and loose their sight: but if they sleepe but awhile, their sight commeth
agayne after a fewe dayes. This porte is distant foure hundred, fyftie & sixe myles from
the porte of Hispaniola whiche the Spanyardes call Beata, in the whiche also they furnishe
themselues when they prepare any voyage to seeke other newe landes. When Fogeda had
entred into the hauen, hee enuaded, slue, and spoyled the people, whom hee founde naked
and scattered: for they were giuen him for a pray by the Kinges letters patentes, because
they had bin before time cruell against the Christians, and coude neuer bee allured to per-
mitte them quietly to come within their dominions. Here they found golde, but in no great
quantitie, nor yet that pure: they make of it certaine brest plates and brooches whiche they
weare for comelynesse. But Fogeda not content with these spoyles, vsyng certayne cap-
tities, whiche hee hadde taken before, for guides, entred into a village twelue myles distant
from the sea side further into the lande, into the which they were fled when he first inuaded.
Here he found a naked people, but apte to warre: for they were armed with targettes,
shields, long swordes made of woode, and bowes with arrowes typt with bone, or hardened
with fire. As soone as they had espied our men, they with their ghestes whō they had re-
ceiued, assayed them with desperate myndes, being thereto more earnestly prouoked, be-
holding the calamitie of these which fled vnto them, by the violence done to their women
and children in the spoyle and slaughter. In this conflict our men had the ouerthrowe: in
the which, one Iohannes de Lacossa (beeing in authoritie next vnto Fogeda the cap-
tayne, and also the first that gathered golde in the sandes of Vraba) was slaine with
fiftie souldiers: for these people infecte their arrowes with the deadly poyson of a cer-
tayne herbe. The other with their captaine Fogeda, being discomforted, fledde to the
shippes. While they remained thus in the hauen of Carthago, sorrowful and pensieue
for the losse of their companions, the other captayne Diego Nicuesa, (whom they left in
Hispaniola, preparing himselfe toward the voyage in the hauen Beata) came to them with
fiue shippes, and seuen hundred fourscore and fyfteene men. For the greater number of
souldiers followed Nicuesa, both because free libertie was giuen to them to choose which of
the capitaines they list, and also that by reason of his age, hee was of greater authoritie:
But especially because the rumoure was that Beragua being by the kinges commission ap-
pointed to Nicuesa, was richer in golde then Vraba assigned to Alphonsus Fogeda. There-
fore, at the arriual of Nicuesa, they consulted what was best to bee doone: and determined
first to reuenge the death of their fellowes. Whereupon, setting their battayle in arraye,
they marched in the night toward them whiche slue Cossa with his companions. Thus
stealing on them vnwares in the laste watch of the night, and encompassing the village
where they lay, consisting of a hundred houses and more, hauing also in it thrise as many of
their

fyue degrees to
ten.
The death of
Colonus.

A generall
licence.

The nauigation
of Alphonsus
Fogeda.

The region of
Caramairi.

Apples which
turne into
woormes.
A tree whose
shadowe is
hurtful.

Warlike peo-
ple.

Arrowes in-
fected with
poyson.

The nauigation
of Diego
Nicuesa.

The regions of
Vraba and
Beragua.

The Spaniards
reuenge the
death of their
companions.

their neighboures as of themselves, they set it on fire, with diligent watche that none might escape. And thus in short time they brought them and their houses to ashes, and made them paye the ransome of bloude with bloud: for of a great multitude of men and women, they spared onely sixe children, all other being destroyed with fire or swoorde, except fewe whiche escaped priuily, they learned by these reserved children, that Cossa and his fellowes were cut in peeces, and eaten of them that slue them. By reason whereof, they suppose that these people of Camairi tooke their original of the Caribes, otherwise called Canibales. Here they founde some golde among the ashes. For the hunger of golde did no lesse incourage our men to aduenture these perilles and labours, then did the possessing of the landes. These thinges thus finished, and the death of Cossa and his fellowes reuenged, they returned to the hauen. After this, Fogeda whiche came first, first likewise departing with his armie to seeke Vraba, committed to his gouernance, sayled by an Ilande called Fortis, lying in the midway betweene Vraba and the hauen of Carthago: into the which descending, he found it to bee an Ilande of the Canibales, bringing with him from thence two men and seuen women, for the residue escaped. Here hee founde in the cotages of them that fledde, a hundred, fourescore, and tenne drammes of golde, caste and wrought in diuers fourmes. Sayling forward from hence, hee came to the East coastes of Vraba, whiche the inhabitants call Caribana, from whence the Caribes or Canibales of the Ilandes are sayd to haue their names and originall. Here he began to build a fortresse, and a village neere vnto the same, therein intending to place their first habitation. Shortly after, being instructed by certayne captiues, that there was about twelue myles further within the lande, a certaine village called Tirusi, hauing in it a riche golde myne, he determined to destroy the village, to the which when he came, he found the inhabitantes ready to defend their right, and that so stoutly, that encountering with them, he was repulsed with shame and damage: for these people also vse bowes and venomous arrowes. Within a fewe dayes after, being enforced for lacke of victualles to inuade another village, hee himselfe was strycken in the thygh with an arrowe. Some of his fellowes say, that he was thus wounded of one of the inhabitantes, whose wife he had ledde away captiue beefore. They say also that he had first friendly communed with Fogeda for redeeming of his wife, and had appoynted a day to bring a portio of golde for her ransome, and that hee came at the day assigned, not laden with golde, but armed with bowes and arrowes, with eight other confederate with him which had beene before partakers of the iniuries done to them first at the hauen of Carthago, and afterward at the burning of the village, in reuenge whereof, they had desperately consecrated themselves to death: But the matter being knowne, the captayne of this conspiracie was slayne of Fogeda his companions, and his wife detained in captiuitie. Fogeda also through the maliciousnesse of the venime, consumed and was dried vp by litle and litle. While these things chaunced thus, they espied Nicuesa the other captaine, to whom Beragua the region of the West side of Vraba was assigned to inhabite. He gaue wind to his sayles to take his voyage toward Beragua, the day after that Fogeda departed out of the hauen of Carthago. He with his armie that he brought with him, coasted euer along by the shore, vntill he came to the gulf Coiba, whose kinges name is Careta. Here hee founde their language to bee in manner nothing like vnto that of Hispaniola, or of the hauen of Carthago: whereby hee perceiued that in this tracte, there are many languages differing from their owne borderers. Nicuesa departing from Coliba, went to the prouince or Lieutenantsship of Fogeda his companion. Within a few dayes after, hee himselfe entring into one of those marchant shippes which the Spaniardes call Carauelas, commaunded that the bigger vessels should folow farre behind. He tooke with him two smal shippes commonly called Bergandines or Brigandines. I haue thought it good in al the discourse of these bookes, to vse the common names of thinges, because I had rather bee plaine then curious, especially forasmuch as there doe daily arise many new thinges vknownen to the antiquitie, whereof they haue left no true names. After the departure of Nicuesa, there came a shippe from Hispaniola to Fogeda, the captaine whereof, was one Barnardino de Calauera, who had stolne the same from Hispaniola with threescore men, without leaue or aduice of the Admiral & the other gouernours. With the victualles

A grente
slaughter.

Canibales.
The hunger
of golde.

The Ilande
Fortis.

Wrought gold.

Nicuesa.

The gulf
Coiba.

Barnardino de
Calauera.

victualles which this shippe brought, they refreshed them selues, and somewhat recouered
 their strengthes, much weakened for lacke of meat. Fogeda his companions whispered and
 muttered against him daily more and more, that he fedde them forth with vaine hope: for
 he had told them that he left Ancisus in Hispaniola (whom hee chose by the kinges com-
 mission to be a iudge in causes, because hee was learned in the law) to come shortly after
 him with a ship laden with victualles, and that hee marueiled that hee was not come many
 dayes since. And herein he said nothing but trueth for when he departed, he left Ancisus
 halfe readie to folowe him. But his felowes supposing that all that he had saide of Ascanius
 had ben fained, some of them determined priuily to steale away the two Brigandines frō
 Fogeda, & to returne to Hispaniola. But Fogeda hauing knowledge thereof, preuented their
 deuice: for leauing the custody of the fortresse with a certaine noble gentleman called
 Francisco Pizarro, he himselfe thus wounded, with a fewe other in his company, entered into
 the shippe whereof we spake before, and sayled directly to Hispaniola, both to heale the
 wounde of his thigh, if any remedie might be found, and also to knowe what was the cause
 of Ancisus tarying: leauing hope with his felowes (which were now brought from three
 hundred to threescore, partly by fauine, and partly by warre) that he would returne within
 the space of xv. dayes, prescribing also a condition to Pizarro & his companions, that it
 should not be imputed to them for treason, to depart from thence if hee came not agayne at
 the day appointed, with victuales, and a new supply of men. These xv. dayes being nowe
 past, whereas they coulde yet heare nothing of Fogeda, and were daily more and more
 oppressed with sharpe hunger, they entred into the two Brigandines which were left, and
 departed from that land. And as they were nowe sayling on the mayne sea toward His-
 paniola, a tempest sodainely arysing, swallowed one of the Brigandines with all that were
 therein. Some of their felowes affirme, that they plainly sawe a fishe of huge greatnesse,
 swimming about the Brigandine (for those seas bring forth great monsters) and that with a
 stroke of her tayle, shee broke the rudder of the ship in peeces, which fayling, the Brig-
 andine being driuen about by force of the tepest, was drowned not farre from the lland called
 Fortis, lyng betwene the coastes of the hauen Carthago and Vraba. As they of the other
 Brigandine would haue landed in the llande, they were driuen backe with the bowes and
 arrowes of the fierce barbarians. Proceeding therefore on their voyage, they mette by
 chauce with Ascanius, betwene the hauen of Carthago, and the region of Cuchibacoa in the
 mouth of the riuer which the Spaniards called Boium gatti, that is, the house of the catte,
 because they sawe a catte first in that place Boium, in the tongue of Hispaniola, is a house.
 Ancisus came with a shippe laden with all things necessarie, both for meate, and drinke, and
 apparell, brynging also with him another Brigandine. This is hee for whose comyng the
 captaine Fogeda looked for so long. He loosed anker from Hispaniola in the Ides of Sep-
 tember: & the fourth day after his departure, hee espied certaine high mountaynes the
 which for the abundāce of snow which lieth there cōtinually in the tops therof the Spaniards
 called it Serra Neuata, whē Colonus the first finder of those regions passed by the same. The
 fift day he sayled by Os Draconis. They which were in the Brigandine, tolde Ancisus that
 Fogeda was returned to Hispaniola: but Ancisus supposing that they had fained that tale,
 commanded them by thauthority of his commission to turne backe againe. The Brig-
 andines obeyed & folowed him: yet made they humble suite vnto him that hee woulde graunt
 them that with his fauour they might eyther goe agayne to Hispaniola, or that he himselfe
 would bring them to Nicuesa: and that they woulde for his gentlenesse declared toward
 them in this behalfe, rewarde him with two thousand drammes of golde: for they were rich
 in golde, but poore in bread. But Ancisus assented to neither of their requestes, affirming
 that he might by no meanes goe any other way, then to Vraba the prouince assigned to
 Fogeda. Whereupon, by their conduct he tooke his voyage directly toward Vraba. But
 nowe let it not seeme tedious to your holynesse, to heare of one thing worthy to be remem-
 bred, which chanced to this Lieutenaut Ancisus as he came thither: for he also cast anker
 in the coasts of the region of Caramairi which we sayde to be famous, by reason of the
 hauen of Carthago, and of the goodly stature, strength and beauty both of men and women

Fogeda returne-
eth to Hispa-
niola.

Famine.

A Brigandine
drown'd with
the stroke of a
fyshe.

The region of
Cuchibacoa.

Serra Neuata.
Os Draconis.

Rich in golde
and poore in
bread.

being in the same. Here he sent certaine to goe aland on the shore both to fetch fresh water and also to repayre the ship boate which was sore bruised. In this meane time, a great multitude of the people of the countrey, armed after their maner, came about our men, as they were occupied about their businesse, and stood in a readinesse to fight, for the space of three dayes continually, during whiche time, neyther durst they set vpō our men, nor our men assaile them. Thus both parties keeping their array, stode still three whole dayes, the one gasing on the other. Yet all this time our men applied their worke, placing the shipwrights in the midst of their armie. As they stode thus amazed, two of our company went to fill their water pottes at the mouth of the riuer, neere vnto them both, where sodenly there came forth against them a captayne of the barbarians with tenne armed men, which inclosed them, and with terrible countenance bent their arrowes against them, but shotte them not of. One of our men fledde, but the other remained, calling his fellowe againe, and rebuking him for his fearefulness. Then he spake to the barbarians in their owne language, which he had learned being conuersant with the captiues that were caryed from thence along before. They marueyling to heare a stranger speake in their natiue tongue, put of their fiercenesse, and fell to friendly communication, demaunding who were the captaynes of that company whiche were arryued in their lande. Hee answered that they were strangers passing by, and that he marueiled why they would attempt to driue them from their coastes, and disturbe their ships arguing them of folly and crueltie, and further threatning their ruine and destruction, except they would vse themselues more friendly towarde them. For hee aduertised them that there would shortly come into their lande armed men, in number like vnto the sands of the sea, and that to their vtter destruction, not onely if they resisted them not, but also except they receiued them, and entertayned them honourably. In the meane time, Ancisus was enfourmed that his men were deteyned: wherefore suspecting some deceite, hee brought forth all his target men, for feare of their venomous arrowes, and setting them in battel array, hee marched forwarde towarde them whiche stayed his men. But hee whiche communed with the barbarians, giuing him a signe with his hande to proceed no further, he stayed, and calling to him the other, he knewe that all was safe: for the barbarians profered him peace, because they were not they whom they suspected them to haue bin, meaning by Fogeda & Nicuesa, who had spoyled the village standing there by the sea side, and caryed away many captiues, and also burnt another village further within the lande. And therefore (as they sayde) the cause of their coming thither, was to reuenge those iniuries, if by any meanes they coulde, yet that they would not exercise their weapons against the innocent: for they sayde, it was vngodly to fight against any, not being prouoked. Laying a part therefore their bowes and arrowes, they entertained our men gentlyly and gaue them great plenty of salted fishe, and bread of their countrey, and filled their vessels with Sider made of their countrey fruites and seedes, not inferior to wine in goodnesse. Thus Ancisus hauing entred into friendship, & made a league of peace with the inhabitants of Caramairi, which were before sore prouoked by other captaynes, he lanchd from that land, and directed his course to Vraba by the Ilande of Fortis, hauing in his ship a hundred and fiftie fresh menne, which were substituted in the place of suche as were dead: also twelue Mares, and manie swine, and other beastes both males and females for encrease. Lykewise, fyftie peces of ordinaunce, with great multitude of targettes, swordes, ianelins, and such other weapons for the warres, but all this with euill speede, and in an euill houre: for as they were euen now entring into the hauen, the gouernour of the shippe which sate at the helme, stroke the shippe vpon the sandes, where it was so fast enclosed and beaten with the waues of the sea, that it opened in the midst, and all lost that was therein, a thing surely miserable to beholde: for of all the victualles that they had, they saued only twelue barrells of meale, with fewe cheeses, and a little bisket bread, for all the beastes were drowned, and they themselues escaped hardly and halfe naked, by helpe of the Brigandine and ship boate, carying with them onely a fewe weapons. Thus they fell from one calamitie into another, being now more carefull for their liues then for golde. Yet being brought aliue and in health to that land which they

The vse of targetts against venomous arrowes.

The barbarians haue respect to iustice.

Salted fishe.

Wine of fruits and seedes.

Artyllerie.

Ancisus shipwracke.

so greatly desired, they could do no lesse then to prouide for the susteyning of their bodies, because they coule not liue onely by ayre: and wheras their owne failed they must needes liue by other mens. Yet among these so many aduersities, one good chaunce offered itselfe vnto thē: for they founde, not farre from the sea side, a groue of Date trees, among the which, and also among the reeke or weedes of the marishes, they espied a multitude of wilde bores, with whose fleshe they fed theselues wel certaine dayes. These they say to be lesse then ours, and with so short tayles that they thought they had ben cut of. They differ also from ours in their feete: for their hinder feete are whole vndiuided, and also without any hoofe. But they affirme that they haue prooued by experience, their fleshe to be of better taste and more wholesome then ours. During this time they fed also of Dates, & the rootes of young Date trees, which they eate likewise in Ciuile and Granata, where they call thē *Palmitos*, of the leaues wherof they make beesemes in Rome. Sometimes also they eate of the apples of that region, which haue the taste of prunes, and haue also stones in them, and are but little and of redde colour: I suppose them to be of that kind wherof I eate in the citie of Alexandria in Egypt, in the month of Aprill, the trees whereof, the Iewes that dwelle there, being learned in the lawe of Moses, affirme to bee the Cedars of Libanus, which beare old fruites and newe all the yeere, as doth the orange tree. These apples are good to be eaten, and haue a certaine sweetnesse mixte with gentill sharpnesse, as haue the fruites called *Sorbes*. Th' inhabitants plant these trees in their orchardes and gardens, and norishe them with greate diligence as we doe cherries, peaches, and quinses. This tree in leaues, height, and trunke, is very like vnto the tree that beareth the fruit called *Zizipha*, which the Apothecaries call *Iuiuba*. But whereas now the wilde bores began to faile them, they were againe enforced to consult and prouide for the time to come: Wherevppon with their whole armye, they entered further into the land. The *Canibales* of this prouince, are most expert archers. *Ascanius* had in his companye, a hundred men. They mette by the way with only three men of thinhabitantes, naked, and armed with bowes & venomous arrowes, who without all feare, assayed our men fiercely, wounded manye, and slue manye, and when they emptyed their quiuers, fledde, as swiftly as the winde: For (as we haue said) they are exceeding swifte of foote by reason of their loose going from their chilles age, they affirme that they lette slip no arrowe out of their bowes in vaine. Our men therefore returned the same way that they came, much more vnfortunate then they were before, and consulted among themselves to leaue the lād, especially because the inhabitants had ouerthrowne the fortresse which *Fogeda* builded, and had burnt thirtie houses of the village, as soone as *Pizarus* and his company left of *Fogeda*, and forsaked the land. By this occasion therefore, being driuen to seeke further, they had intelligence that the West side of that goulfe of *Vraba*, was more fruitfull & better to inhabite. Wherefore, they sent the one halfe of their men thither with the brigandine, and left the other neere to the sea side on the East part. This gulf, is fourteene miles in breadth, and howe much the further it entereth into the firme land, it is so much the narrower. Into the gulf of *Vraba*, there fall many riuers, but one (as they say) more fortunate then the riuier of *Nilus* in Egypt. This riuier is called *Darien*, vpon the bankes whereof, being very fruitfull of trees and grasse, they intended to plante their newe colonye or habitation. But the inhabitants marueyling at the brigandine being bigger then their canoas, and specially at the sayles thereof, first sent away their children and weakest sort of their people with their baggage and houshold stuffe, and assembled all such together both men and women, as were meete for the warres. Thus being armed with weapons and desperate mindes they stode in a readynesse to fight, and taryed the comming of our men vpon a litle hill, as it were to take the aduantage of the ground: our men iudged them to be about fife hundred in number. Then *Ancisus* the captayne of our men, and *Lieutenant* in the steede of *Fogeda*, setting his men in order of battayle aray, and with his whole company kneeling on his knees, they all made humble prayers to GOD for the victorie, and a vowe to the image of the blessed virgin which is honoured in Ciuile, by the name of *Sancta Maria Antiqua*, promising to sende her many golden gyftes, and a straunger of that country also, to name

A groue of date trees.

Wylde bores.

Apples of a strange kinde.

Cedars of Libanus.

Men of desperate boldenes.

The gulf of Vraba.

The great riuier of Darien.

The souldiers
make an othe.

The barbarians
are driuen to
flyght.

The riuer of
Darien, but vii.
degrees from the
Equinoctiall line.

Golde founde in
a thicket of
reedes.
Brest plates of
golde.

The golden
regions are for
the most part
barren.

Lupus Olanus.

the village Sancta Maria Antiqua after her name: likewise to erecte a temple called by the same name, or at the least to dedicate the king of that prouince his pallace to that vse, if it should please her to assist them in this dangerous enterprise. This done, al the souldiers toke an oth, that no man shuld turne his backe to his enemies. The captaine commanding them to be in a readinesse with their targets and iaueyls, and the trumpetter to blowe the battayle, they fiercely assailed their enimies with a larome: but the naked barbarians, not long able to abide the force of our men, were put to flight, with their king and captayne Cemaccus. Our men entred into the village, where they found plentie of meate, such as the people of the countrey vse, sufficient to assuage their present hunger, as bread made of rootes, with certayne frutes vnlike vnto ours, which they reserue for store, as we doe Chestnuttles. Of these people, the men are vtterly naked, but the women, from the nauel downewarde are couered with a fine cloth made of gossampine cotton. This region is vtterly without any sharpnesse of wynter for the mouth of this riuer of Darien, is onely eight degrees distaunt from the Equinoctiall line, so that the common sorte of our men, scarcely perceiue any difference in length betweene the day and night all the whole yeere: but because they are ignorant in astronomie, they can perceiue no small difference. Therefore wee neede not much passe if the degree differ somewhat from their opinion, forasmuch as the difference cannot bee great. The day after that they arriued at the lande, they sayled along by the riuer, where they found a great thicket of reedes, continuyng for the space of a myle in length, supposing (as it chaunced in deede) that the borderers thereabout which had fled, had either lien lurking there, or els to haue hid their stuffe among those reedes: Whereupon, arming themselues with their targets, for feare of the people lying in ambushe, they searched the thicket diligently, and found it without men, but replenished with housholde stuffe and golde. They founde also a great multitude of shetes, made of the silke or cottō of the gossampine tree: likewise diuers kindes of vessels and tooles made of wood, and many of earth: also many brest plates of gold, and ouches wrought after their manner, to the summe of a hundred & two pound weight: for they also take pleasure in the beautie of golde, and worke it very artificially, though it bee not the price of things among them as with vs. They haue it out of other regions, for exchange of such thinges as their country bringeth forth: for such regions as haue plentie of bread and gossampine lacke golde, and such as bring forth golde are for the most part rough with mountaines and rockes, and therefore barren: and thus they exercise marchandies without the vse of money. Reioycing therefore with double gladnesse, aswell in that they say great likenesse of golde, as also that fortune had offered them so fayre and fruitefull a country, they sent for their felowes whom they had left before in the East side of the gulfie of Vraba. Yet some say, that the ayre is there vnwholsome because that part of the region lieth in alowe valley, enuironed with mountaynes and maryshes.

The second Chapter of the seconde Decade, of the supposed continent.

I Haue described to your holynesse where Fogeda with his company (to whom the large tractes of Vraba was assigned to inhabite) entended to fasten their foote. Let vs now therefore leaue them of Vraba for a while, and returne agayne to Nicuesa, to whom the gouernance and Lieutenauntship of the most large prouince of Beragua (being the West side of the gulfie of Vraba) was appoynted. Wee haue declared howe Nicuesa, departing with one Carauel and two Brigandines, from Vraba the iurisdiction of his friend & companion Fogeda, directed his course westwarde to Beragua, leauing the bigger shippes somewhat behinde him, to followe him a farre of, but hee tooke this deuice in an euill houre, for he both lost his fellowes in the night, and went past the mouth of the ryuer Beragua, which hee chiefly sought. One Lupus Olanus a Cantabrian, and gouernour of one of the great shippes, had the conduct of one of the Brigandines: hee comming behinde, learned of the inhabitautes, whiche was the way Eastwarde to the gulfie of Beragua, ouerpassed and left behinde Nicuesa. Olanus therefore directing his course towarde the East, met with the other Brigandine, which hadde also wandered out of the way by reason of the darknes of the night.

night. The *gouvernour* of this Brigandine, was one Petrus de Vmbria. Thus both being glad of their meeting, they consulted what was best to be done, and which way they could coniecture their *gouvernour* had taken his voyage. After deliberation, they iudged that Nicuesa could no more lacke some to put him in remembrance of Beragua, then they themselves were mindfull hereof, hoping also to finde him there. They sayled therefore towarde Beragua, where they found within xvi. myles distant a riuer whiche *Colonus* named Lagartos, because it nourisheth great Lysards, which in the Spanishe tongue are called Lagartos. These Lysardes are hurful both vnto man and beast, and in shape much like vnto the Crocodiles of the riuer Nilus in Egypt. In this ryuer they founde their companions and fellows of their errour, lying at anker with the great shypes, whiche followed behinde by the *gouvernours* commandement. Here the whole assembly being carefull and disquieted by reason of the *gouvernours* errour after consultation, by the aduice of the captaynes of the Brigandines, who had rased neere vnto the coastes of Beragua, they sailed directly thither. Beragua, in the language of the inhabitants of the same prouince, is as much to say, as the golden ryuer. The Region it selfe is also called by the same name, taking name of the ryuer. In the mouth of this ryuer, the greatest vesselles cast anker, and conueighed all their victualles and other necessities to lande with their ship boates, and elected Lupus Olanus to be the *gouvernour* in steade of Nicuesa whom they had loste. By that aduice therefore of Olanus and the other vnder captaynes that all hope of departure might be taken from the souldiers which they had now brought thither, & to make them the more willing to inhabite the lande, they vtterly forsooke and caste of those shypes beeing nowe rotten for age, and suffered them to be shaken and broosed of the surges of the sea. Yet of their soundest plankes, with other newe, made of the trees of that Region (whiche they say to be exceeding bigge and high) they framed a newe carauell shortly after, which they might vse to serue for their necessitie. But Beragua was founde by the vnfortunate destenye of Petrus de Vmbria. For hee, beeing a man of prompt wit and apt forwardnesse to attempte things (in whiche sometime fortune will beare a stroke notwithstanding our prouidence) tooke vpon him that aduenture to search the shore, to the intent to finde a way for his fellows where they might best come a land. For this purpose, he choose him xii. maryners, and went aboorde the ship boate which serued the greatest shypes. The flowing of the sea, ragged and roared there, with a horryble whurling, as we reade of the dangerous place of Scylla in the sea of Cicilie, by reason of the huge & ragged rockes reaching into the sea, from which the waues rebounding with violence, make a great noyse and roughnesse on the water, which roughnesse or reflowing, the Spanyardes call Resacca. In these daungers wretched Vmbria wresteled a while, but in shorte space, a waue of the sea almost as bygge as a mountayne, rebounding from the rockes, ouerwhelmed the boate, & deuoured the same with the men, euen in the sight of their fellows: So that of them all, onely one escaped by reason he was expert in swimming. For getting holde of the corner of a rocke, and susteyning the rage of the sea vntill the next day when it waxed calme, and the shore was drye by the fall of the water, he escaped and resorted to his companie. But Vmbria with the other eleuen, were vtterly cast away. The residue of the companie, durst not committe themselves to the shyppe boate, but went alande with their brygantines. Where remayning a fewe dayes, and sayling along by the riuer, they found certaine villages of the inhabitautes, which they call Muunu. Here they began to build a fortresse, and to sowe seedes after the manner of their country, in a certaine vale of fruitfull ground, because in other places the region is barren. As these things were thus doing in Beragua, one of their company standing vpon the top of a high rocke of especiall, and lifting his eyes towarde the West, began to crye, Lynnen sayles, lynnen sayles. And the neerer it drewe towarde him, he perceiued it to be a ship boate, comming, with a little sayle: yet receiued they it with much reioycing, for it was the fisher boate of Nicuesa his Carauell, and of capacitey to cary only fiue men, and had now but three in it, which had stolne it from Nicuesa, because he refused to giue credit to them that he had passed Beragua, and left it behind him Eastwarde. For they seeing Nicuesa and his felowes

Petrus de Vmbria.

The ryuer Lagartos.

The golden ryuer of Beragua.

The enterpryse and death of Petrus de Vmbria.

The daungerous place of Scilla in the sea of Cicilie.

to consume daylye by famine, thought that they would proue fortune with that boate if their chauce might be to finde Beragua, as in deede it was. Debating therefore with their felowes of these matters, they declared how Nicuesa erred and lost the Carauel by tempest, & that hee was now wandering among the marishes of vnknown coastes, full of miserie and in extreme penurie of all thinges, hauing nowe liued for the space of threescore and tenne dayes, onely with herbes & rootes, & seldome with fruites of the countrey, contented to drinke water, and yet that oftentimes failing, because he was instant to trauayle Westwarde by foote, supposing by that meanes to come to Beragua. Colonus the first finder of this mayne land, had coasted along by this tracte, and named it Gracia Dei, but thinhabitanes cal it Cerabaro. Through this region, there runneth a ryuer, which our men named Sancti Matthei, distant from the West side of Beragua about an hundred and thirtie myles. Here I let passe the name of this riuer, and of many other places by the names which the inhabitants vse, because our men are ignorant thereof. Thus Lupus Olanus the conductor of one of the ships of Nicuesa and now also vice Lieuetaunant in his steede, after that he had receiued this information of the Maryners, sent thither a Brigandine vnder their guiding. These Mariners therefore, which came in the fisher boate, founde Nicuesa, and brought him to the place where Olanus lay, whome at his comming he cast in prison, & accused him of treason, because he vsurped the authority of the Lieuetaunantship, and that for the desire he had to beare rule and be in authoritie, he tooke no care of his errors: also that he behaued himselfe negligently, demanding furthermore of him, what was the cause of his long delay. Likewise hee spake to all the vnder officers sharply, & with a troubled mind, and within fewe dayes after, commaunded them to trusse vp their packes, and make ready to depart. They desired him to quiet himselfe, and to forbear them a while, vntill they had reaped the corne that they had sowed, which would shortly bee ripe: for all kinde of corne waxeth ripe there euery fourth moneth after it is sowed. But hee vtterly denyed to tarie any whyt: but that hee would fourthwith depart from that vnfortunate lande, and plucked vp by the rootes all that euer was brought into the gulfe of Beragua, and commanded them to direct their course towards the East. After they had sayled about the space of sixteene myles, a certaine yong man, whose name was Gregorie, a Genues borne, and of a child brought vp with Colonus, called to remembrance that there was a haven not farre from thence: and to prooue his sayings true, hee gaue his felowes these tokens, that is that they should finde vpon the shore, an anker of a lost shippe halfe couered with sand, and vnder a tree next vnto the haven a spring of cleare water. They came to the lande, found the anker and the spring, and commended the witte and memorie of the yong man, that he only among many of the Maryners which had searched those coastes with Colonus, bore the thing so well in minde. This haven Colonus called Portus Bellus. Where as in this voyage for lacke of victualls, they were sometimes enforced to goe aland, they were euil entreated of thinhabitanes: by reason whereof, their strengthes were so weakened with hunger, that they were not able to keepe warre against naked men, or scarcely to beare their harnesse on their backs: and therefore our men lost twentie of their companions, which were slayne with venomous arrowes. They consulted to leaue the one halfe of their felowes in the haven of Portus Bellus, & the other part Nicuesa toke with him toward the East, where about twentie and eight miles from Portus Bellus, he intended to builde a fortresse harde by the sea side, vpon the poynt or cape, which in time past Colonus named Marmor, but they were so feeble by reason of long hunger, that their strength serued them not to susteyne suche labour, yet he erected a little towre, able to resist the first assaulte of the inhabitantes: this towre he called Nomen Dei. From the time that he left Beragua, what in the iourney among the sandie playnes then also for hūger, while he builded the towre, of the few which remayned alyue, hee lost two hundred. And thus by litle and litle, the multitude of seuen hundred, fourescore, and fife men was brought nowe to scarcely one hundred. Whye Nicuesa lyued with these fewe miserable men, there arose a contention among them of Vraba, as concerning the Lieuetaunantshyppe: for one Vachus Nunnez, by the iudgement of all men, trusting more to his strength then wit, stirred vp certayne light fellowes agaynst Ancisus, saying that Ancisus had

not

The miserable
case of Nicuesa.The riuer of S.
Matthei.The rigorous-
nesse of Nicuesa.Corne waxeth
ripe euery fourth
moneth.The commendation
of a yong
man brought vp
with Colonus.
Portus Bellus.Weakenesse of
hunger.

Cape Narmor.

Nomen Dei.

not the kinges letters patentes for that office, and that it was not sufficient that hee was authorised by Fogeda, and therefore forbode that he should execute the office of the Lieutenants, and willed them to choose certayne of their owne company, by whose counsaile and authoritie they might bee gouerned. Thus beeing diuided into factions, by reason that Fogeda their capitaine came not agayne, whom they supposed to be nowe dead of his venomous wound, they contended whether it were best to substitute Nicuesa in his place. The wisest sorte, such as were familiar with Nicuesa, & could not beare the insolēcy of Vascus Nunnez, thought it good that Nicuesa shoulde bee sought out throughout al those coastes: for they had knowledge that he departed from Beragua, because of the barrennesse of the ground, and that by the example of Ancisus, and such other as had made shipwracke, it were possible that hee might wander in some secrete place, and that they coulde not be quiet in their mindes, vntill they knewe the certaintie whether hee with his fellowes were alieue or dead. But Vascus Nunnez, fearing least at the comming of Nicuesa, hee shoulde not be had in authoritie among his fellowes, sayde they were mad men to thinke that Nicuesa lyued, and although hee were alieue, yet that they hadde no neede of his helpe: for hee auouched that there was none of his fellowes, that were not as meete to rule as Nicuesa. While they were thus reasoning to and fro, one Rodericus Colmenaris arriued in those coastes with two great shippes, hauing in them threescore freshe men, with great plentie of victualles and apparell. Of the nauigation of this Colmenaris, I intend to speake somewhat more. He therefore departed from the hauen of Hispaniola, called Beata (where they prepare and furnishe themselves whiche make any voyage into these landes) about the Ides of October, in the yeare. 1510. and landed the 9. of Nouember in a region in the large prouince of Paria, founde by Colonus betweene the hauen Carthago, & the region of Cuchibachoa. In this voyage, what by the roughnesse of the sea, and fiercenesse of the barbarians, he suffered many incommodities; for when his freshe water failed, he sayled to the mouth of a certayn riuer which the inhabitantes call Gaira, being apt to receiue shippes. This riuer had his course from the toppe of an exceeding high mountayne couered with snowe, higher then the which, all the companions of this captayne Rodericus say, that they neuer sawe: And that by good reason, if it were couered with snowe in that region, which is not past ten degrees distant from the Equinoctial lyne. As they began to draw water out of their ship boate, a certaine king made toward them, apparellled with vestures of Gossampine cotton, hauing twentie noble men in his company apparellled also; which thing seemed straunge to our men, and not seene before in those parties. The kinges apparell hong loose from his shoulders to his elbowes, and from the girdle downewarde, it was much lyke a womans kirtle, reaching euen to his heeles. As hee drewe neere toward our men, he seemed friendly to admonysh them to take none of the water of that ryuer, affirming it to be vnwholesome for men, and shewed them that not farre from thence, there was a ryuer, of good water. They came to the ryuer, and endeououring to come neere the shore, they were dryuen backe by tempest. Also the burbuling of the sand, declared the sea to be but shalow ther. They were therefore enforced to returne to the first ryuer where they might safely cast anker. This king layde wayte for our men: for as they were filling their barrells, hee sette on them with about seuen hundred menne (as our men iudged) armed after their manner, although they were naked: for onely the king and his nobled men were apparellled. They tooke away the shyp boate, and broke it in manner to chips: so fiercely assaying our men with their venomous arrowes, that they slue of them fourtie and seuen, before they coulde couer themselves with their targets. For that poyson is of such force, that albeit the wounds were not great, yet they dyed thereof immediately, for they yet knewe no remedie against this kinde of poyson, as they after learned of the Inhabitantes of Hispaniola: for this llande bringeth forth an hearbe which quencheth & mortifieth the violent poyson of the hearbe, wherewith their arrowes are infected, so that it be ministred in time. Yet of our companie whiche went for water, seuen escaped that conflycte and hydde themselves in a hollowe tree, lurking there vntill night, yet escaped they not the hands of their enemies: for the shyppe departed from thence in the night season, and left them there, supposing that they had beene slayne. Thus

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by

The nauigation
of Rodericus
Colmenaris.

An exceeding
high mountayne
couered with
snowe.

Apparellled men.

Spanyarden
slayne with ve-
nemous arrowes.

A remedie
against venem-
ous arrowes.

The haven of
Vraba.

by manye such perilles and dangers (which I lightly ouerpasse, beecause I will not bee tedious to your holynesse) hee arryued at the length at the haven of Vraba, and cast anker at the East side thereof, from whence not long before our men departed to the West side, by reason of the barrennesse of that soyle. When he had continued a while in the haven, and saw no man stirring, marueyled at the silence of the places (for hee supposed there to haue found his fellowes) he could not coniecture what this shuld meane: and thereupon began to suspect that eyther they were dead, or that they had changed the place of their habitation. To knowe the certaintie hereof, he commaunded all the great ordinaunce, and other small gunnes which he hadde in his shyppes, to be charged, and fiers to be made in the night vpon the toppes of the rockes. Thus the fiers being kindled, hee commanded all the gunnes to be shot of at one instant, by the horrible noise whereof, the gulfe of Vraba was shaken, although it were xxliii. myles distant, for so broade is the gulfe. This noyse was hearde of their fellowes in Dariena, and they aunswered them agayne with mutuall fyers. Wherefore, by the following of these fiers, Colmenaris brought his shyppes to the West side. Here those wretched and miserable men of Dariena, whiche nowe through famyne and feeblenesse, helde their wearie soules in their teeth, ready to depart from their bodies, by reason of the calamities which befell vnto them after Ancisus shipwracke, lifting vp their handes to heauen, with the teares running downe their cheekes both for ioy and sorow, embraced Rodericus & his fellowes with such kinde of reioycing, as their present necessitie seemed to require: for whereas they were before his comming, without vycuals, and almost naked, he brought them abundance of meat, drinke and apparel. It resteth now (most holy father) to declare what came of the dissention among them of Vraba, as concerning the gouernance after the losse of their captaynes.

The thirde Chapter of the seconde Decade, of the supposed continent.

All the chiefe officers in Beragua, and such as were most politike in counsaile, determined that Nicuesa shoulde bee sought out, if by any meanes he could be found. Whereupon they tooke from Ancisus the gouernour, refusing the comming of Nicuesa, a Brigandine which he made of his owne charges: and agreed, against both the will of Ancisus, and the master of fence Vaschus Nunnez, that Nicuesa shuld be sought forth to take away the strife as touching the gouernment. They elected therfore Colminaris (of whom we spake before) to take this matter in hand, willing him to make diligēt search for Nicuesa in those coasts where they supposed he erred: for they heard that he had forsaken Beragua, the region of an vnfruitefull ground. They gaue him therefore commandement to bring Nicuesa with him, and further declare vnto him that hee should do right good seruice to come thither, in taking away the occasion of their seditions. Colminaris tooke the thing vpō him the more gladly, because Nicuesa was his very friend, supposyng his comming with vidualles shoulde bee no lesse thankfull to Nicuesa and his company, then it was to them of Vraba. Furnishyng therfore one of his owne shippes which he brought with him, and also the Brigandine taken from Ancisus, he frayghted the same with part of the victuales & other necessities which he brought with him before from Hispaniola to Vraba. Thus coursing along by al the coastes and gulfes neere thereabout, at the length, at the poynt called Marmor, he found Nicuesa, of al lyuing men most infortunate, in manner dried vp with extreme hunger, filthy and horrible to behold, with only threescore men in his company, left aliue of seuen hundred. They al seemed to him so miserable, that he no lesse lamented their case, then if he had found them dead. But Colminaris cōforted his friend Nicuesa, and embracing him with teares and cheerefull words, relieued his spirites, and further encouraged him with great hope of better fortune, declaring also that his comming was looked for, and greatly desired of all the good men of Vraba, for that they hoped that by his authoritie, their discord and contention should be finished. Nicuesa thanked his friend Colminaris after such sort as his calamitie required. Thus they tooke ship together, and sailed directly to Vraba. But so variable and vnconstant is the nature of man, that he soone groweth out of vse, becommeth insolent and vnmindful of benefites after to much felicitie: for Nicuesa after thus many teares and weepings, after diuers bewailings of his infortunate destinye, after so manye thanksgiuings,

Nicuesa is
founde in a
miserable case.

Insolencie of so
much felicitie.

thanksgivings, yea after that he had fallen downe to the ground and kissed the feet of Colmenaris his sauour, he began to quarel with him before he came yet at Vraba, reprouing him & them al for the alteration of the state of thinges in Vraba, and for the gathering of gold, affirming that none of them ought to haue laide hand of any golde without the aduice of him or Fogeda his companion. When these sayings and such like, came to the eares of them of Vraba, they so stirred vp the mindes of Ancisus Lieuutenant for Fogeda, and also of Vaschus Nunnez of the contrary part, against Nicuesa, that shortly after his ariual with his threescore men, they commaunded him with threatning to depart from thence: but this pleased not the better sort: Yet fearing lest tumult should be among the people, whom Vaschus Nunnez had stirred to factions, the best part was faine to giue place to the greatest. This wretched man therfore Nicuesa thus drowned in miseries, was thrust into the Brigadine which hee himselfe brought, and with him onely seuentene men, of his threescore which remained alyue. He tooke shippe in the Calendes of March, in the yeere, 1511. intending to goe to Hispaniola to complayne of the rashnesse of Vaschus Nunnez, and of the violence done to him by Ancisus: But he entred into the Brigandine in an vnfortunate houre, for he was neuer scene after. They supposed that the Brigandine was drowned with all the men therein. And thus vnhappy Nicuesa fallyng headlong out of one misery into another, ended his life more miserably thē he liued. Nicuesa being thus vilely reiected, and their victuals consumed which Colmenaris brought thē, falling in manner mad for hunger, they were enforced like rauening woolues seeking their pray, to inuade suche as dwelt about their confines. Vaschus Nunnez therefore, their new captaine of their owne election assembling together a hundred and thirtie men, and setting them in order of battayle after his sword-players fashion, puffed vp with pride, placed his souldiers as pleased him, in the foreward and rerewarde, and some, as partizens, about his owne person. Thus associating with him Colmenaris hee went to spoyle the kinges which were borderers thereabout, & came first to a region about that coast called Coiba (wherof we made mention before) imperiously and with cruell countenance commaunding the kinge of the region whose name was Careta (of whom they were neuer troubled as often as they passed by his dominions) to giue them victualles. But Careta denied that he could giue them any at that time, alleagying that he had oftentimes aided the Christians as they passed by those coastes, by reason whereof, his store was now consumed: also that by the meanes of the continuall warre which hee kept euer from his childe ages with a king whose name was Poncha, bordering vpon his dominion, he and his familie were in great scarcenesse of all thinges. But Vaschus would admit none of these excuses and thereupon tooke Careta prisoner, spoyled his village, and brought him bounde with his two wiues and children, and all his familie to Dariena. With this king Careta, they found three of the felowes of Nicuesa, the which whē Nicuesa passed by those coastes to seeke Beragua, fearing punishment for their euil desertes, stole away from the shippes lying at anker: And when the nauie departed, committed themselues to the mercie of Careta, who enterteyned them very friendly. They had now bin there eightene monethes, and were therefore as vtterly naked as the people of the country. During this time, the meate of the inhabitantes seemed vnto them delicate dishes & princely fare, especially because they enioyed the same without any strife for mine and thine, which two thinges mooue and enforce men to such harde shifts and miseries, that in liuing they seeme not to lyue. Yet desired they to returne to their olde cares, of such force is education and naturall affection towards them with whom wee haue bin brought vp. The victuals which Vaschus brought from the village of Careta, to his fellowes left in Dariena, was rather somewhat to asswage their present hunger, then vtterly to take away their necessitie. But as touching Ancisus, beeing Lieuutenant for Fogeda, whether it were before these things, or after, I knowe not: but this I am sure of, that after the reiecting of Nicuesa, many occasions were sought against Ancisus by Vaschus and his factionaries. Howsoever it was, Ancisus was taken, and cast in prison, and his goodes confiscate: the cause hereof was (as Vaschus alleadged) that Ancisus had his commission of the Lieutenantship of Fogeda onely, whom they said to be now dead, and not of the king, saying that hee would not obey any manne that was not put in office

The death of
Nicuesa.

Famine enforces
thē to fall
to spoyleing.
Careta king of
Coiba.

King Careta is
taken and
spoyled.

Mine and thine
the seedes of al
myscheefe.

Ancisus, Lieu-
tenant for Fo-
geda, is cast in
prison.

by the king himselfe by his letters patentes. Yet at the request of the grauest sort, he was somewhat pacified, and dealt more gently with him, hauing some compassion on his calamities, and thereupon commanded him to be loosed. Anciscus being at libertie, tooke shippe to departe from thence to Hispaniola: but before he had hoysed vp his saile all the wisest sort resorted to him, humbly desiring him to returne againe, promising that they woulde doe their diligence, that Vascus being reconciled, hee might be restored to his full authoritie of the Lieutenantschip: but Anciscus refused to consent to their request, and so departed. Yet some there were that murmured that God and his angels shewed this reuenge vpon Anciscus, because Nicuesa was reiected through his counsayle. Howe so euer it be, the searchers of the newe landes fall headlong into ruine by their owne follie, consuming themselues with ciuile discorde, not weighing so great a matter, nor employing their best endeour about the same, as the woorthynesse of the thing requireth. In this meane time, they determined all with one agreement, to sende messengers into Hispaniola to the yong Admirall and viceroy, sonne and heyre to Christophorus Colonus the finder of these landes, and to the other gouernours of the Ilande (from whom the newe lands receiue their ayde and lawes) to signifie vnto them what state they stode in, and in what necessitie they liued, also what they had found, and in what hope they were of greater things, if they were furnished with plentie of victualles and other necessities. For this purpose they elected, at the assignement of Vascus, one Valdiuia, being one of his faction, and instructed by him against Anciscus and to bee assistant with him. They appoynted one Zamudius, a Cantabrian, so that commaundement was giuen to Valdiuia to returne from Hispaniola with victuals, & Zamudius was appoynted to take his voyage into Spaine to the king. They tooke ship both together with Anciscus, hauing in mind to certifie the king howe thinges were handled there, much otherwise then Zamudius information. I my selfe spake with both Anciscus & Zamudius at their comming to the court. While they were occupied about these matters, those wretched men of Dariena loosed Careta the king of Coiba, vpon condition that he should aide them in their warres against his enemie and theirs, king Poncha, bordering vpon his dominions. Careta made a league with them, promising that as they passed by his kingdome, hee woulde giue them all things necessarie, & meete them with an army of men, to goe forward with them to the battaile against Poncha. Their weapons are neyther bowes nor venomed arrowes, as we saide the inhabitauntes to haue, which dwel eastward beyond the gulfe. They fight therefore at hande with long swordes (whiche they call Macanas) made of woode, because they haue no Iron. They vse also long staues lyke iaelyns, hardened at the endes with fire, or typt with bone, also certaine slynges and dartes. Thus after the league made with Careta, both he and our men had certaine dayes appoynted them to tyll their grounde and sowe their seedes. This done, by the ayde of Careta, and by his conduction, they marched towarde the palace of Poncha, who fledde at their comming. They spoyled his village, and mitigated their hunger with such victualles as they founde there: yet could they not helpe their fellowes therewith, by reason of the farre distace of the place, although they had great plentie: for the village of Poncha, was more then a hundred miles distant from Dariena, whereas was also none other remedie, but that the same shoulde haue bin caryed on mens backes to the sea side, being farre of, where they left their shippes in the which they came to the village of Careta. Here they found certaine poundes weight of gold, grauen and wrought into sundry ouches. After the sacking of this village, they resorted toward the ships, intending to leaue the kinges of the inland vntouched at this time, and to inuade only them which dwelt by the coastes. Not farre from Coiba, in the same tracte, there is a region named Comogra, & the king thereof called Comogrus, after the same name. To this king they came first next after the subuersion of Poncha, and found his pallace situate in a fruitefull playne of xii. leagues in breadth, at the rootes of the further side of the next mountaines. Comogrus had in his court a certaine noble man of neere cōsanguinitie to king Careta, which had fled to Comogrus by reason of certayne dissention which was betweene Careta & him, these noblemen, they cal Iura. This Iura therefore of Coiba, met our men by the way, and conciled Comogrus to them; because he

was

Anciscus taketh
his Voyage to
Hispaniola.The reuenge of
God.The inconueni-
ences of dis-
corde.

King Poncha.

Swordes of wood.

King Careta cō-
spireth with the
Spaniards against
king Poncha.The region of
Comogra, dis-
tant from Da-
riena. xxx.
leagues.

King Comogrus.

was wel known to our men, from the time that Nicuesa passed first by those coastes. Our men therfore went quietly to the pallace of Comogrus, being distant from Dariena thirtie leagues by a plaine way about the mountaynes. The king Comogrus had seven sonnes, yong men, of comely fourme & stature, which he had by sundry wyues. His pallace was framed of postes or proppes made of trees fastened together after a strange sort, and of so strong building, that it is of no lesse strength then walles of stone. They which measured the length of the floore thereof, found it to be a hundred and fiftie paces, and in breadth, fourescore foote, being roofed and paved with maruelous arte. They founde his storehouse furnished with abundace of delicate victuals after the manner of their country, and his wine seller replenished with great vesselles of earth and also of wood, filled with their kinde of wine and sider, for they haue no grapes: but like as they make their bread of those three kindes of rootes called Iucca, Agis and Maizium (whereof we spake in the first Decade) so make they their wine of the fruites of Date trees, and Sider of other fruites and seedes as do the Almaynes, Fleminges, English men, and our Spaniardes which inhabite the mountaynes, as the Vascons and Asturians: likewise in the mountaynes of the Alpes, the Noricians, Sweuians, and Heluecians, make certayne drinkes of barley, wheate, hopped, and apples. They say also that with Comogrus they drunke wines of sundry tastes, both white and black. But nowe you shall heare of a thing more monstrous to beholde. Entering therfore into the inner partes of the pallace, they were brought into a chamber hanged about with the carkasses of men, tyed with ropes of gossampine cotton. Being demaunded what they ment by that superstition, they answered that those were the carcasses of the father, graund father, & great graundfather, with other the auncetours of their king Comogrus, declaring that they had the same in great reuerence, and that they tooke it for a godly thing to honour them religiously, and therefore appparelled euery of the same sumptuously with gold and precious stones, according vnto their estate. After this sorte did the antiquitie honour their Penates, which they thought had the gouernance of their liues. How they drie these carcasses vpon certaine instrumentes made of wood, like vnto hurdells, with a soft fire vnder the same, so that onely the skinn remaineth to hold the bones together, we haue described in the former Decade. Of Comogrus his seven sonnes, the eldest had an excellent naturall wit. He therfore thought it good to flatter and please this wanderyng kinde of men (our men I meane) liuing only by shiftes & spoyle, lest being offended, and seeking occasions against him & his familie, they should handle him as they did other which sought no meanes how to gratifie them: Wherefore he gaue Vaschus and Colmenaris foure thousande ounces of golde artificially wrought, and also fiftie slaues, which hee had taken in the warres: for such, either they sell for exchange of their thinges, or otherwise vse them as them listeth, for they haue not the vse of money. This golde with as much more which they had in another place, our men weighed in the porch of Comogrus his palace, to separate the fift parte thereof, which portion is due to the kinges Exchequer for it is decreed, that the fift part of both golde, pearles, and pretious stones, should bee assigned to the kinges treasurers, and the residue to be diuided among themselues by composition. Here as brabbling and contention arose among our men about the diuiding of gold, this eldest sonne of king Comogrus being present, whom we prayed for his wisdom, comming somewhat with an angry countenance toward him which helde the ballaunces, he stroke them with his fiste, and scattered all the gold that was therein about the porche, sharpely rebuking them with wordes in this effecte. What is the matter, you Christian men, that you so greatly esteeme so little portion of gold more then your owne quietnesse, which neuerthelesse you entend to deface from these fayre ouches, and to melt the same in a rude masse. If your hunger of gold, bee so insatiable, that onely for the desire you haue thereto, you disquiet so many nations, and you your selues also susteyne so many calamities, and incommo- dities, lyuing like banished men out of your owne countrey, I will shewe you a region flowing with golde, where you may satisfie your rauening appetites: But you must attempt the thing with a greater power, for it städeth you in hand by force of armes to ouercome kings of great puissaunce, and rigorous defendours of their dominions. For beside other the great

The kinges
pallace.

Wine & sider.

Blacke wine.

The carcasses of
men dried.The distribution
of golde.Young Como-
grus his oration.The hunger of
golde.A region flowing
with gold.

King Tumanama.

Canibales.

The golde mines of the mountaynes.
Vnwrought golde not esteemed.

Abundance of golde.

Householde stuffe of golde.

Naked people tormented with ambition.

A vehement perswasion.

great king Tumanama will come forth against you, whose kingdome is most riche with golde, and distant from hence only sixe sunnes, that is, sixe dayes: for they number the dayes by the sunne. Furthermore, or euer you can come thither, you muste passe ouer the mountaynes inhabited of the cruell Canibales, a fierce kinde of men, deuourers of mans fleshe, lyuing without lawes, wandering, and without Empire: for they also being desirous of golde, haue subdued them vnder their dominion, which before inhabited the golde mynes of the mountaynes, and vse them like bonde men, vsing their labour in digging and working their golde in plates and sundry images, like vnto these which you see here: for we doe no more esteeme rude gold vnwrought, then wee doe cloddes of earth, before it be fourmed by the hande of the workemen to the similitude either of some vessel necessarie for our vse, or some ouche beautifull to be worne. These thinges doe wee receyue of them for exchange of other of our thinges, as of prisoners taken in warre, which they buie to eate, or for sheetes and other thinges pertaining to the furniture of householde, such as they lacke which inhabite the mountaynes, and especially for victualls, whereof they stand in great neede, by reason of the barrennes of the mountaines. This iourney therefore must be made open by force of men, & when you are passing ouer these mountaines (poynting with his finger towarde the South mountaines) you shall see another sea, where they sayle with shippes as bigge as yours (meaning the Carauels) vsing both sayles and ores as you doe, although the men be naked as wee are: all the way that the water runneth from the mountaines, and all that side lying towarde the South, bringeth forth golde abundantly. As hee said these wordes, he pointed to the vesselles in which they vse to serue their meate, affirming that king Tumanama, and all the other kings beyond the mountaines, had such & al other their household stuffe of golde, and that there was no lesse plentie of gold among those people of the South, then of Iron with vs: for he knewe by relation of our men, whereof our swoordes and other weapons were made. Our capitaine maruailing at the oration of the naked yong man (for they had for interpreters those three men which had ben before a yere and a halfe conuersant in the courte of king Careta) pondered in their mindes and earnestly considered his sayinges, so that his rashnesse in scattering the gold out of the ballaunces, they turned to mirth and vrbantie, commending his doing and saying therein. Then they asked him friendly, vpō what certaine knowledge he spake those thinges, or what he thought best herein to be done, if they should bring a greater supply of men? To this yong Comogrus staying a while with himselfe, as it were an Oratour preparing himselfe to speake of some graue matter, and disposing his body to a gesture meete to perswade, spake thus in his mother tongue Giue eare vnto me, O you Christians. Albeit that the greedie hunger of gold hath not yet vexed vs naked men, yet do we destroy one another by reason of ambition and desire to rule. Hereof springeth mortal hatred among vs, & hereof cometh our destruction. Our predecessours kept warres, and so did Comogrus my father, with princes being borderers about him. In the whiche warres, as we haue ouercome, so haue wee beene ouercome, as doth appeare by the number of bondmen among vs, whiche wee tooke by the ouerthrowe of our enemies, of the which I haue giuen you fiftie. Likewise at another time, our aduersaries hauing the vpper hand against vs, led away many of vs captiue, for such is the chaunce of war. Also, among our familiars (whereof a great number haue beene captiues with them) behold here is one which of long time led a painefull life in bondage vnder the yoke of that king beyonde the mountaynes, in whose kingdome is such abundance of gold. Of him, and such other innumerable, and likewise by the resort of free men on their side comming to vs, and againe of our men resorting to them by safe conduct, these thinges haue beene euer as well knowne vnto vs, as our own possessions: but that you may be the better assured here of, & be out of all suspition that you shall not be deceiued, make me the guide of this voyage, binding me fast, and keeping me in safe custodie to bee hanged on the next tree, if you finde my sayinges in any poynt untrue. Followe my counsaile therefore, and sende for a thousand Christian men apt for the warres, by whose power we may, with also the men of warre of Comogrus my father armed after our manner, inuade the dominions of our enemies: where both you may be satisfied with

with golde, and we for our conducting and ayding you in this enterprise, shall thinke our selues abundantly rewarded, in that you shall helpe to deliuer vs from the iniuries and perpetuall feare of our enemies. After these words, this prudent young Comogrus held his peace, and our men moued with great hope and hunger of golde, began agayne to swallowe downe their spittle. ^{A token of hunger.}

The fourth Chapter of the seconde Decade, of the supposed continent.

After that they hadde taryed heere a fewe dayes, and baptised Comogrus, with all his familie, and named him by the name of Charles, after the King of Spayne, they returned to their fellowes in Dariena, leauing with him the hope of the thousande souldiers, whiche his sonne required to passe ouer those mountaynes towarde the South sea. Thus entryng into the village which they had chosen to inhabite, they had knowledge that Valdiuia was returned within sixe monethes after his departure, but with no great plentie of victualles, because hee brought but a small shippe: yet with hope that shortly after, there should be sent them abundance of victualles, and a newe supply of men. For young Colonus the Admirall, and viceroy of Hispaniola, and the other gouernours of the Ilande, acknowledged that hitherto they had no respect to them of Dariena, because they supposed that Anciscus the Lieutenant had safely arriued there with his ship laden with victualles: willing them from henceforth to be of good cheare, and that they should lacke nothing hereafter, but that at this present time they had no bigger ship whereby they might send them greater plenty of necessaries by Valdiuia. The victuals therefore which he brought, serued rather somewhat to mitigate their present necessitie, then to satisfie their lacke. Wherefore within a fewe dayes after Valdiuia his returne, they fell agayne into like scarcenesse: especially forasmuche as a great storme and tempest which came from the hygh mountaynes, with horrible thunder and lightning in the moneth of Nouember, brought with it suche a floude, that it partly caryed away, and partly drowned all the corne and seeds which they had sowed in the moneth of September, in a fruitfull grounde before they went to king Comogrus. The seeds whiche they of Hispaniola call Maizium, and they of Vraba call Hobba, whereof they make their bread, whiche also we sayde to be rype thrise euery yeere, because those regions are not bytten with the sharpenesse of winter by reason of their neerenesse to the Equinoctiall lyne. It is also agreeable to the principles of naturall philosophie, that this bread made of Maizum or Hobba, shoulde be more wholesome for the inhabitants of those countreys then breade made of wheate, by reason that it is of easier digestion: for whereas colde is wanting, the naturall heate is not driuen from the outwarde partes into the inwarde partes and precordialles, whereby digestion is muche strengthened. Being therefore thus frustrate of the increase of their seedes, and the kinges neere about them, spoyled of both victualles and golde, they were enforced to seeke their meate further of and therewith to signifie to the gouernours of Hispaniola with what great necessitie they were oppressed, and what they had learned of Comogrus as concerning the regions towarde the South, willing them in consideration thereof, to aduertise the king to sende them a thousande souldiers, by whose helpe they myght by force make way through the mountaynes, diuiding the sea on both sides, if they coulde not bring the same to passe quietly. The same Valdiuia was also sent on this message, carying with him to the kinges treasurers (hauing their office of receipt in Hispaniola) three hundred poundes weight of golde, after eyght ounces to the pounce, for the fift portion due to the kinges exchequer. This pound of eight ounces, the Spanyardes call Marcha, whiche in weight amounteth to fiftie peces of golde called Castellani, but the Castilians call a pounce Pesum. Wee conclude therefore, that the summe hereof, was xv. thousand of those peces of gold called Castellani. And thus is it apparent by this accompt, that they receiued of the barbarous kings a thousande and fyue hundred poundes, of eight ounces to the pounce: all the whiche they founde readie wrought in sundry kindes of ouches, as cheynes, braselets, tabletes, and plates, both to hang before their brestes, and also at their eares, and noethrils. Valdiuia therefore tooke shyping in the same Carauell in the which he came last, and returned also before the third day of the Ides of Ianuary, in the yeere of CHRIST. 1411.

What

King Comogrus is baptised with his familie.

Horrible thunder and lightning in the moneth of Nouember.

What chanced to him in this voyage, we will declare in place conuenient. But let vs now returne to them whiche remayned in Vraba. After the dismissing of Valdiuia, being pricked forward with outrageous hunger, they determined to searche the inner partes of that gulfe in sundry places. The extreame angle or poynt of the same gulfe is distant from the entrance thereof, about fourescore myles. This angle or corner, the Spanyardes call Culata. Vascus himselfe came to this poynt with a hundred men, coasting along by the gulfe with one brigandine and certayne of the boates of those regions, whiche the Vrabians call Vru, like vnto them whiche the inhabitautes of Hispaniola call Canous. From this poynt, there falleth a ryuer from the East into the gulfe, ten times bigger then the riuier of Dariena, which also falleth into the same. Sayling along by the riuier about the space of thirtie myles (for they call it nine leagues) and somewhat enclining towarde the right hande Southwarde, they founde certayne villages of the inhabitantes, the king whereof was called Dabaiba. Our men also were certified before, that Cemacchus the king of Dariena, whom they put to flight in the battayle, fledde to this Dabaiba, but at the comming of our men, Dabaiba also fledde. It is thought that he was admonished by Cemacchus, that he shoulde not abide the brunt of our men. He followed his counsaile, forsooke his villages, and left all thinges desolate: yet our men founde heapes of bowes and arrowes, also much housholde stuffe, and many fishing boates. But those maryshe groundes were neyther apt for sowing of seedes, or planting of trees, by reason whereof, they founde there fewe such thinges as they desired, that is, plentie of victualles: for the inhabitantes of this region haue no breade, but such as they gette in other countryes neere about them by exchange for their fishe, onely to serue their owne necessitie: yet found they in the houses of those whiche fledde, golde wrought and grauen, amounting to the sum of seuen thousande of those peeces, which wee sayde to bee called Castellani: also certayne Cancas, of the whiche they brought away two with them, and great plentie of their household stuffe, with certaine bundels of bowes & arrowes. They say, that from the maryshes of that riuier, there came certaine battes in the night season, as bigge as turtle doues, inuadyng men, and byting them with a deadly wounde, as some of them testifie which haue been bitten of the same. I my selfe communing with Anciscus the Lieutenant whom they reiected, and among other thinges asking him of the venomous byting of these battes, hee tolde me that he himselfe was bitten by one of them on the heele, his foote lying vncovered in the night, by reason of the heate in Sommer season, but that it hurt him no more, then if he had bin bitten by any other beast not venomous. Other say, that the biting of some of them is venomous: yet that the same is healed incontinently, if it bee washed with water of the sea. Anciscus tolde mee also, that the venomous wounds made by the Canibales arrowes infected with poyson, are healed by washing with water of the sea, and also by cauterising with whot irons, and that he had experience thereof in the region of Caribana, where many of his men were so wounded. They departed therefore from the poynt of the gulfe of Vraba not wel contented, because they were not laden with victualles. In this their returne, there arose so great a tempest in that wide goulfe, that they were enforced to caste into the sea all the housholde stuffe, which they tooke from the poore wretches which lyued onely by fishing. The sea also swallowed vp the two boates that they tooke from them, wherewith the men were likewise drowned. The same time that Vascus Nunnez attempted to search the poynt of the gulfe towarde the South, euen then by agreement did Rodericus Colminaris take his voyage toward the mountains by the East, with threescore men, by the riuier of the other gulfe. About fourtie myles distant from the mouth of the other riuier, (for they cal it twelue leagues) he founde certayne villages situate vpon the bankes of the ryuer, whose Chiuu (that is) king, they call Turui. With this king did Colminaris yet remayne, when Vascus after his returne to Dariena, sayling by the same riuier, came to him. Here refreshing their whole companie with the victualles of this Turui, they departed from thence together. Other fourtie myles from hence, the riuier encompasseth an lland inhabited with fisher men. In this, because they sawe great plentie of trees whiche beare Cassia fistula, they named the llande Cannafistula. They found in it xl. villages of ten cotages apeece. On the right side of the llande there runneth another riuier, whose chanel is of deapth sufficient

Maryshe
ground.

Anciscus bitten
of a Batte.

A tempest.

King Turui.

The llande of
Cannafistula.

cient to beare Brigandines. This riuer they called Riuum Nigrum, from the mouth wherof, about xv. myles distant, they founde a towne of siue C. houses seuered whose Chebi (that is) king, was called Abenamachei. They all forsooke their houses, as soone as they heard of our mens cōming: but when they saw that our men pursued thē, they turned againe & ran vpon them with desperate minds, as men driuē from their owne possessions. Their weapons are swords of wood, and long staukes like iaculins, hardened at the end with fire: but they vse neyther bowes nor arrowes, nor any other of the inhabitautes of the West side of the gulfe. The poore naked wretches were easily dryuen to flight with our weapons. As our menne followed them in the chase, they tooke the king Abenamachei, and certayne of his noble men. A commō souldier of ours whom the king had wounded, comming to him when he was taken, cutte of his arme at one stroke with his swoorde: but this was doone vnwares to the captaynes. The number of the Christian men whiche were here, was about an hundred and fiftie: the one halfe wherof the captaynes left here, and they with the residue rowed vp the ryuer agayne, with twelue of the boats of those regions, which they call Vru, as they of Hispaniola call them Canoas as we haue sayde. From the riuer of Riuus Niger, and the llande of Cannafistula, for the space of threescore and ten miles leauing both on the right hand and on the left, many riuers falling into it bigger then it selfe, they entred into one, by the conducting of one of the naked inhabitautes, beeing appoynted a guide for that purpose. Vpon the banke of this riuer next vnto the mouth of the same, there was a king called Abibeiba, who because the region was full of maryshes, hadde his pallace builded in the toppe of a hygh tree, a new kind of building, and seldome seene: but that lande bringeth forth trees of such exceeding height, that among their branches a man may frame large houses: as wee reade the like in diuers authors, howe in manie regions where the Ocean sea riseth and ouerfloweth the lande, the people were accustomed to flee to the hygh trees, and after the fall of the water, to take the fishe left on the land. This maner of building, is to lay beames crosse ouer the branches of the trees, fast bounde together, and thereupon to rayse their frame strongly made agaynst winde and weather. Our menne suppose that they builde their houses in trees, by reason of the great flouds and ouerflowing of riuers, whiche oftentimes chaunce in those regions. These trees are of suche heygth, that the strength of no mans arme, is able to hurle a stone to the houses builded therein. And therefore doe I giue the better credit to Plinie, and other authors, whiche write that the trees in some places in India are so high by reason of the fruitfulness of the ground abundance of water, and heate of the region, that no man is able to shoote ouer them with an arrowe: and by iudgement of all men, it is thought that there is no fruitfuller grounde vnder the sunne, then it is whereof wee nowe intreate. Our menne measuring manie of these trees, found them to bee of suche bignes, that seuen men, yea sometime eight, holding hande in hande with their armes stretched forth, were scarcely able to fathame them about: yet haue they their cellers in the grounde, well replenished with such wines whereof wee haue spoken before. For albeit that the vehemencie of the winde is not of power to cast downe those houses, or breake the braunches of the trees, yet are they tossed therewith, and swaye somewhat from side to side, by reason whereof, the wine shoulde bee much troubled with moouing. All other necessarie thinges they haue with them in the trees. When the king or any other of the noble men, dine or suppe in these trees, their wyues are brought them from the cellers by their seruantes, whiche by meanes of exercise, are accustomed with no lesse celeritie to runne vp and downe the staires adherente to the tree, then do our wayting boyes vpon the playne grounde fetch vs what wee call for from the cobbarde beside our dyning table. Our men therefore came to the tree of king Abibeiba, and by the interpretores called him forth to communication, giuing him signes of peace, and thereupon willing him to come downe. But hee denied that hee woulde come out of his house, desiring them to suffer him to lyue after his fashion: but our men fell from fayre wordes to threatning, that except he woulde descende with all his familie, they woulde eyther ouerthrowe the tree, or else set it on fire. When he hadde denied them agayne, they fell to hewing the tree with

King Abibeiba
dwelleth in a
tree.

The ryuing of
the Ocean sea.

Trees of mar-
ueilous height.

Fruitfull
grounde.

Abibeiba, the
king of the
tree, yeldeth
to Vaschus.

Gold no more
esteemed then
stones.

Canibales.

their axes. Abebeiba seeing the chippes fall from the tree on euery side, chaunged his purpose, and came downe with onely two of his sonnes. Thus after they had entreated of peace, they communed of gathering of golde. Abebeiba answered that he had no golde, and that hee neuer had any neede thereof, nor yet regarded it any more then stones. But when they were instante vppon him, hee sayde vnto them, if you so greatly desire golde, I will seeke for some in the next mountaynes, and bring it vnto you: for it is plentifully engendred in those mountaynes. Then he appoynted a day when he woulde bring this golde. But Abebeiba came neither at the day nor after the day appointed. They departed therfore from thece well refreshed with his victualles and wine, but not with golde as they hoped: yet were they enformed the like by Abebeiba and his ditionaries as concerning the gold mines and the Canibals, as they heard before of king Comogrus. Sayling yet further about thirtie myles, they chaunced vpon certayne cotages of the Canibales, but vtterly voyde without men or stuffe: for when they had knowledge that our men wandered in the prouinces neere about them, they resorted to the mountaines, carying all their goods and stuffe with them.

The fift Chapter of the seconde Decade, of the supposed continent.

Men good e-
nough if they
had iron.

IN the meane time while these thinges were done along by the shores or bankes of the riuer, a certaine Decurian, that is, a captaine ouer ten, of the company of those which Vaschus and Colminaris had left for a garryson in Riuro Nigro, in the dominion of king Abinamachei, whether it were that he was compelled through hunger, or that his fatal day was now come, he attempted with his souldiers to search the countries thereabout, and entred into the village of a king called Abraiba. This captaynes name was Raia, whom Abraiba slue with two of his fellows, but the residue fled. Within a few days after, Abraiba hauing compassion on the calamitie of his kinsman and neighbour Abenamacheius, beeing dryuen from his owne possessions (whose arme also we sayd before that one of the souldiers cut of at the riuer of Riuro Nigro) and now remaining with Abraiba, to whom he fled by stealth after hee was taken, went to Abibeiba the inhabitour of the tree, who had now likewise forsaken his countrey for feare of our men, and wandered in the desolate mountaines and woodes. When he had therfore founde him, hee spake to him in this effect. What thing is this, oh vnfortunate Abibeiba; or what nation is this that so tormenteth vs, that we cannot enioy our quiet libertie; howe long, howe long I say, shall we suffer their crueltie; were it not much better for vs to die, then to abide such iniuries and oppressions as you, as Abinamacheius our kinsman, as Cemacchus, as Careta, as Poncha, as I and other princes of our order doe susteyne? Canne anie thing bee more intollerable, then to see our wiues, our children, and our subiectes, to be ledde away captiues: and our goodes to be spoyled euen before our faces: I take the gods to witnesse, that I speake not so much for mine owne part as I do for you, whose case I lament: for albeit they haue not yet touched me: neuertheles by the xāple of other, I ought to thinke that my destruction is not far of. Let vs therfore (if we be men) trie our strength, & proue our fortune agaynst them which haue dealt thus cruelly with Abenamacheius, and driuen him out of his countrey, let vs set on them with al our power, and vtterly destroy them. And if we can not slay them al, yet shal we make the afraide either to assaile vs againe, or at the least diminishe their power: for whatsoever shal befall, nothing can chaunce woorse vnto vs then that which we nowe suffer. When Abibeiba heard these words & such other like, he condescended to do in al things as Abraiba woulde require: whereupon they appoynted day to bring their conspiracie to passe, but the thing chaunced not according to their desire: for of those whiche we saide to haue passed to the Canibals, there returned by chaunce to Riuro Niger the night before the day appointed to worke their feate, thirtie men, to the aide of them whiche were left there, if any sedition should rise as they suspected. Therefore at the dawning of the day the confederate Kings, with fise hundreth of their ditionaries armed after their maner, besieged the village with a terrible alarome, knowing nothing of the new men whiche came thither the same night. Here our target men came forth against them, and first assailed them a farre of with their arrowes,

arrowes, then with their pykes and last with their swoordes: but the naked seely soules, perceiving a greater number of their aduersaries then they looked for, were soone driuen to flight, and slaine for the most parte like scattering sheepe. The kings escaped, they slue many, and tooke many captiues, whiche they sent to Dariena, where they vsed them for Captiues. labourers to till and sowe their ground. These thinges thus happily atchiued, and that prouince quieted, they returned by the riuer to Dariena, leauing their thirtie men for a garrison, vnder the gouernance of one Furatado a capitaine. This Furatado therefore, sent from Riuro Nigro, where he was appointed gouernour. xx. of his felowes, and one woman, with xxiii. captiues, to Vaschus and his companie, in one of the biggest Canoas of that prouince. As they rowed downe the ryuer, there came forth sodenly ouerthwart the ryuer against them foure great Canoas, which ouerthrewe their boate, and slue as many of them as they could come by, because they were vnprepared, suspecting no such thing. Our men were all drowned and slaine, except two, which hid themselues among certaine fagottes that swam on the water, in the which they lay lurking, and so escaped to their fellowes in Dariena: who by them being aduertised hereof, beeganne to cast their wittes what this thing might meane, being no lesse sollicitate for them selues, then meditating in what daunger their fellowes had bin in Riuro Nigro, except by good fortune, those thirtie newe men which were sent to them, hadde come to the village the night before the conspiracie should haue beene wrought. Consulting therefore what was best to bee doone herein, at the length with diligent searching, they had intelligence that fve kinges, that is to witte, Abebeiba the inhabitour of the tree, and Cemacchus dryuen from his village which our men nowe possessed, Abraiba also and Abenamacheius, kinsmen, with Dabaiba the king of the fisher men, inhabiting the corner of the gulfe whiche wee called Culata, where all assembled to conspire the Christian mens destruction at a day assigned: which thing had surely come to passe if it had not beene otherwise hindered by Gods prouidence. It is therefore ascribed to a miracle, and truly not vnworthily, if wee waye howe chaunce detected and bewrayed the counsaile of these kinges. And because it is worthy to be hearde, I will declare it in fewe wordes. Vaschus Nunnez, therefore, who rather by power then by election, vsurped the gouernance in Dariena, being a maister of fence, and rather a rashe royster then a politike capitaine (although fortune sometime fauoreth fooles) among many women which in diuers of these regions he hadde taken captiue, had one, which in fauour and beauty excelled al other. To this woman her brother often times resorted, who was also driuen out of his country with king Cemacchus, with whome he was very familiar, and one of his chiefe gentlemen. Among other communication which he hadde with his sister whom hee loued entirely, he vttered these wordes, My deare and welbeloued sister, giue care to my sayings, and keepe most secretly that whiche I will declare vnto you, if you desire your owne wealth and mine, and the prosperitie of our country and kinsefolkes. The insolencie and crueltie of these men whiche haue dryuen vs out of our possessions, is so intollerable, that the princes of the lande are determined no longer to susteyne their oppressions. By the conducting therefore of fyue kinges (whiche he named in order) they haue prepared a hundred great Canoas with fyue thousande men of warre by lande and by sea, with victuals also in the village of Tichiri, sufficient to maintayne such an armie: declaring further, that the kinges by agreement, had diuided among them the goodes and heads of our menne, and therefore admonished her, at the day appoynted by some occasion to conueigh her selfe out of the way, least she should be slayne in the confusion of the battayle: For the souldier victourer, is not wont to spare any that commeth in his race. And thus shewing his sister the day assigned to the slaughter, hee departed. But the young woman (for it is the swoorde that women feare, and obserue more then the grauitie of Cato) whether it were for the loue or feare that she had to Vaschus, forgetting her parentes, her kinsfolkes, her countrey, and all her friendes, yea and all the kinges into whose throates Vaschus had thruste his sworde, she opened all the matter vnto him and concealed none of those thinges which her vndiscret brother had declared to her. When Vaschus therefore had heard the matter, he caused Fuluia, (for so had they

A garrison of thirtie men.

Eightene Spaniards slaine and drowned.

The kinges which conspired the death of the Christians.

A strange chaunce.

Women can keepe no counsaile.

An armie of an hundred Canoas, and fyue. M. men.

Triumph before victorie.

Affection corrupteth true judgement.

The conspiracie
of the kyngs is
detected.

Kyng Cemacchus
conspireth
the death of
Vaschus.

Vaschus pur-
sueth the kyngs
with threescore
and ten men.

Colminaris
sacketh the vyl-
lage of Tichiri.

Fyue rulers
hanged & shot
through with
arrowes.

Iohan. Quicedus
is sent to
Spainne.

they named her) to sende for her brother, who came to her immediatly, was taken, & enforced to tel the whole circūstances of the matter: wherupon he plainly confessed, that king Cemacchus his Lord and maister, sent those foure Canoas to the destruction of our men, and that these new conspiracies were attempted by his counsayle: likewise that Cemacchus sought the destruction of Vaschus himselfe, when he sent him xl. men, vnder pretence of friendship, to till and sowe his groundes, after the maner of the countrey, giuing them in commandement to slay Vaschus at Marris, whither he resorted to comfort his labourers, as the maner is of al good husbantes, yet durst they at no tyme execute their Lordes commaundement vpon him, because Vaschus came neuer among them a foote or vnarmed, but was accustomed to ryde to them in harnesse with a iuelin in his hand, and a sworde by his side. Wherefore Cemacchus being frustrate of his particular counsayle, tooke this last thing in hande, to his owne destruction and his neighbours: for the conspiracie being detected, Vaschus called threescore and tenne souldiers, commanding them to follow him, but declared nothing vnto them whither he went, or what he intended to doe. He went forward therefore first toward Cemacchus, which lay from him onely ten myles: but he had knowledge that he was fledde to Dabaiba, the king of the maryshes of Culata. Yet searching his village, hee founde a noble man, a ruler vnder him, and also his kinsman whom he tooke prysoner, with many other of his familiars and friendes both men and women. The same houre that he set forwarde to seeke for Cemacchus, Rodericus Colminaris rowed vp the ryuer with foure of their biggest Canoas, and threescore men, by the conduction of the maydes brother, who brought him to the village of Tichiri, in the which we said all their victuals to remain which were prepared for their armie. Colminaris therfore sacked the village, and possessed all their victuals, and wine of sundry coloures, likewise tooke the gouernour thereof prysoner, and hanged him on the tree in which he dwelt himselfe, commanding him to bee shot through with arrowes in the sight of the inhabitantes, and with him foure other rulers to be hanged on gibbets to the example of other rebels. This punishment thus executed vpon the conspiratours, stroke the hearts of all the inhabitants of the prouince with such feare, that there is not now a man that dare stirre his finger against the wrath of our men. They liue now therefore quietly, and the other kyngs by their example doe the gladlier liue in subiectiō, with lesse offence bearing the yoke which they can by no meanes shake of.

The sixt Chapter of the second Decade, of the supposed continent.

THEse things thus finished, assembling all their company together, they determined with one consent, that a messenger shoulde forthwith bee sent to Hispaniola (from whence they haue their lawes and ayde) to declare the whole order of all these affaires, first to the Admiral and gouernour of the Iland, and afterward to the King of Spayne, and to perswade him to sende those thousande men which young Comogrus sayd to be expedient to passe ouer the mountaines, lying betwene them and the golden regions towardes the South. Vaschus hymselfe dyd greatly affect this embassage: but neither would the residue of his felowes electe him thereto, nor his factionaries suffer him to departe, aswell for that thereby they thought they should be left desolate as also that they murmured, that if Vaschus should once go from them, he woulde neuer returne to suche turmoyles and calamities, by the example of Valdiuia and Zamudius, who had bin now absent since the moneth of Ianuary, in so much that they thought they would neuer come agayne: but the matter was otherwise then they tooke it, as I will shew in this place, for they were perished. At the length after many scrutinies, they elected one Iohn Quicedus, a graue man, well in yeeres, and treasurer of the kyngs Exchequer in those prouinces: they had conceiued a good opinion of this Quicedus, that all things should bee well brought to passe by his meanes, aswell for his wisdom, as also that they were in good hope of his returne, beecause he hadde brought his wife with him to those regions, whom hee left with his fellows for a pledge of his comming againe. When they had thus elected Quicedus, they were againe of diuers opinions whom they might ioyn with him for assistance, affirming that it were a daungerous thing to committe so weightie a matter

matter to one mans hands, not that they mistrusted Quicedus but because the life of man is fraile, & the change of the ayre perillous, especially to them, hauing now of long time bin accustomed to the temperature neere vnto the Equinoctial, if they should be compelled to returne to the North, with alteration of ayre and diet. They thought it therfore good to appoynt a companion to Quicedus, that if by chance the one should faile, the other might remain, & that if they both escaped, the king should giue the better credite to the relatiō of both. After long cōsultation therfore, they chose Rodericus Colminaris, a man of good experiēce, of whom we haue oftentimes made mention, for from his youth he had trauailed ouer all Europe by lande & by sea, & was present at the doings of al things in Italy against the Frēchmen, of whose return also, they had no small hope, because he had many farmes, and had tilled and sowne much grounde in Dariena, by the increase wherof, he might get much gold by selling the same to his felowes. He left therfore the charge of al his affayres in Dariena with his partner Alphonsus Nunnez, a iudge of the lawe, who also was like to haue ben chosen procuratour of this voyage before Colmenaris if one had not put thē in remembrance that he had a wife at Matritis, fearing lest being ouercome with her teares, he would no more returne. Colmenaris therfore, a freeman & at libertie, being associate assistant with Quicedus, they tooke shipping together in a Brigandine, the fourth daye of the Calendes of Nouember in the yeare of Christ. 1512. In this voyage, being tossed with sundry tempestes, they were by the violence of the winde cast vp on the West coastes of that large Iland, which in the first Decade we call Cuba supposed to haue ben firme land. They were sore oppressed with hunger, for it was now three monethes since they departed from their fellowes: by reason whereof, they were enforced to take land, to prooue what ayde they could get among the inhabitantes. Their chaunce therfore was to arriue in that part of the Iland, where Valdiuia was driuen aland by tempest. But oh you wretched men of Dariena, tary for Valdiuia, whom you sent to prouide to helpe your necessities, prouide for your selues rather, and trust not to them whose fortune yee know not. For when he arriued in Cuba the inhabitantes slue him with his felowes, and left the Carauel wherein they were caryed, torne in peeces, and halfe couered with sand on the shore, where Quicedus and Colmenaris finding the fragmentes thereof, bewayled their felowes misfortune: but they found none of their carcasses, supposing that they were either drowned, or deuoured of the Canibals, which oftentimes make incursion into the Iland to hunt for men. But at the length, by two of the Iland men which they had taken, they had knowledge of Valdiuia his destruction, and that the inhabitantes the more greedily atēpted the same, for that they had heard by the babbling of one of his felowes, that hee had great plentie of golde: for they also take pleasure in the beautie of golde, which they fourme artificially into sundry ouches. Thus our men stricken with pensiuenesse for the cruell destinie of their fellowes, and in vaine seeking reueng for their iniuries, determined to for sake that vnfortunate lande, departing from those couetous naked barbarians, with more sorowe and necessitie then they were in before. Or euer they had passed the South side of Cuba, they fel into a thousande misfortunes, and had intelligence that Fogeda arriued therabout, leading a miserable life, tossed and turmoiled with tempestes, and vexed with a thousande perplexities: so that departing from thence almost alone, his felowes being for the most part al consumed with maladies and famine he came with much difficultie to Hispaniola, where he died by force of the poison of his venomous wounde which he had receiued in Vraba as we haue saide before. But Ancisus elected Lieutenant, sailed by al those coastes with much better fortune: for as he him selfe tolde me, he founde prosperous windes in those parties, and was wel entertained of thinhabitantes of Cuba, but this specially in the dominion of a certaine king whose name was Commendator: for wheras he desired of the Christian men whiche passed by, to be baptised, demanding the name of the gouernour of the Iland next vnto Hispaniola, being a noble man, and a knight of the order of Calatraua, of whiche order, al are called Commendatores this kings desire was to be named after him. King Commendator therfore friendly receiued Ancisus, & gaue him great abundance of al thinges necessarie. But

A wife is a
hinderance.

The death of
Valdiuia.

Hurt of laish-
nesse of the
tongue.

The calamities
and death of
Fogeda.

Maladies and
famine.

The prosperous
voiage of An-
cisus.

A king of
Cuba baptised
by the name of
Commendator.

what

A maruellous
historic lowe
God wrought
miracles by the
simple faith of
a Mariner.

Be not rash in
iudgement.

A Chappell
built to the
picture of the
virgin Marie,

One superstitious
religion
turned into
another, holdeth
ful many
things of the
fyrst.

Zeale without
knowledge is
neuer godly.

Marke this
blindnes.

This ignorance
is to bee la-
mented.

The deuil dis-
sembleth to
keepe his in
blindnes still.

A notable lie
of a papist
heretike.

what Anciscus learned of their religion during the time of his remaying there, I haue thought good to aduertise your holinesse. You shal therefore vnderstande, that certaine of our men sailing by the coastes of Cuba, left with king Commendator a certaine poore Mariner being diseased, who in short space recouering his health, and hauing now somewhat learned their language, began to growe into great estimation with the king and his subiectes, insomuche that he was oftentimes the kinges Lieuutenant in his warres against other princes his borderers. This mans fortune was so good, that al thinges prospered well that he tooke in hande: and albeit that he were not learned, yet was he a vertuous and well meaning man, according to his knowledge, and did religiouslie honour the blessed virgin, bearing euer about with him her picture faire painted vpon paper, and sowed in his apparel neere vnto his breast, signifying vnto the king, that this holines was the cause of al his victories: perswading him to doe the like, and to cast away all his Zemes, which were none other then the similitudes of uill spirits most cruel enimies and deuourers of our soules, and to take vnto him the holy virgin and mother of God to be his patronesse, if he desired all his affaires aswel in warre as in peace to succcede prosperously: also that the blessed virgin woulde at no time faile him, but be euer readie to helpe him and his, if they woulde with deuout hartes call vpon her name. The mariner had soone perswaded the naked nation, and thereuppon gaue the king. (who demanded the same) his picture of the virgin, to whom he builded and dedicated a chapell and an alter, euer after contemning and reiecting his Zemes. Of these Zemes made of Gossampine cotton, to the similitudes of spirites walking in the night, which they oftentimes see, and speake with them familiarly, we haue spoken sufficiently in the ninth chapter of the first Decade. Furthermore, according to the institution of this mariner, when the sunne draweth towarde the fall, this king Commendator with al his familie, both men and women, resort dailie to the saide chapell of the virgin Marie, where kneeling on their knees, and reuerently bowing downe their heades, holding their handes ioined together, they salute the image of the virgin with these wordes, Aue Marie Aue Marie, for fewe of them can rehearse any more wordes of this praiser. At Anciscus his being there, they tooke him and his felowes by the handes, and ledde them to this chapell with reioicing, saying that they woulde shewe them marueilous thinges. When they were entered, they pointed with their fingers to the Image of the virgin, al to be set and hanged about with ouches and iewels, and many earthen pottes filled some with sundry meats, and some with water, rounde about all the tabernacle: for these thinges they offer to the image in the steede of sacrifice, according to their olde superstition towarde their Zemes. Being demanded why they did thus, they answered, Lest the image should lacke meate, if perhaps it should be ahungred: for they most certainly beleuee that images may hunger, and that they do eate & drinke. But what aide and help they confesse that they haue had of the godly power of this image, that is of the blessed virgin, it is a thing woorthy to bee hearde, and most assuredly to bee taken for a trueth: for by the report of our men, there is such feruent godly loue & zeale in these simple men toward the holy virgin, that to them beeing in daunger of warre against their enemies, they doe in manner (if I may so terme it) compell her to descend from heauen to helpe them in their necessities. For such is the goodnesse of God, that he hath left vnto men in maner a pryce whereby we might purchase him with his holy angels and saints that is to witte, burning loue, charitie, and zeale. Howe therefore can the blessed virgin at any time be absent from the which call for her helpe with pure faith and feruent loue: Commendator himselfe, with all his noble men and gentlemen, do testifie with one voyce, that in a fought battayle in the which this maryner was capitaine, bearing with him this picture of the virgin Marie, the Zemes of their enemies turned their backe, and troubled in the presence of the virgins image, & in the sight of them all: for euery of them bring their Zemes to the battayle, hoping by their helpe to obtaine the victorie. Yea they say further that during the time of the battaile, they saw not only an Image, but a liuely women clot'ed in sayre and white apparell, ayding them against their enemies: which thing also the enemies themselues acknowledged, confessing that on the contrary part, she appeared to them shaking a scepter in her hande with threatening countenance, which caused their hartes

to

to shake and faint for feare: but after that this maryner departed from them, being taken into a shyppe of certayne Christians passing by these coastes, Commendator declared that he with all his subiectes, continually obserued his institutions: insomuch that being at contention with another prince, whiche of their Zemes were most holy and of greatest power, the matter grewe to such extremity that they tryed it with hande strokes: and that in all these attempts, the blessed virgin neuer sayled him, but was euer present in the brunte of the battayle, and gaue him easie victorie with a small power of men, against a maine armie of his enemies. Being demaunded with what woordes they cryed vpon the virgin Mary when they assailed their enemies, they answered that they had learned no other words of the Maryners doctrine but Sancta Maria adiuua nos. Sancta Maria adiuua nos. That is, holy Marie helpe vs, holy Marie helpe vs, and this also in the Spanishe tongue: for he had left these words in the mouthes of all men. While they murdered and destroyed themselves thus on both sides, they fell to entreatie of peace, and agreed to trye the matter, not hande to hande by combatte of certayne chosen for both parties, as the manner was among the Romanes and diuers other nations in the olde time, or by any sleight or policy but that two young men should be chosen, for each partie one, with their handes bounde fast behinde them in the plaine fiele, both parties beeing sworne to acknowledge that Zemes to be the better, which first loosed the bandes of the yong man whiche stode bounde for the triall of his religion. Thus diuiding themselves, and placing the sayd young men before them in the sight of them all, with their handes fast bounde by their enemies, the contrary parte called first on their Zemes (that is the deuill, to whose similitude their Images are made) who immediately appeared in his likenesse about the young manne that stode bounde in the defence of Sathans Kingdome. But as soone as Commendator with his companie cryed Sancta Maria adiuua nos, Sancta Maria adiuua nos, forthwith there appeared a fayre virgin clothed in white, at whose presence the deuill vanquished immediatly. But the virgin hauing a long rod in her hand, and putting the same on the bandes of the yong man that stood for Commendator, his handes were loosed immediatly in the sight of them all, and his bandes found about the handes of him that stood for the other party, insomuch that they themselves founde him double bounde. But for all this, were not the enemies satisfied, quarrelling that this thing was done by some sleight or deuise of man, & not by the power of the better Zemes. And thereupon required, for the auoyding of all suspicion, that there might bee eight graue and sage men appoynted, for eche side foure, which should binde the men in the sight of them all, and also giue iudgement whether the thing were done without craft or guile. Oh pure simplicitie and constant fayth: oh golden and blessed confidence. Commendator & his familiars doubted not to graunt their enemies their request, with like fayth wherewith the diseased woman obteyneth health of the fluxe of her bloud, and wherby Peter feared not to walke on the sea at the sight of his maister Christ. These young men therefore were bounde in the presence of these eight graue men, and were placed within their listes in the sight of both parties. Thus vpon a signe giuen, when they called vpon their Zemes, there appeared in the sight of them all, a deuill with a long taile, a wide mouth, great teeth, and hornes, resembling the similitude of the image whiche the king being enemy to Commendator honored for his Zemes. As the deuill attempted to loose the bands of his client, the blessed virgin was immediatly present as before at the cal of Commendator & his subiects, & with her rod loosed the bandes of her suppliant, whiche were agayne likewise founde fast tyed about the handes of him that stode for the contrary part. The enemies therefore of Commendator, being stricken with great feare, and amazed by reason of this great miracle, confessed that the Zemes of the virgin was better then their Zemes: for the better prooffe whereof, these pagans being borderers to Commendator, which had euer before beene at continual warre & enmitie with him, when they had knowledge that Anciscus was arryued in those coastes, they sent Ambassadors vnto him. to desire him to sende them priestes, of whom they might be baptised: wherupon hee sent them two which he had there with him at that present. They baptised in one day an hundred and thirty of the inhabitantes, sometime enemies to Commendator, but now his friends, and ioyned with him in aliance. All

One blasphemie
vpon another.

The deuill
appeareth in his
likenesse.
What likenesse.

A strange mi-
racle not to be
credited.

Another my-
racle.

Wise men.

Math. xiii.
This is another
matter.

The deuill ap-
peareth againe.

The virgin
Mary in her
owne person
ouercommeth
the deuill.

such

The priestes
rewarde.

Why name
you Capons?

Anciscus voyage
to Spaine.

Anciscus com-
playneth of
Vaschus.

Marke to who
this fayned my-
raculous storie
was written.

such as came to bee baptised, gaue the priestes of their owne liberalitie, eyther a cocke or a henne, but no capons, for they cannot yet skil howe to carue their cocke chickens to make them capons. Also certaine salted fishes, and newe fine cakes made of their bread: likewise certayne soules franked and made fatte. When the priestes resorted to the shoppes, sixe of these newe baptised men accompanied them laden with victualles, wherwith they ledde a ioyfull Easter: for on the Sunday, two dayes before saint Lazarus day, they departed from Dariena, and touched at that tyme onely the cape or angle of Cuba, neere vnto the East side of Hispaniola. At the request of Commendator, Anciscus left with him one of his companie, to the intent to teach him and his subiectes, with other his borderers, the salutation of the angell, whiche we call the Aue Marie: for they thinke themselues to be so much the more beloued of the blessed virgin, as they can rehearse the more wordes of that prayer. Thus Anciscus taking his leaue of king Commendator, directed his course to Hispaniola, from whiche he was not farre. Shortly after, he tooke his voyage to Spayne, and came to Valladoletto to the king, to whom he made grieuous complaynt of the insolencie of Vaschus Nunnez, insomuch that by his procurement the king gaue sentence agaynst him. Thus muche haue I thought good (most holy father) whereof to aduertise your holynesse, as concerning the religion of these nations, not onely as I haue bin enstructed of Anciscus (with whom I was dayly conuersant in the Court, and vsed him familiarly) but also as I was enfourmed of diuers other men of great authoritie, to the intent that your excellencie may vnderstande howe docible this kinde of men are, and with what facilitie they may be allured to embrace our religion: but this cannot be done sodenly, yet we haue great cause to hope that in short time they wil be al drawne by litle and litle, to the Euangelicall law of Christ to the great encrease of his flocke. But let vs now returne to the messengers or procuratours as concerning the affaires of Dariena.

The seuenth Chapter of the seconde Decade, of the supposed continent.

FROM Dariena to Hispaniola, is eight dayes sailing, & somtimes lesse with a prosperous wind: yet Quicedus and Colminaris the procuratours of Dariena, by reason of tempestes & contrary windes, could scarcely sayle it in a hundred dayes. When they had taried a fewe dayes in Hispaniola, & had declared the cause of the comming to the Admirall and the other gouernours, they tooke shiping in two marchant ships, being ready furnished, which were also accustomed to sayle to and fro betweene Spayne and the lland of Hispaniola. They departed from Dariena (as we said before) the fourth day of the Calends of Nouēber, in the yeere of Christ 1512. & came not to the court beefore the Calendes of May in the yeere following being the yeere of Christ. 1513. At their comming to the court, Iohannes Fonseta (to whom at the beginning the charge of these affaires was committed, whome also for his faithfull seruice towarde the king, your holinesse created general Commissarie in the warres against the Moores) receiued them honourably, as men comming from the newe worlde, from naked nations, and landes vknowne to other men. By the preferment therefore of the Bishop of Burges, Quicedus and Colmenaris were brought before the king, and declared their legacie in his presence. Suche newes and presentes as they brought, were delectable to the king and his noble men, for the newnesse and strangenesse thereof. They all sojourned with me oftentimes. Their countenaunces do declare the intemperatnesse of the aire and region of Dariena, for they are yelow, like vnto them that haue the yelowie iaundies, and also swolne: but they ascribe the cause hereof, to the hunger whiche they susteined in times past. I haue ben aduertised of the affaires of this newe worlde, not only by these procuratours of Dariena, and Anciscus, and Zamudius, but also by conference with Baccia the lawyer, who ran ouer a great part of those coastes: likewise by relation of Vincentius Annez, the patrone of the ships, and Alphonsus Nignus, both being men of great experience, and wel trauailed in those parties, besides many other, of whom we haue made mention in other places, for there came neuer any from thence to the court, but tooke great pleasure to certifie me of all thinges, either by word of mouth or by writing. Of many thinges therefore whiche I learned of them, I haue gathered such as to my iudgment seeme most

The procura-
tours of Dariena
are honourably
receiued at the
court.

most worthy to satisfie them that take delight in histories. But let vs now declare what followed after the comming of the procuratours of Dariena. Therefore, before their arriual, there was a rumor spred in the court, that the cheefe gouernours and Lieuutenantes Nicuesa and Fogeda, also Iohannes de la Cossa (a man of much reputation that by the kinges letters patentes hee was named the great maister of the kinges shippes) were al perished by mischance: and that those fewe whiche yet remained aliue in Dariena, were at contention and discorde among them selues, so that they neither endeououred their diligence to allure those simple nations to our faith, nor yet had regarde to seache the natures of those regions. In consideration whereof, the king was determined to send a newe captayne thither, which should restore and set all thinges in good order, and put them out of authority whiche had vsurped the Empire of those prouinces without the kinges speciall commaundement. To this office, was one Petrus Arias assigned, a man of great prowesse, and a citizen of Segouia, but when the procuratours of Dariena had published in the courte howe great a matter it was, and of what moment many laboured earnestly to the king, to take the office out of his handes: but the Bishop of Burges, being the kings chiefe chaplayne, and one of the commissioners appoynted by him in these matters, being aduertised hereof, came immediately to the king and spake to him in this effect: May it please your hyghnesse to vnderstande (most catholique prince) that whereas Petrus Arias, a man of valiant courage and great seruice, hath offered himselfe to aduenture his life in your maiesties affaires, vnder vncertayne hope of gaine, and most certayne perils, yet that notwithstanding, some other haue ambitiously maliced his felicitie and preferment, labouring for the office wherto he is elected. I may please your grace here, so to shew him your fauour, and permit him to enioy his sayde office, as your maiestie doe knowe him to bee a woorthy and meete man for the same, hauing in tyme past had great experience of his prowesse and valyantesse, aswell in behauing himselfe, as ordering his souldiers, as your highnesse may the better consider, if it shall please you to call to remembraunce his dooinges in the warres of Aphryca, where he shewed himselfe both a wise captaine, and a valiant souldier. As concerning his manners and vsages otherwayes, they are not vnknowne to your maiestie, vnder whose wing he hath of a childe beene brought vp in the Court, and euer founde faithfull towarde your highnesse. Wherefore, to declare my opinion, vnder your graces fauour (whom it hath pleased to appoynt me a Commissioner in these affaires) I thinke it were vngodly that he shoulde be put from his office at the suite of any other, especially being thereto moued by ambition and couetousnesse, who perchance would proue themselves to be the same men in the office, if they should obtaine it, as they now shew themselves in the ambitious desiring of the same. When the Bishop had sayde these wordes, the king confirmed the election of Petrus Arias, in more ample manner then before, willing the bishop to appoint him a thousande and two hundred souldiers at his charges, making him a warrant to the officers of his Exchequer, to deliuer him money in prest for the same purpose. Petrus Arias therefore beeing thus put in office, and authorised by the kinges letters patentes vnder his broade seale, chose a great number of his souldiers in the court, and so departed from Valladoleta, about the Calends of October, in the yeere 1413. and sayled first to Ciuile beeing a very rich citie, and well replenished with people, where by the kings magistrates, hee was furnished with menne and vyctualles, and other necessaries perteyning to so great a matter: for the king hath in this citie erected a house, seruing onely for the affaires of the Ocean, to the which all they that goe or come from the newe landes and Ilandes, resorte to giue accomptes, aswell what they cary thither, as what they bring from thence that the king may bee truely answered of his custome of the sift part, both of golde and other thinges, as we haue sayde beefore. This house they call the house of the Contractes of India. Petrus Arias found in Ciuile about two thousand yong men which made great suite to goe with him, likewise no small number of couetous old men, of the which, many offered themselves to goe with him of their owne charges without the kings stipende. But least the ships should be pestered with too great a multitude or least vyctualles shoulde fayle them, the libertie of free passage was restraint. It was also decreed that no straunger might passe without the Kinges licence. Wherefore I doe not a little

S N

maruayle

The great
maister of the
kinges ships.

Petrus Arias is
elected gouernour
of Dariena.

The oration of
the Bishop of
Burges, in the
defence of Pe-
trus Arias.

The warres of
Aphryca.

A house in Ci-
uile appoynted
to the affaires of
India.

Perularia.

maruayle at Aloisius Cadamustus a Venetian, and writer of the Portugales voyages, that hee was not ashamed to wryte thus of the Spanyardes nauigations: wee went, wee sawe, wee did: whereas he neuer went, nor any Venetian sawe, but he stole certaine annotations out of the three first chapters of my first Decade written to Cardinal Ascanius & Arcimbouldus, supposing that I would neuer haue published the same. It might also happen that hee came by the copie thereof at the hand of some ambassador of Venice, for I haue graunted the copie to many of them, & was not daungerous to forbid them to communicate the same to other. Howe so euer it bee, this honest man Aloisius Cadamustus feared not to challenge

The Portugales
inventions.

vnto him the fruit of another mans labour. Of the inuentions of the Portugales (whiche surely are woonderfull) whether he haue written that which he hath seene (as he saith) or likewise bereaued other men of the iust commendations of their trauiayles, I will not iudge, but am content to let him liue after his manner. Among the company of these souldiers, there were none embarked but such as were licēced by the king, except a few Italians, Genues, who by friendship and suite were admitted for the Admirals sake young Colonus, sonne and heyre to Christophorus Colonus, the first finder of those landes. Petrus Arias therefore tooke shipping in the ryuer Betis (now called Guadalqueuir) running by the cite of Ciuille, about the beginning of the yeeere of Christ 1514. But he loosed anker in an euill houre, for

The nauigation
of Petrus
Arias.

A shypwracke.

such a tempest followed shortly after his departure, that it rēt in peeces two of his ships, and so tossed the other, that they were enforced to heaue ouerboorde part of their victualles to lighten them. All suche as escaped, sayled backe againe to the coastes of Spayne, where, being newly furnished and refreshed by the kinges officers, they went forward on their voyage. The maister Pylotte of the gouernours shippe, was Iohannes Vesputius a Florentine, the neuiew of Americus Vesputius, who left him as it were by discent of inheritance, the experience of the mariners facultie and knowledge of the sea, carde and compasse. But wee were aduertised of late by certayne whiche came from Hispaniola, that they had passed the Ocean with more prosperous wind: for this marchant shyppe comming from Hispaniola, founde them landing at certayne llands neere therabout. But in the meane time, while my importunate callers on, Galeaceus Butrigarius, and Iohannes Cursius, men studious by al meanes to gratifie your holynesse, ceased not to put me in remembrance that they had one in a readines to depart into Italy, & taried only to cary with him vnto your holines these, my faire Nereides, although rudely decked least I should bestow much time in vayne, I haue let passe many things, & wil rehearse only such as seeme in my iudgement most worthy memory, although somewhat disordered, as occasiō hath serued.

Americus Ves-
putius.

A notable ex-
ample of a va-
liant woman.

So it is therefore, that this Petrus Arias hath a wife named Helisabetha Boadilla, being niece by the brother side to the marques of Boadilla, whiche rendred the cite of Segouia to Fernando and Helisabeth Princes of Spayne, at such time as the Portugales inuaded the kingdome of Castile, by reason wherof they were encouraged first to resist, and then with open warre to assayle and expulse the Portugales, for the great treasure whiche King Henry brother to Queene Elizabeth hadde geathered together there. This marquesse, while she liued, did euer shewe a manly and stout mynde, botin in peace and warre, so that by her counsayle, many noble things were brought to good effect in Castile: vnto this noble woman the wife of Petrus Arias was niece by her brother side. She, following the magnanimitie of her aunt, perceiuing her husbande nowe furnishing himselfe to departe to the vnknowne coastes of the newe worlde, and those large tractes of lande and

The wife of Pe-
trus Arias.

sea, spake these wordes vnto him: My most deare and welbeloued husbande, we ought not now to forget that from our young yeeeres we haue beene ioyned together with the yoke of holy matrimonie, to the intent that we shoulde so liue together, and not a sunder, during the time of our naturall life: wherefore for my parte, to declare my affection herein, you shall vnderstande, that whither soeuer your fatall destinie shall driue you, eyther by the furious waues of the great Ocean, or by the manifolde and horrible daungers of the lande, I wil surely beare you companie: there canne no perill chaunce to me so terrible, nor any kinde of death so cruell, that shall not be much easier for mee to abide, then to liue so farre separate from you. It were much better for mee to die, and eyther to be cast into the sea, to be deuoured of the fishes, or on the land to the Canibales, then with continual mourning and bewayling,

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to liue in death, and dye liuing, while I consume in looking rather for my husbandes lettera, then for himselfe. This is my full determination, not rashly, nor presently excogitate, nor conceived by the light phantasie of womans brayne, but with long deliberation and good aduisement. Nowe therefore choose to whether of these two you will assent, eyther to thruste your sworde in my throate, or to graunt me my request. As for the children which God hath giuen vs as pledges of our inseparable loue (for they had foure sonnes, and as many daughters) shall not stay me a moment: let vs leaue vnto them such goodes and possessions as we haue beene left vs by our parentes and friends whereby they may liue among the worshipfull of their order: for other thinges I take no care. When this noble matrone of manly vertue had finished these woordes, her husbände seeing the constant mynde of his wife, and her in a readinesse to do according to her wordes, had no heart to denye her louing petition, but embracing her in his armes, commended her intent, and consented to her request. She followed him therefore, as did Ipsicratea her Mithridates, with her hayre hanging loose about her shoulders: for she loued her husbände, as did Halicarnassea of Caria hers, being dead, as did Artemisia her Mausolus. Wee haue also had aduertisement since their departure, that she (being brought vp as it were among soft fetters) hath with no les stout courage sustained the roarings and rages of the Ocean, then did eyther her husband, or any of the maryners brought vp euen among the sources of the sea. But to haue sayde thus much hereof, this shali suffice: let vs nowe speake of other thinges no lesse worthie memorie. Therefore, wheras in the first decade we haue made mention of Vincentius Annez Pinzonus, ye shal vnderstand that hee accompanied Christophorus Colonus the Admirall in his first voyage, and afterwarde made an other voyage of his owne charges with onely one ship. Againe, the first yeere after the departing of the Captaynes Nicuesa and Fogeda, he ran ouer those coastes from Hispaniola, and searched the South side of Cuba, from the East to the West, and sayled rounde about that Iland, which to that day, for the great length thereof, was thought to haue bin part of the continent or firme lande, although some other say that they did the like. Vincentius Annez, therefore, knowing now by experience that Cuba was an Iland, sailed on further and founde other lands Westwarde from Cuba, but such as the Admirall had first touched. Wherefore, being in maner encompassed with this newe lande, turning his course towarde the left hande, and rasing the coastes of that lande by the East, ouerpassing also the mouthes of the gulfes of Beragua Vraba, and Cuchibachoa, he arryued at the region whiche in the first Decade wee called Paria and Os Draconis, and entred into the great gulfe of freshe water, which Colonus discovered, beeing replenished with great abundance of fishe, and famous by reason of the multitude of llandes lying in the same, beeing distaunt Eastwarde from Curiana about an hundred and thirtie myles, in the which tract are the regions of Cumana and Manacapana, whiche also in the sixt chapter of the first Decade we said to be regions of the large prouince of Paria, where many affirme to be the greatest plentie of the best pearles, and not in Curiana. The kinges of these regions (whom they call Chiacones, as they of Hispaniola call them Cacici) being certified of the comming of our men, sent certayne spies to enquire what newe nation was arriued in their coastes, what they brought, and what they would haue, and in the meane time furnished a number of their Canoas (whiche they call Chichos) with men armed after their manner: for they were not a litle astonysed to beholde our shippes with the sayles spreade, whereas they vse no sayles, nor can vse but small ones if they woulde, by reason of the narrownesse of their Canoas. Swarming therefore about the shyppe with their Canoas (whiche we may well call Monoxyla, because they are made of one whole tree) they feared not to shoote at our men, being yet within their shyppes, and keeping themselues vnder the hatches, as safely as if they had beene defended with stone walles. But when our men had shotte of certayne peeces of ordinance agaynst them, they were so discomfited with the noyse and slaughter thereof, that they droue themselves to flight. Being thus disparcelled, our men chased them with the ship boate, tooke many, & slue many. When the kinges heard the noyse of the gunnes, and were certified of the losse of their men, they sent ambassadours to Vincentius Agnes to entreate of peace, fearing the spoyle of their goodes, and destruction of their people, if our men should come

Plentie of
pearles.

The vse of
gunnes.

Great abundance of gold and frankencense, Olibanum.

Sabea is a country in Arabia which bringeth forth Frankencense.

Rulers for one yeere.

The great gulfe of Paria.

The great land Atlantike.

Contention betweene the Castilians & Portugales for the newe landes.

alande in their wrath and furie. They desired peace therefore as coule bee coniectured by their signes and poyntinges: for our men vnderstoode not one word of their language. And for the better prooffe that they desired peace, they presented our men with three thousande of those weightes of golde that the Spanyardes call Castellatum Aureum, whiche they commonly call Pesum. Also a great barrel of wood full of most excellent masculine Frankencense, weighing about two thousande and sixe hundred poundes weight, after eight ounces to the pounce: whereby they knewe that that lande brought forth great plentie of Frankencense, for there is no entercourse of marchandyes betweene the inhabitants of Paria and the Sabeans, being so farre distant, whereas also they of Paria knewe nothing without their owne coastes. With the golde and Frankencense whiche they presented to our men, they gaue them also a great multitude of their peacockes, both cockes and hennes, dead and aliue, aswell to satisfie their present necessitie, as also to cary with them into Spayne for encrease, likewise certaine carpettes, couerlettes, table clothes, and hanginges, made of Gossampine silke, finely wrought after a strange deuice, with pleasant and variable colours, hauing golden belles, and such other spangles and pendautes, as the Italians call Sonaglios, and the Spanyardes Cascaueles, hanging at the purfles thereof. They gaue them furthermore speaking poppyngayes of sundry colours, as many as they woulde aske: for in Paria there is no lesse plentie of poppyngayes, then with vs of doves or sparrows. The inhabitants of these regions, both men & women, are apparelled with vestures made of gossampine cotton, the men to the knees, and the women to the calfe of the legge. The fashion of their apparell is simple & playne, much like vnto the Turkes: but the mens is double, and quilted, like that which the Turkes vse in the warres. The princes of Paria are rulers but for one yeere: but their authoritie is no lesse among the people both in peace and warre, then is the authoritie of other kings in those regions. Their villages are builded in compasse, along by the bankes of al that great gulfe. Fyue of their princes came to our menne with their presentes, whose names I thought worthy to bee put in this historie, in remembrance of so notable a thing, Chiaconus Chiauaccha (that is, the prince of Chiauaccha, for they call princes or Kings Chiaconus) Chiaconus Pintiguanus, Chiaconus Chamailaba, Chiaconus Polomus, and Chiaconus Potto. The gulfe being first found of the Admirall Colonius, they call Baia Natiuitatis, because he entred into the same in the day of the natiuitie of Christ, but at that time he only passed by it without any further searching, and Baia in the Spanishe tong, signifieth a gulfe. When Vincentius had thus made a league with these princes, following his appoynted course, hee founde many regions towarde the East, desolate by reason of diuerse floods and ouerflowings of waters: also many standing pooles in diuers places, and those of exceeding largnesse. He ceased not to followe this tract, vntill he came to the poynt or cape of that most long land. This poynt seemeth as though it would inuade the mount Atlas in Aphrica: for it prospecteth towarde that part of Aphrike, which the Portugales call Caput bonæ Sperantiae. The poyntes or capes of the mount Atlas are rough & sauage, neere vnto the sea. The cape of Bona Speranza, gathereth thirtie and foure degrees of the Southe pole, called the pole Antartike, but that poynt onely seuen degrees. I suppose this lande to be that whiche I finde in olde writers of Cosmographie to bee called the great lande Atlantike, without any further declaring eyther of the situation, or of the nature thereof.

The eight Chapter of the seconde Decade, of the supposed continent.

When Iohn the king of Portugale liued, which was predecessour to him that now reigneth, there arose a great contention betweene the Castilians and the Portugales, as concerning the dominion of these newe found lands. The Portugales, because they were the first that durst attempt to search the Ocean sea since the memorie of man affirmed that al the nauigations of the Ocean, ought to pertaine to them onely. The Castilians argued on the contrary part that whatsoever God by the ministration of nature hath created on the earth, was at the beginning common among men, & that it is therefore lawful to euery man to possesse such landes as are voyd of Christian inhabitours. While the matter was thus vncertainly debated, both parties agreed that the cōtrouersie shuld be decided by the byshop of Rome, and plighted

plighted faith to stande to his arbitrement. The kingdome Castile was at that tyme gouerned by that great queene Helisabeth with her husband: for the Realme of Castile was her dowrie. She also and the King of Portugale, were cosyn germanes of two sisters, by reason whereof, the dissention was more easily pacified. By the assent therefore of both parties, Alexander the bishop of Rome, the 6. of that name, by the authority of his leaden bull, drew a right line from the North to the South, an hundred leagues westwarde, without the paralels of those Ilandes which are called Caput Viride, or Cabouerde, within the compasse of this lyne (although some denie it) falleth the poynt of this lande whereof wee haue spoken, which they call Caput Sancti Augustini, otherwise called Promontorium Sancti Augustini, that is, saint Augustines cape or poynt: and therefore it is not lawfull for the Castilians to fasten foote in the beginning of that land. Vincentius Annez therefore departed from thence, being advertised of the inhabitants, that on the other side of the hygh mountaynes toward the South, lying before his eyes, there was a region called Ciamba, whiche brought forth great plentie of gold. Of certayne captiues whiche hee tooke in the gulfes of Paria (whiche certaynly pertaineth to the dominion of Castile) he brought some with him to Hispaniola, and left them with the young Admirall to learne our language: but he himselfe repayed to the court, to make earnest suite to the king, that by his fauour he might be gouernour of the Iland of Sancti Iohannis (otherwise called Burichena, being distant from Hispaniola onely xxv. leagues) because he was the first finder of golde in that Ilande. Before Vincentius made suite for this office, one Don Christopher, a Portugale, the sonne of the countie of Camigna, was gouernour of the Iland, whom the Canibales of the other Ilandes slue, with all the Christian men that were in the same, except the Bishshop and his familiars, whiche fled and shifted for themselves, forsaking the church and all the ornamentes therof: for your holynesse hath consecrated fise bishops in these Ilandes, at the request of the most catholique king. In Sancto Dominico the chiefe citie of Hispaniola, Garsia de Padilla, a regular Fryer of the order of saint Francis, is bysshop. In the towne of Conception, doctor Petrus Xuares of Deza, and in the Ilande of saint Iohn or Burichena, Alphonsus Mansus a licenciante, being both obseruants of the institution of saint Peter. The fourth is Fryer Barnarde of Mesa, a man of noble parentage, borne in Toledo, a preacher, & Bishop of the Ilande of Cuba. The fift is Iohannes Cabedus, a Fryer preacher, whom your holynesse annoynted minister of Christe, to teach the Christian faith among the inhabitantes of Dariena. The Canibales shall shortly repent them, and the bloude of our men shall be reuenged, and that the sooner, because that shortly after they hadde committed this abhominable slaughter of our men, they came againe from their owne Ilande of Sancta Crux (otherwise called Ay Ay) to the Ilande of Sancti Iohannis, and slue a king whiche was a friende to our men, and ate him, and al his familie, vtterly subuerting his village, vpon this occasion, that violating the law of hostage, hee hadde slayne seuen Canibales whiche were left with him by composition to make certayne Canoas, because the Iland of Sancti Iohannis beareth greater trees, and apter for that purpose, then doth the Iland of Sancti Crux, the chiefe habitatio of the Canibales. These Canibales yet remaining in the Iland, certayne of our men sayling from Hispaniola, chaunced vpon them. The thing being vnderstoode by the interpretours, our men quarelling with them, & calling them to accompt for that mischeuous deede, they immediately directed their bowes and venomous arrowes against them, and with cruell countenaunces threatned them to be quiet, least it shoulde repent them of their comming thither. Our men fearing their venomous arrowes (for they were not prepared to fyght) gaue them signes of peace. Beeing demanded why they destroyed the village, and where the king was with his familie, they answered, that they rased the village, and cut the king with his familie in peeces, and ate them in the reuenge of their seuen workemen: and that they had made faggottes of their bones, to cary them to the wiues and children of their slayne workemen, in witnesse that the bodies of their husbandes and parentes lay not vnreuenged, and therewith shewed the faggottes of bones to our men, who beeing astonished at their fiercenesse and crueltie, were enforced to dissemble the matter, and holde their peace, quarrelling no further with them at that time. These and suche other thinges doe dayly chaunce, the which I doe let passe, least

The bishop of Rome diuideth the Iland.

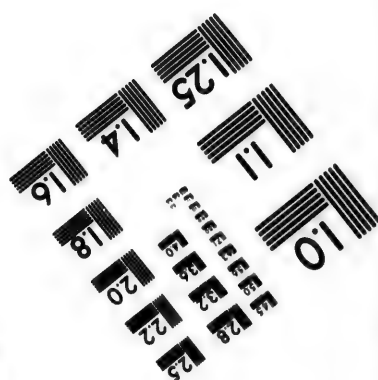
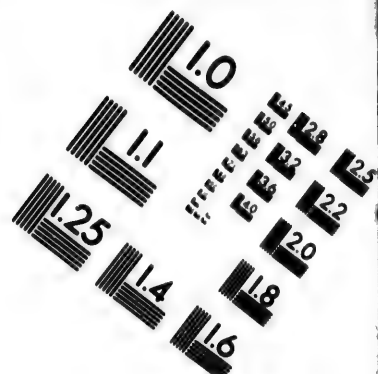
The golden region of Ciamba.

The Ilande of S. Iohannis.

Fise Bysshops of the Iland made by the Byshop of Rome.

The Canibales of the Iland of Sancta Crux.





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The rivers of
Vraba.

least I should offend the eares of your holynesse with such blouddie narrations. Thus haue we sufficiently digressed from the regions of Beragua and Vraba, being the chieftest foundations of our purpose. We will now therefore entreate somewhat of the largenesse and deapth of the ryuers of Vraba: also declare both what they and the lands which they runne through do bring forth: likewise of the greatnesse of the lande from the East to the West, and of the breadth therof from the South to the North, and what their opinion and hope is of things yet vnknowne in the same. We will therefore beginne at the newe names, wherewith the Spanyardes haue named these prouinces, since they were vnder the dominions of the Christians.

The nienth Chapter of the second Decade, of the supposed continent.

The fruitful-
nesse of Vraba.

The fruitful-
nesse of Dariena.

Swines fleshe of
better taste &
more holesome
then mutton.

Fruites putrified
on the sea.

Betatas.

BERagua therefore they called Castella Aurea, that is, goldē Castile, & Vraba they named Andalusia noua, that is, new Andalusia. And like as of many Ilāds which they subdued, they chose Hispaniola for the chiefe place of their habitation: so in the large tract of Paria, they appoynted their colonie or biding place in the two regions of Vraba and Beragua, that all suche as attempt any voyages in those coastes, may resort to them, as to safe portes to be refreshed when they are wearie or driuen to necessitie. All our seedes and plants do now marueilously encrease in Vraba, likewise blades, sets, slips, graftes, suger canes, and such other as are brought from other places to those regions, as also beastes and foules, as wee haue sayd before: O marueilous fruitfulnessse. Twentie dayes after the seede is sowed, they gathered rype cucumbers, and such like: but Colwoortes, Beetes, Lettuse, Borage, are rype within the space of ten dayes. Gourdes, Melones, and Pompions within the space of xxviii. dayes. Dariena hath many natiue trees and fruites, of diuers kindes, with sundry tastes, & holsome for the vse of men, of the which I haue thought it good to describe certain of the best. They nouryshe a tree which they call Guaiana, that beareth a fruit much resembling the kinde of Citrones which are commonly called Limones, of tast somewhat sharpe, myxt with sweetnesse. They haue also abundance of nuts of pine trees, and great plentie of Date trees, which beare fruites bigger then the Dates that are knowne to vs, but they are not apt to be eatē for their too much sowrenesse. Wilde & barren Date trees grow of themselves in sundry places, the branches wherof they vse to beesomes, and eate also the buds of the same. Guarauana, beeing higher and bigger then the orange tree, bringeth forth a great fruit as bigge as pome Citrons. There is another tree much like to a chestnut tree, whose fruit is like to the bigger sorte of figs, being holsome and of pleasant taste. Mameis, is another tree that bringeth forth fruit as bigge as an orange, in taste nothing inferior to the best kindes of Melones. Guanana, beareth a fruit lesse then any of the other, but of sweete sauour like spice and of delectable tast. Houos is another tree, whose fruit both in shape and taste is much like to prunes, but some what bigger: they are surely perswaded that this is the Myrobalane tree. These growe so abundantly in Hispaniola, that the hogges are fedde with the fruit therof, as with mast among vs. The hogges like this kinde of feeding so wel, that when these fruites waxe ripe the swine heards can by no meanes keepe them out of the woods of these trees, by reason whereof, a great multitude of them are become wilde. They also affirme, that in Hispaniola swines flesh is of much better taste and more wholsome then mutton: for it is not to be doubted, but that diuers kindes of meates doe engender sundry tastes and qualities in such as are nourished therewith. The most puissant prince Ferdinandus, declared that he had eaten of another fruit brought from those landes, being full of scales, with keies, much like a pineapple in fourme and colour, but in tendernes equal to melow pepons, and in taste exceeding al garden fruites: for it is no tree, but an hearbe, much like vnto an artichoke, or Acantho: The king him selfe gaue the cheefest commendation to this. I haue eaten none of these fruits: for of a great number which they brought from thence, only one remained vncorrupted, the other being putrified by reasō of the long voiage. Al suche as haue eaten of them newly geathered in their natiue soile, do marueilously commende their sweetnesse and pleasaunt taste. They digge also out of the ground certaine rootes growing of them selues, whiche they call Betatas, much like vnto the

the nauie rootes of Millane, or the great puffes or mushromes of the earth. Howsoever they be dressed, eyther fried or sodde, they giue place to no suche kinde of meate in pleasant tendernes. The skinne is somewhat tougher then either the nauies or mushromes, of earthie colour, but the inner meate therof is very white: These are nourished in gardens, as we saide of lucca in the first Decade. They are also eaten rawe, and haue the taste of rawe chestnuts, but are somewhat sweeter. We haue spoken sufficiently of trees, hearbes, and fruites, we wil nowe therefore entreate of things sensitiue. The landes and desolate parts of these regions, are inhabited and deuoured of wilde and terrible beastes, as Lions, Tigers, and suche other monsters as we nowe knowe, and haue ben described of olde authours in time past. But there is specially one beast engendred here, in which nature hath endeuoured to shew her cunning: This beast is as bigge as an Oxe, armed with a long snoute like an Elephant, and yet no Elephant, of the colour of an oxe, and yet no oxe, with the hoofe of a horse, & yet no horse, with eares also muche like vnto an Elephant, but not so open nor so much hanging downe, yet muche wider then the eares of any other beast. Of the beast which beareth her whelpes about with her in her second belly as in a purse (being knowen to none of the olde writers) I haue spoken in the first Decade, which I doubt not to haue come to the handes of your holinesse. Let vs nowe therefore declare what resteth of the flooddes and riuers of Vraba. The riuier of Dariena falleth into the gulfes of Vraba, with a narrow chanel, scarcely able to beare the Canoas or Lighters of that prouince, & runneth by the village where they chose their dwelling place, but the riuier in the corner of the gulfes which we saide that Vachus passed by, they founde to be: xxiiii. furlongs in breadth (which they call a league) and of exceeding deapth, as of two hundred cubits, falling into the gulfes by diuers mouthes. They say that this riuier falleth into the gulfes of Vraba, like as the riuier Ister (otherwise called Danubius, and Danowe) falleth into the sea Pontike: and Nilus into the sea of Egypt, wherefore they named it Grandis, that is, great: whiche also they affirme to nourishe many and great Crocodiles, as the old writers testifie of Nilus, and especially as I haue learned by experience, hauing sailed vp and downe the riuier of Nilus, when I was sent Ambassadour to the Souldane of Alcair, at the commandement of the most catholique king. What I may therefore geather out of the writings of so many learned authours as concerning the riuier of Nilus, I knowe not: for they say that nature hath giuen two riuers of that name to water the lande, whether they wil them to spring out of the mountaines of the moone or the sunne, or out of the tops of the rough mountains of Ethiopia, affirming one of the same to fall into the gulfes of Egypt towarde the North, and the other into the South Ocean sea. What shall wee say in this place; Of that Nilus in Egypt there is no doubt. The Portugales also which sayle by the coastes of the Ethiopians called Nigritae, and by the kingdome of Melinda, passing vnder the Equinoctiall lyne, among their marueylous inuentions haue found another toward the South, and earnestly affirme the same to bee also deriued from the mountaines of the moone, & that it is another chanel of Nilus, because it bringeth forth Crocodiles, whereas it hath not bin read before time, that any other ryuer nourished Crocodiles sauing onely Nilus. This riuier the Portugales call Senega. It runneth through the region of the Nigritas, being very fruitfull toward the North shore, but on the South side sandie and rough. Crocodiles are also engendred herein. What shall we then say of this thirde; yea I may well say the fourth: for I suppose them also to bee Crocodiles, which Colonus with his company founde, armed with scales as hard as shelles, in the ryuer called Delagartos, whereof wee haue made mention before. Shall we say that these ryuers of Dariena also & Vraba, haue their originall from the mountaynes of the moone, wheras they spring out of the next mountains, & can by no meanes haue the same originall with Nilus in Egypt, or that in Nigrita, or els that in the kingdome of Melinda, from whence so euer they are deriued, whereas these other (as we haue sayd) spring out of the next mountaynes, which diuide another South sea, with no great distance from the North Ocean. Wherefore, it appeareth by experience of such as haue trauailed the world in our time, that other waters beside the riuier of Nilus in Egypt, may likewise bring forth Crocodiles. In the maryshes also and fennes of the regions of Dariena, are founde

Lions and Tigers.

gers.

A strange beast.

The riuers of Vraba.

A league is xxiiii. furlonges.

Danubius.

A Crocodile is muche like a Neute, but of exceeding bignesse.

The Portugales nauigations.

great

great plentie of Pheasants and Peacockes (but not of variable coloures) with many other kindes of birdes and foules vnyke vnto ours, aswel apt to be eaten, as also to delight the eares of menne with pleasaunt noyse. But our Spanyardes, because they are ignorant in fowling, take but fewe. Also innumerable poppingayes of sundry kindes are founde chattering in the groues of those fennie places. Of these there are some equall to Capones in bignesse, and some as litle as sparowes. But of the diuersitie of poppingaies, we haue spoken sufficiently in the firste Decade: for in the rase of this large lande, Colonus him selfe brought and sent to the courte a great number of euery kinde, the whiche it was lawfull for all the people to beholde, and are yet daily brought in like manner. There remaineth yet one thing mooste worthy to be put in historie, the whiche, I had rather to haue chaunced into the hands of Cicero or Liuie, then in to mine: for the thing is so marueilous in my estimation, that I finde my witte more entangled in the description hereof, then is saide of the henne when she seeth her young chicken inwrapped in towe or flaxe. The breadth of that lande from the North Ocean to the South sea, is only sixe daies iourney, by relation of the inhabitautes. The multitude ther fore and greatnesse of the riuers on the one side, and on the other side the narrownesse of the lande, bring me into suche doubt howe it can come to passe, that in so litle a place of three daies iourney, measuring from the high toppes of those mountaines, I doe not vnderstande howe so many and so greate riuers may haue recourse vnto this North sea: for it is to be thought, that as many doe flow toward thinhabitants of the South. These riuers of Vraba are but small, in comparison of many other in those coastes: for the Spanyards say, that in the time of Colonus, they found and passed by an other riuier after this, whose gulfe falling into the sea, they affirme to be litle lesse then a hundred miles in the first coastes of Paria, as we haue saide else where: for they say, that it falleth from the toppes of highe mountaines with so swift and furious a course, that by the violence and greatnesse thereof, it driueth backe the sea, although it be rough & enforced with a cōtrarie wind. They al affirme likewise, that in al the large tracte therof, they felt no sowre or salt water, but that all the water was freshe, sweete and apt to be drunke. Thinhabitantes call this riuier Maragnonum, and the regions adiacent to the same, Mariatambal, Camamorus, and Paricora: beside those riuers whiche I haue named before, as Darien, Grandius Dabaiba, Beragua, Sancti Mathei, Boius gatti, Delagartos, & Gaira, they which of late haue searched those coastes, haue founde many other. Deliberating therefore with my selfe, from whence these mountaines, being so narrowe and neere vnto the sea on both sides, haue suche great holowe caues or dens of such capacitie, and from whence they are filled, to cast forth such abundance of water: hereof also asking them the opinions of the inhabitantes, they affirme them to be of diuers iudgements herein, alleading first the greatnes of the mountaines to be the cause, whiche they say to be very hygh, which thing also Colonus the first finder thereof affirmeth to bee true, adding thereunto that the paradise of pleasure is in the tops of those mountaynes whiche appeare from the gulfe of Paria & Os Draconis, as he is fully perswaded. They agree therefore that there are great caues within these mountaynes, but it resteth to consider from whēce they are fylled. If therefore al the riuers of freshe water, by the opinion of many, doe so flow out of the sea, as driuen and compelled through the passages or pores of the earth, by the ponderous weight of the sea it selfe, as wee see them breake forth of the springes, and direct their course to the sea agayne, then the thing it selfe to bee marueyled at here, then in other places: for wee haue not read that in any other place, two such seas haue enuironed any lande with so narrowe lymittes: for it hath on the right side the great Ocean, where the sunne goeth downe on the left hande, and another on the other side where the sunne riseth, nothing inferiour to the first in greatnesse, for they suppose it to bee myxte and ioyned as all one with the sea of East India. This land therefore beeing burdened with so great a weyght on the one side, & on the other (if this opinion be of any value) is enforced to swallowe vp suche deuoured waters, and againe to cast forth the same in open springes and streames. But if wee shall denye that the earth draweth humoures of the sea, and agree that all the fountaynes or springes are engendered of the conuersion or turning of ayre into water, distilling within the holow places of the mountaynes (as the most part thinke) we wil giue

A philosophical discourse as concerning thoroughinal of springes and riuers.

The breadth of the lande at Vraba, from the North Ocean to the South sea.

The sea.

The land enclosed with two seas.

Conuersion of ayre into water in the caues of mountaynes.

giue place rather to the authoritie of them which sticke to those reasons, then that our sence is satisfied of the full truth thereof. Yet do I not repugne, that in some caues of mountaynes, water is turned into ayre: for I my selfe haue seene, howe in the caues of manye mountaynes in Spayne, in manner showres of rayne doe fall continually and that the water gathered by this meanes, dooth send forth certayne riuers by the sides of the mountaines, wherewith all suche trees as are planted on the steepe or foote of the mountaynes, as vines, oliue trees, and suche other, are watered, and this especially in one place: as the right honourable Lodouike the Cardinall of Aragonie, most obsequious to your holinesse, and two other bishops of Italy, whereof the one is Siluius Pandonus, and the other an Archbishop (whose name and title I do not remember) can beare me witnesse: for when wee were together at Granata, lately deliuered from the dominion of the Moores, & walked for our pastyme to certayne pleasant hilles (by the which there ranne a fayre ryuer) while Cardinall Lodouike occupied himselfe in shooting at birdes which were in the bushes neere vnto the ryuer, I and the other two bishops determined to clime the mountaynes, to search the originall and spring of the ryuer: for we were not farre from the tops thereof. Following therefore the course of the ryuer, wee founde a great caue, in which was a continuall fall of water, as it had bene a showre of rayne, the water whereof, falling into a trenche made with mans hande, encreaseth to a ryuer, and runneth downe by the sides of the mountaynes. The like is also seene in this famous towne of Valladoleta (where we nowe sojourne) in a certayne greene close, not past a furlong distant from the walles of the towne. I graunt therefore, that in certayne places, by conuersion of the ayrie dewe into water, within the caues of suche mountaynes, many springes and riuers are engendered: but I suppose that nature was not sollicitate to bring forth such great floudes by this so small industrie. Two reasons therefore do sound best to my iudgement: whereof the one is, the often fall of rayne: the other, the continual autumnne or spring time which is in those regions, being so neere vnto the Equinoctial, that the common people can perceiue no difference betweene the length of the day and the night through out all the yeere, whereas these two seasons are more apt to engender abundance of rayne, then eyther extreame winter, or feruent sommer. An other reason in effect much like vnto the first is this: If the sea be ful of pores, and that by the pores thereof, being opened by the South wyndes, we shall consent that vapours are lyfted vp, whereof the watery cloudes are engendered, this lande must needs bee moysted with moe showres then anye other, if it bee as narrowe as they say, and enuironed with two mayne seas collaterally beating on the same: how soeuer it bee, I cannot but giue credite to the reporte of such woorthy men as haue recourse to those regions, and can no lesse then declare the same, albeit it may seeme incredible to some ignorant persons, not knowing the power of nature, to whome, Plinie was perswaded, that nothing was impossible. We haue therefore thought it good to make this discourse by the way of argument, least on the one side, menne of good learning and iudgement, and on the other side, such as are studious to finde occasions of quarelling in other mens wrytinges, shoulde iudge vs to bee so vndiscrete, lightly to giue credite to euery tale, not being consonant to reason: but of the force and great violence of those fresh waters, which repulsing the sea, make so great a gulf (as wee haue sayde) I thinke the cause thereof to bee the great multitude of floudes and riuers, whiche beeing gathered together, make so great a poole, and not one ryuer as they suppose. And forasmuch as the mountaines are exceeding high and steepe, I think the violence of the fall of the waters to be of such force, that this conflict betweene the waters, is caused by the impulsion of the poole, that the salt water cannot enter into the gulf. But here perhaps some will marueyle at mee, why I should marueile so much hereat, speaking vnto me scornfully, after this maner: Why doth hee so marueile at the great riuers of those regions? Hath not Italie his Eridanus, named the king of riuers of the olde writers; Haue not other regions also the like; as wee reade of Tanais, Ganges, and Danubius, which are sayd so to overcome the sea, that freshe water may bee drawne fourtie myles within the same. These men I would satisfie with this aunswere. The famous ryuer of Padus in Italie (whiche they nowe call Po, and was of the Greekes called Eridanus) hath the great mountaynes called Alpes, diuiding Fraunce, Germanie, and Pannonie, from Italie, lying at the banke there, as it were bulwarkes agger,

The often fall
of rayne and
continually
spring time.
The Equinoec-
tiall.

The pores of
the sea, & the
South wind.

The floud
Eridanus.

full of moysture, and with a long tracte receiuing Ticinum, with innumerable other great ryuers, falleth into the sea Adriatique. The like is also to bee vnderstoode of the other. But these riuers (as our menne were enfourmed by the kinges) fall into the Ocean sea with larger and fuller channels neere hande, and some there are which affirme this lande to be very large in other places, although it be but narrowe here. There commeth also to my remembrance another cause, the whiche although it be of no great force, yet doe I entende to write it. Perhaps therefore the length of the lande reaching farre from the East to the West, if it be narrowe, may be a helpe hereunto: for as wee reade, that the ryuer Alpheus passeth through the holowe places vnder the sea, from the citie of Elis in Peloponeso, and breaketh forth at the fountaine or spring Arethusa in the Ilande of Sicilla so is it possible that these mountaines may haue such long caues perteyning vnto them, that they may bee the receptacles of the water passing through the landes beeing farre distant, and that the same waters comming by so long a tracte, may in the way bee greatly encreased, by the conuersion of ayre into water, as we haue sayde. Thus much haue I spoken freely, permitting both to them which do friendly interpret other mens dooinges and also the malicious scornors, to take the thing euen as them lysteth, for hitherto I can make no further declaration hereof but when the trueth shalbe better knowne, I wil do my diligence to commit the same to writing. Nowe therefore, forasmuch as we haue spoken thus much of the breadth of this lande, we entende to describe the length and fourme of the same.

The tenth Chapter of the seconde Decade, of the supposed continent.

THat land reacheth forth into the sea, euen as doth Italy, although not like the leg of a man, as it doth. But nowe I compare a Pigmean or a dwarfe, to a Giant: for that part thereof which the Spaniardes haue ouerrunne, from the said East poynt whiche reacheth toward the sea Atlantike, (the end not being yet founde toward the West) is more then eight times longer then Italie. And by what reason I am moued to say eight times, your holiness shall vnderstande. From the time therefore that I first determined to obey their requestes, who willed mee first in your name to write these thinges in the Latine tongue, I did my endeouour that all thinges might come forth with due tryall and experience: wherupon I repayed to the Byshop of Burges, being the chiefe refuge of this nauigation. As we were therefore secretly together in one chamber, we had many instrumentes pertaining to these affaires, as globes, and many of those maps which are commonly called the shipmans cardes, or cardes of the sea. Of the which, one was drawne by the Portugales, whereunto Americus Vesputius is sayd to haue put to his hand, beeing a manne most expert in this facultie, and a Florentine borne, who also vnder the stipend of the Portugales, had sayled toward the South pole manie degrees beyonde the Equinoctiall. In this carde we found the first front of this lande to bee broader then the kinges of Vraba had perswaded our men of their mountaynes. To another, Colonus the Admiral, while he yet liued, and searched those places, had giuen the beginning with his owne handes: whereunto Bartholomeus Colonus his brother and Lieuutenant had added his iudgement, for he also had sayled about those coastes. Of the Spanyardes likewise, as many as thought themselues to haue anie knowledge what perteyned to measure the land and the sea, drew certayne cardes in parchment as concerning these nauigations. Of all other, they most esteeme them which Iohannes de la Cossa the companion of Fogeda (whom we sayde to be slayne of the people of Caramairi in the hauen of Carthago) & another expert pylote called Andreas Moralis, had set forth. And this aswel for the great experience which they both had (to whom these tractes were aswel knowne as the chambers of their owne houses) as also that they were thought to be cunninger in that part of Cosmographie, which teacheth the description & measuring of the sea. Conferring therefore al these cardes together, in euery of the which was drawne a lyne, expressing not the myles, but leagues, after the manner of the Spanyardes, wee tooke our compasses, & began to measure the sea coastes after his order. From that poynt or front whiche we sayde to bee included within the lyne perteyning to the Portugales iurisdiction, beeing drawn by the paralelles of the Ilandes of Cabouerde, but a hundred leagues further toward the West (which they haue now also searched

The riuer
Alpheus.

Long caues in
the mount-
aynes.

The length
and forme of
the Iland.

Cardes of the
sea.
The carde of
Americus
Vesputius.

The carde of
Colonus

The carde of
Iohannes de
la Cossa.
The Carde of
Andreas Mo-
ralis.

The maner of
measuring the
cardes.

searched on euery side) wee founde three hundred leagues to the entrance of the riuer *Magnum*: and from thence to *Os Draconis*, seuen hundred leagues, but somewhat lesse by the description of some, for they doe not agree in all poyntes exquisitely. The Spanyardes will that a league conteyne foure myles by sea, and but three by land. From *Os Draconis*, to the cape or poynt of *Cuchibacoa*, which being passed, there is a gulfes on the left hande, we measured three hundred leagues in one Carde, & much therabout in another. From this poynt of *Cuchibacoa*, to the region of *Caramairi*, in whiche is the hauen *Carthago* (whiche some call *Carthagena*) we found about a hundred & seuentie leagues. From *Caramairi* to the Iland *Fortis*, fyftie leagues. From thence to the gulfes of *Vraba*, among the whiche is the village called *Santa Maria Antiqua*, where the Spaniardes haue appoynted their habitation, only xxxiii. leagues. From the ryuer of *Vraba* in the prouince of *Dariena*, to the ryuer of *Beragua*, where *Nicuesa* had intended to haue fastened his foote, if God had not otherwise decreed, we measured a hundred and thirtie leagues. From *Beragua* to that ryuer, which we sayd of *Colonus* to bee called *Sancti Matthei*, in the which also *Nicuesa* loosing his *Carauell*, wandered in great calamities, we found in our Cardes only a hundred & fourtie leagues: Yet many other which of late time haue come from these partes, haue described many mo leagues in this tract from the ryuer of *Sancti Matthei*, in whiche also they place diuers riuers, as *Aburema*, with the Iland called *Scutum Cateba*, lying before it, whose kings name is *Facies combusta*. Likewise another riuer called *Zobrabá*, after that, *Vrida*, and then *Duraba*, in the whiche golde is founde. Furthermore, many goodly hauens, as *Cerabaro* and *Hiebra*, so called of the inhabitants. And thus if your holynesse will conferre these numbers together, you shall finde in this accompt, a thousand, fise hundred, twentie and fise leagues, which amount to fise thousand & seuen hundred miles from the poynt of *Sancti Matthei*, which they call *Sinum perditorum*, that is, the gulfes of the lost men. But we may not leaue here: for after this, one *Astur Ouetensis* otherwise named *Iohannes Dias de Solis*, borne in *Nebrissa* (which bringeth forth many learned men) sayling from this riuer towarde the West, ouerranne many coasts and leagues, but the middest of that shore bendeth towarde the North, and is not therefore directly placed in order with the other, yet may wee gather by a diameter or right lyne, about three hundred leagues. Heereby may you gather what is the length of this lande, but not the breadth, perhaps we shal here after haue further knowledge. Let vs nowe speake somewhat of the varietie of the degrees of the eleuation of the pole starres. This lande therefore, although it reache forth from the East into the West, yet it is crooked, and hath the poynt bending so towarde the South, that it looseth the sight of the North pole, and extendeth beyond the Equinoctial lyne seuen degrees towarde the South pole: but the poynt heereof, perteyneth to the iurisdiction of the Portugales, as wee haue sayde. Leauing this poynt, and sayling towarde *Paria*, the North starre is seene againe, & is so much the more lifted vp, in how much the region enclineth more towarde the West. The Spanyardes therefore haue diuerse degrees of eleuation, vntil they come to *Dariena* being their chiefe station and dwelling place in those landes: for they haue forsaken *Beragua*, where they founde the North pole eleuate viii. degrees, but from hence, the land doth so much bend towarde the North, that it is there in manner equal with the degrees of the straightes of *Hercules* pyllers, especially if wee measure certaine lands founde by them towarde the North side of *Hispaniola*, among the which there is an Ilande about three C. & xxv. leagues from *Hispaniola*, as they say which haue searched the same, named *Boiuca* or *Agnaneo*, in the which is a continuall spring of running water, of such marueilous vertue, that the water thereof being drunke, perhaps with some diet, maketh olde men young again. And here must I make protestation to your holynesse, not to thinke this to bee sayde lightly or rashly, for they haue so spread this rumour for a trueth throughout al the court, that not onely all the people, but also many of them whom wisdom or fortune hath diuided from the common sort, thinke it to be true: but if you shal aske my opinion herein, I will answer, that I will not attribute so great power to nature, but that God hath no lesse reserued this prerogatiue to himselfe, then to searche the heartes of menne, or to giue substance to priuation, (that is) beeing, to no being, except wee shall beleeue the fable of *Colchis* of *Eson* renouate, to bee as true as the writynges

A league.

The nauigation
of Iohannes
Dias.The eleuation
of the pole.The iurisdiction
of the Portu-
gales.Hercules pyl-
lers.The Ilande
Boiuca or
Agnaneo.
The renouation
of age.
A water of mar-
ueilous vertue.

The accidents
of age may be
hidden.

Extream
hunger.

This was at
the siege of Je-
rusalem.

Many dogges
eaten.

A mangie dog
deere sold.

Broth of a
mangie doge
skinne.
Toades eaten.

A dead man
eaten.

Note.

Petrus Arias
whom the Spa-
nyardes call
Pedrarias.

of Sibylla Erythrea. Albeit perhappes the schoole of Phisitions and natural philosophers, will not muche sticke to affirme, that by the vse of certaine secrete medicines and diet, the accidentes of age (as they call them) may be long hidden & deferred, which they will to bee vnderstoode by the renouation of age. And to haue sayd thus much of the length and breadth of these regions, and of the rough and hugious mountaines, with their watery caues, also of the diuers degrees of that lande, I thinke it sufficient. But I thought it not good to let passe what chaunced to these miserable men among their generall calamities. I remember that when I was a childe, mee thought my bowelles grated, and that my spirites were marueilously troubled for very pitie, when I reade in the poet Virgil, howe Achemenides was left of Vlysses vpon the sea bankes among the gianes called Cyclopes, where for the space of manie dayes from the departing of Vlysses, vntil the comming of Æneas, he ate none other meat but only berries and hawes. But our vnfortunate Spanyardes, which followed Nicuesa to inhabite Beragua, would haue esteemed hawes and berries for great delicates. What should I heere speake of the head of an asse bought for a great price, & of such other extreamities as menne haue suffered in townes besieged? After that Nicuesa had determined to leaue Beragua for the barrennesse of the soyle, he attempted to search Portum Bellum, and then the coastes of the poynt called Marmor, if he might there finde a place more fortunate to inhabite. In this meane time, so grieuous famine oppressed his souldiers, that they neither abstained from eating of mangie dogges, which they had with thē, aswel for their defence as for hunting (for in the warre agaynst the naked people, dogges stoode them in great steade) nor yet somtime from the slayne inhabitants: for they found not there any fruitfull trees, or plentie of foules, as in Dariena, but a barren ground, and not meete to be inhabited. Here certaine of the souldiers made a bargaine with one of their fellowes for the pryce of a leane dogge, who also was almost dead for hunger: they gaue the owner of the dogge many of those peeces of gold which they cal Pesos, or golden Castellans. Thus agreeing of the price, they flayed the dogge to be eaten, and cast his mangie skinne with the bones of the heade hanging thereto, among the bushes. The day following, a certayne footeman of their companie, chaunced to finde the skinne beeing nowe full of maggottes and stynking. He brought it home with him, sodde it, and ate it. Many resorted to him with their dishes for the broth of the sod skinne proferring him for euery dishfull a peece of golde. An other founde two toades, and sodde them, which a sicke man bought of him for two fine shurtes, curiously wrought of linnen intermyxed with golde. Certayne other wandering about to seeke for victualles, founde in a pathway in the myddest of a field, a dead man, of the inhabitantes, which hadde beene slaine of his owne companie, and was now rotten and stinking. They drewe him aside, dismembred him secretly, roasted him, and ate him, therewith asswaging their hunger, as if they had beene fed with pheasantes. One also, whiche departing from his companions in the night season, went a fishing among the reedes of the maryshes, liued onely with slyme or mudde for the space of certayne dayes, vntill at the length creeping, and almost dead, he founde the waye to his felowes. And thus these miserable men of Beragua, vexed with these and suche other afflictions, were brought from the number of seuen hundred, threescore and ten souldiers, scarcely to fourtie, being now also added to the companie of them in Dariena. Fewe were slayne of the inhabitantes, but the residue consumed with famine, breathed out their very soules, opening a way to the newe landes for such as shall come after them, appeasing the fury of the barbarous nations, with the price of their blood. Considering therefore, after these stormes, with what ease other men shall ouerrunne and inhabite these landes, in respect to the calamities that these men haue suffered, they shall seeme to goe to bride feastes, where all thinges are ready prepared against their comming. But where Petrus Arias arryued with the kinges nauie, and new supply of men, to this houre I knowe no certaynty. What shall chaunce hereafter, I will make diligent inquisition, if I shall vnderstand this to be acceptable to your holinesse. Thus I bid you farewell: from the court of the most catholyke king, the day before the nones of December, in the yeere of Christ. 1514.

The

The first Chapter of the thirde Decade, to the Bishop of Rome Leo the tenth.

I Was determined (most holy father) to haue closed vp the gates to this newe worlde, supposing that I had wandered farre enough in the coastes thereof, while in the meane time newe letters were brought me from thence, whiche caused me againe to take my pen in hand: for I receiued letters not onely from certaine of mine acquaintance there, but also from Vaschus Nunnez, whom we sayde by the confidence of his owne power with his confederates, to haue vsurped the gouernance of Dariena, after the reiecting of Nicuesa & Ancisus, Lieutenantes. By his letter, written after his warlike maner, we vnderstand that he hath passed ouer the mountaines diuiding the Ocean, knowne to vs, from the other mayne sea on the South side of this lande, hitherto vnknowne. His Epistle is greater then that called Capreensis de Seiano. But we haue gathered out of that and other, onely such things as we thought most worthy to bee noted. Vaschus so bechauned himselfe in these affaires, that he did not onely pacifie the kinges displeasure conceiued against him, but also made him so fauourable and gracious good lord toward him, that he rewarded him and his companions with many honourable gifts and priuiledges for their attēpts. Wherefore, I desire your holynesse to encline your attentue eares, & to consider with a ioyfull mind what they haue brought to passe in these great enterprises: for this valiaunt nation (the Spanyardes I meane) haue not onely with great paines and innumerable daungers subdued, to the Christian empire, infinite hundredea and legions, but also myriades of men. Vaschus Nunnez therefore, whether it were that he was impacient of idlenesse, (for a valiant mind cannot rest in one place, or be vnoccupied) or least any other shoulde preuent him in so great a matter (suspecting the newe gouernour Petrus Arias) or beeing mooued by both these causes, and especially for that the king had taken displeasure with him for such things as he had done before, tooke the aduenture vpon him, with a fewe menne to bring that to passe, whiche the sonne of king Comogrus thought could hardly haue bin done with the ayde of a thousand men, whereof Petrus Arias was appoynted captain for the same purpose. Assembling therefore certaine of the olde souldiers of Dariena, and many of those which came lately from Hispaniola, allured by the fame of greater plentie of golde, hee gathered an armie of a hundred fourescore and tenne men. Thus being furnished, and ready to take his voyage by sea, while the winde serued him, hee departed from Dariena with one Brigandine, and tenne of their boats whiche they call Canoas, as we haue sayde. First therefore arriuing in the dominion of Careta king of Coiba, and friend to the Christians, and leauing his shyppe and boates there, hee made his deuoute prayers to almighty God, and therewith went forward on his iourney by lande toward the mountaynes. Here he first entred into the region of king Poncha, who fledde at his coming, as he had done before. But Vaschus sent messengers to him by the conduct of certayne of Careta his men, promising him friendshipp, & defence against his enemies, with many other benefites. Poncha thus entised with faire speech and friendly profers, both of our men, & of the Caretans, came to our men glad and willingly, making a league of friendship with them. Vaschus enterteined him very friendly, and perswaded him neuer thereafter to stande in feare. Thus they ioyned handes, embraced, and gaue great giftes the one to the other, to knitte vp the knotte of continuall amitie. Poncha gaue Vaschus a hundred & ten poundes weight of golde, of that pound whiche the Spanyardes call Pesum. Hee hadde no greater plentie of golde at this time, by reason he was spoyled the yeare before, as we haue sayd. Vaschus to recompence one benefite with another, gaue him certayne of our thinges, as counterfayte rynges, Christall stones, copper chaynes, & braselets, hawkes belles, looking glasses, and such other fine stuffe. These thinges they set much by, and greatly esteeme: for such thinges as are straunge, are euery where counted precious. He gaue also to Poncha certayne axes to fell trees, which he accepted as a princely gift, because they lacke Iron, and all other mettals except golde: by reason whereof, they are enforced with great labour to cutte their trees to builde their houses, and specially to make their boates holowe, without instrumentes of Iron, with certayne sharpe stones, which they finde in the ryuers. Thus Vaschus, leauing all thinges in safetie behinde him, marched forward with his armie toward the

Vaschus Nunnez, gouernour of Dariena.

The new South Ocean.

Commedation of the Spanyardes.

A valiant mind cannot be idle.

Vaschus his voyage toward the golden mountaynes.

Careta king of Coiba.

King Poncha.

Strange thinges are counted precious.

Lacke of Iron.

A stone in the stead of Iron.

Superfluities
hinder liberty.

Carpenters.

Bridges.

The region of
Quarequa.

King Quare-
qua is driven
to flight.
Hargabusies.
Crosse bowes.

vi. C. Barbari-
ans are slaine.

The vse of
dogges in the
warres against
the naked
Barbarians.

Naturall ha-
tred of vnna-
turall sinne.

I woulde all
men were of
this opinion.

the mountaynes, by the conduct of certayne guides and labourers which Poncha had giuen him, aswel to leade him the way, as also to cary his baggages, and open the straighthes through the desolate places and craggie rocks full of the dennes of wilde beastes: for there is seldome any entercourse of buying and selling betweene these naked people, because they stand in neede of fewe thinges, and haue not the vse of money: but if at any time they exercise any barterynge, they doe it but neere hande, exchanging golde for household stuffe, with their cofines which somewhat esteeme the same for ornament when it is wrought. Other superfluities they vtterly contemne, as hinderances of their sweete libertie, forasmuch as they are giuen onely to play and idlenesse. And for this cause the high wayes which lye betweene their regions, are not much worne with many iourneyes, yet haue their scouts certaine priuie markes, whereby they know the way the one to inuade the others dominions, and spoyle and infest themselues on both sides with mutuall incursions priuily in the night season. By the helpe therefore of their guides and laborers, with our Carpenters he passed ouer the horrible mountaynes, and many great riuers lying in the way, ouer the which he made bridges, either with pyles or trunks of trees. And here doe I let passe many thinges which they suffered for lacke of necessaries, being also in maner ouercome with extreame labor, least I should bee tedious in rehearsing thinges of small value. But I haue thought it good not to omit suche doinges as hee had with the kinges by the way. Therefore or euer he came to the toppes of the high mountaynes, he entred into a region called Quarequa, and mette with the king thereof called by the same name, with a great bande of menne armed after ther manner, as with bowes and arrowes, long and broad two handed swordes made of wood, long staues hardened at the endes with fire, darts also and slynges. Hee came proudly and cruelly against our men, and sent messengers to them to bydde them stande and proceede no further, demanding whyther they went, and what they hadde to doe; Here-with hee came soorth and shewed himselfe, being apparelled with all his nobilitie, but the other were all naked. Then approching toward our men, he threatned thē, with a Lions countenance, to depart from thence, except they would be slayne euery mothers sonne. When our men denyed that they would goe backe, he assailed them fiercely, but the battayle was soone finished, for assoone as they hearde the noyse of the hargabusies, they beleueed that our men caryed thunder and lightning about with them. Many also being slayne and sore wounded with quarrels of crossebowes, they turned their backs and fledde. Our men following them in the chase, hewed them in peeces, as the Butchers doe fleshe in the shambles, from one an arme, from another a legge, from him a buttocke, from another a shoulder, and from some the necke from the bodie at one stroke. Thus, sixe hundred of them, with their king, were slayne like brute beastes. Vaschus founde the house of this king infected with most abominable and vnnaturall lechery: for he founde the kinges brother, and many other young men in womens apparell, smooth and effeminately decked, whiche by the report of such as dwelt about him, hee abused with preposterous Venus. Of these about the number of fourtie, he commanded to be giuen for a pray to his dogges: for (as we haue sayde) the Spanyardes vse the helpe of dogges in their warres agaynst the naked people, whom they inuade as fiercely and rauenyngly, as if they were wild bores or Hartes: insomuch that our Spanyardes haue founde their dogges no lesse faithfull to them in all dangers and enterpryses, then did the Colophonians or Castabalences, whiche instituted whole armies of dogges, so made to serue in the warres, that being accustomed to place them in the forefront of the battayles, they neuer shronke or gaue backe. When the people had hearde of the seuer punishment whiche our menne had executed vpon that filthie kinde of men, they resorted to them, as it had bin to Hercules for refuge, by violence bringing with them all such as they knewe to be infected with that pestilence, spyttyng in their faces, and crying out to our men to take reuenge of them, and rydde them out of the worlde from among men, as contagious beastes. This stinking abomination hadde not yet entred among the people, but was exercised onely by the noble men and gentlemen. But the people lifting vp their handes & eyes toward heauen, gaue tokens that God was grieuously offended with suche vyle deedes, affirming this to be the cause of their so many thunderinges, lyghtnings, & tempestes, wherewith they

they are so often troubled, and of their ouerflowing of waters which drowne their sets and fruites, whereof famine and diuers diseases ensue, as they simply and faithfully beleuee, although they know none other GOD then the sunne whom onely they honour, thinking that it doth both giue and take away, as it is pleased or offended: Yet they are very docible, and easie to be allured to our customes and religion, if they had any teacher. In their language there is nothing vnpleasunt to the eare, or harde to be pronounced, but that all their woordes may be written with Latine letters, as wee sayde of the inhabitants of Hispaniola. It is a warlyke nation, and hath bene euer hitherto molestous to their borders: but the region is not fortunate with fruitfull grounde, or plentie of gold. Yet it is full of great barren mountaynes, being somewhat colde by reason of their height and therefore the noble menne and gentlemen are apparelled, but the common people liue content onely with the benefites of nature. There is a region not past two dayes iourney distant from Quarequa, in which they found onely blacke Moores, and those exceeding fierce and cruell. They suppose that in tyme past certayne blacke Moores sayled thither out of Ethiopia to robbe, and that by shippewracke or some other chance, they were dryuen to those mountaynes. The inhabitants of Quarequa liue in continuall warre and debate with these blacke men. Heere Vaschus leauing in Quarequa many of his souldiers (whiche by reason they were not yet accustomed to such trauailes & hunger, fell into diuers diseases) tooke with him certayne guides of the Quarequans, to conduct him to the toppes of the mountaynes. From the pallace of king Pontha, to the prospect of the other South sea, is only sixe daies iourney, the which neuerthelesse, by reason of many hinderances & chaunces, and especially for lacke of victualles, he could accomplish in no lesse then xxv. dayes. But at the length, the seuenth day of the Calendes of October, hee beehelde with woonderyng eyes the toppes of the high mountaynes, shewed vnto him by the guides of Quarequa, from the which he might see the other sea so long looked for, and neuer seene before of any man comming out of our worlde. Approching therefore to the toppes of the mountaynes, he commaunded his armie to stay, and went himselfe alone to the toppe, as it were to take the first possession thereof. Where, falling prostrate vpon the grounde, and raising himselfe againe vpon his knees, as the maner of the Christians is to pray, lyfting vp his eyes and handes toward heauen, and directing his face toward the newe founde South sea, he powred forth his humble and deuout prayers before almightie God, as a spirituall sacrifice with thanks giuing, that it pleased his diuine maiestie, to reserue vnto that day the victorie & prayse of so great a thing vnto him, beeing a man but of small wit and knowledge, of litle experience, and base parentage. When he had thus made his prayers after his warlike maner, hee beckned with his hande to his companions, to come to him, shewing the great maine sea heretofore vnknowne to the inhabitants of Europe, Aphrike, and Asia. Here agayne hee fell to his prayers as before, desiring almighty God (and the blessed virgin) to fauour his beginniges, and to giue him good successe to subdue those landes, to the glory of his holy name, and encrease of his true religion. All his companions did likewise, and praysed God with loude voyces for ioy. Then Vaschus, with no lesse manly corage then Hanniball of Carthage shewed his souldiers Italy, and the promontories of the Alpes, exhorted his men to lyft vp their hearts, and to beholde the lande euen nowe vnder their feete, and the sea beefore their eyes, whiche shoulde bee vnto them a full and iust rewarde of their great laboures & trauailes nowe ouerpassed. When he had sayde these woordes, hee commanded them to raise certayne heapes of stones, in the steed of altars, for a token of possession. They descending from the toppes of the mountaynes, least such as might come after him shoulde argue him of lying or falshood, hee wrote the king of Castels name here and there, on the barkes of the trees, both on the right hand and on the left, & raysed heapes of stones all the way that he went, vntill he came to the region of the next king toward the South, whose name was Chiapes. This king came forth agaynst him with a great multitude of menne, threatening and forbydding him not onely to passe through his dominions, but also to goe no further. Hereupon Vaschus set his battayle in array, and exhorted his men (being nowe but fewe) fiersly to assaile their enemies, and to esteeme them no better then dogges meate, as they shoulde bee shortly. Placing therefore

The harvest is
great, and the
workemen
but fewe.

Warlyke pro-
ple.
The higher,
the colder.

A region of
black Moores.

Diseases of
change of ayre
and dyet.
The South sea.

Prayer.

God rayseth
the poore from
the dounghill.

Hanniball of
Carthage.

King Chiapes.
A battayle.

the

Chiapes is driven to flight.

Vaschus sendeth for king Chiapes.

Chiapes submitteth himselfe to Vaschus.

the hargabusiars and masties in the forefront, they saluted king Chiapes and his men with suche alarome, that when they heard the noyse of the gunnes, sawe the flames of fire, and smelt the sauour of brimstone (for the wynde blew toward them) they droue themselves to flight, with such feare least thunderbolts and lyghtnynges followed them, that many fell downe to the grounde, whom our men pursuing, first keeping their order, and after breaking their aray, slue but fewe, and tooke many captiue: For they determined to vse no extremitie, but to pacyfe those regions as quietly as they might. Enteing therefore into the pallace of king Chiapes, Vaschus commaunded many of the captiues to bee loosed, willing them to search out their king, and to exhorte him to come thither: and that in so doing, he woulde be his friende, and profer him peace, beside many other benefits. But if he refused to come it shuld turne to the destruction of him and his, and vtter subuersion of his countrey. And that they might the more assuredly do this message to Chiapes, he sent with them certayne of the guides which came with him from Quarequa. Thus Vaschus, beeing perswaded aswel by the Quarequans, who coulde coniecture to what end the matter would come, by the experience which they had seene in themselves and their king, as also by the reasons of his owne men, to whom Vaschus had made suche friendly promises in his behalfe, came forth of the caues in the which hee lurked, and submitted himselfe to Vaschus, who accepted him friendly. They ioyned hands, embraced the one the other, made a perpetuall league of friendship, and gaue great rewardes on both sides. Chiapes gaue Vaschus foure hundred poundes weyght of wrought golde, of those poundes which they call Pesos, and Vaschus recompenced him agayne with certayne of our thinges. Thus being made friendes, they remained together a fewe dayes, vntil Vaschus souldiers were come, which he left behind him in Quarequa. Then calling vnto him the guides and labourers whiche came with him from thence, hee rewarded them liberally, and dismissed them with thanks. Shortly after, by the conduct of Chiapes himselfe, and certayne of his men departing from the toppes of the mountaines, hee came in the space of foure dayes to the bankes of the newe sea: where assembling all his menne together, with the kinges scribes and notaries, they addicted a'l that mayne sea with all the landes adiacent thereunto, to the dominion and Empire of Castile. Here hee left parte of his souldiers with Chiapes, that he myght the easelyer search those coastes. And taking with him niene of their lyghters made of one whole tree (which they call Culchas, as the inhabitants of Hispaniola call them Canoas) & also a bande of fourescore men, with certaine of Chiapes men, he passed ouer a great riuer, and came to the region of a certaine king whose name was Coquera. He attempted to resist our men as did the other, and with like successe: for he was ouercome and put to flight. But Vaschus, who intended to winne him with gentlenesse, sent certayne Chiapeans to him, to declare the great power of our men, howe inuincible they were, howe mercifull to such as submit themselves, also cruell and seuer to such as obstinately withstand them: Promising him furthermore, that by the friendship of our me, he might be wel assured by the example of other not only to liue in peace and quietnes himselfe, but also to be reuenged of the iniuries of his enemies: Wylling him in conclusion so to weigh the matter, that if he refused this gentlenes profered vnto him by so great a victourer, he should or it were long learne by feeling, to repent him too late of that perill which hee might haue auoyded by hearing. Coquera with these words and examples, shaken with great feare, came gladly with the messengers, bringing with him. 650. Pesos of wrought golde, which hee gaue vnto our men. Vaschus rewarded him likewise, as we sayde before of Poncha. Coquera being thus pacified, they returned to the pallace of Chiapes, where, visityng their companions, and resting there a while, Vaschus determined to searche the next great gulfe, the whiche, from the furthest reaching thereof into the lande of their countreyes, from the enterance of the mayne sea, they say to be three myles. This they named Saint Michaels gulfe, which they say to bee ful of inhabited llandes and hugious rockes. Enteing therefore into the nine boates of Culchas, wherewith hee passed ouer the ryuer beefore, hauing also with the same companie of fourescore whole men, he went forward on his purpose, although hee were greatly dissuaded by Chiapes, who earnestly desired him not to attempt

A gulfe of three score myles. Saint Michaels gulfe. The manly courage and godly scale of Vaschus.

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him not to
attempt

attempt that voyage at that time, affirming the gulfe to bee so tempestuous and stormie three monethes in the yeere, that the sea was there by no meanes nauigable, and that he had seene many Culchas deuoured of whirlepooles, euen before his eyes. But inuincible Vaschus, impatient of idlenesse, and voyde of all feare in Gods causes, answered that God and his holy saintes would prosper his enterpryses in this case, forasmuche as the matter touched God, and the defence of the Christian religion, for the mayntenance whereof, it shoulde bee necessarie to haue abundance of riches and treasure, as the sinewes of warre against the enemies of our faith. Thus vsing also the office both of an oratour and preacher, and hauing perswaded his companions, hee lanced from the lande. But Chiapes, least Vaschus should any thing doubt of his faithfulnessse towardes him, proffered himselfe to goe with him whyther soeuer hee went, and would by no meanes assent that Vaschus shoulde departe from his palace, but that he would bring him on the way, and take parte of his fortune. Therefore, assoone as they were now entred into the maine sea, such sourges & conflictes of water arose agaynst them, that they were at their wittes ende, whither to turne them, or where to rest. Thus being tossed and amased with feare, the one looked on the other with pale & vnchearefull countenances, but especially Chiapes and his company, who had before time with their eyes seene the experience of those icopardies, were greatly discomforted (yet as God would) they escaped all, and landed at the next Ilande, where, making fast their boates, they rested there that night. Here the water so encreased, that it almost ouerflowed the Ilande. They say also, that the South sea doth so in maner boyle and swel, that when it is at the hyghest, it doth couer many great rockes, which at the fall thereof are seene farre aboute the water. But on the contrary parte, all such as inhabite the North sea, affirme with one voyce, that it scarcely ryseth at any tyme a cubite aboute the banks, as they also confesse whiche inhabite the Ilande of Hispaniola, and other Ilandes situate in the same. The Ilande therefore being nowe drye by the fall of the water, they resorted to their boates, which they found all ouerwhelmed, and ful of sande, & some sore bruised with great ryftes, and almost lost by reason their cables were broken: such as were bruised, they tyed fast with their girdles, with slippes of the barkes of trees, and with tough and long stalkes of certayne hearbes of the sea, stopping the ryftes or chinkes with grasse, according to the present necessitie. Thus were they enforced to returne backe agayne, like vnto men that came from shipwracke, being almost consumed with hunger, beecause their victualles were vtterly destroyed by tempest. The inhabitauntes declared that there is hearde all the yeere horrible roing of the sea among those Ilandes, as often as it riseth or falleth, but this most especially in those three monethes in the whiche it is most boystrous, as Chiapes told Vaschus before, meaning (as they could coniecture by his words) October, Nouember, and December: for hee signified the present moone, & the two moones following, countyng the monethes by the moone, whereas it was nowe October. Heere therefore refreshing himselfe and his souldiers a while, and passing by one vnprofitable king, he came to another, whose name was Tumaccus, after the name of the region, beeing situate on that side of the gulfe. This Tumaccus came forth agaynst our men, as did the other, and with like fortune: for he was ouercome dryuen to flight, and many of his men slaine. He himselfe was also sore wounded, but yet escaped. Vaschus sent certayne messengers of the Chiapians to him, to returne, and not to be afraide: but he coulde be nothing moued, neyther by promises, nor threatninges: yet when the messengers were instant, and ceased not to threaten death to him and his familie, with the vtter desolation of his kingdome, if he persisted in that obstinacie, at the length hee sent his sonne with them, whom Vaschus honourably entreteining, apparelling him gorgeously, and giuing him many giftes, sent him to his father, willing him to perswade him of the puissance, munificence, liberalitie, humanitie, and clemencie of our men. Tumaccus beeing moued by this gentlenesse declared towardes his sonne, came with him the thirde day, bringing nothing with him at that time. But after that hee knewe that our menne desired golde and pearles, hee sent for sixe hundred and fourteene Pesos, of golde, and two hundred and fourtie of the byggest and fayrest pearles, beside a great number of the small sort. Our menne marueyled at the byggenes and fayrenes of these pearles, although they were not perfectly white, be-

Riches are the
sinewes of warre.
The faithfulness
of king Chiapes.

A tempest on
the sea.

The increasing
of the South sea.

The North
Ocean.

Hard shift in
necessitie.

The region
Tumacca.

King Tumaccu
is driuen to
flight.

Golde and
pearles.

Muscles of the sea.

Fishing for pearles.

The thirste of golde.

Ambition among naked men.

A king of greate power.

Big pearles.

Cleopatra, queene of Egypt, desolued a pearle in vineger and drunke it. Price fise thousande pounde of our money.

cause they take them not out of the sea muscles, except they first rost them, that they may the easelyer open them selfe, and also that the fishe may haue the better tast, whiche they esteeme for a delicate and Princely dishe, and set more thereby, then by the pearles themselves. Of these thinges I was enfourmed of one Arbolantius, being one of Vaschus companions, whom hee sent to the king with many pearles, and certayne of those sea muscles. But when Tumaccus sawe that our men so greatly regarded the beautie of the pearles, he commanded certayne of his men to prepare themselves to goe a fishing for pearles: Who departing, came agayne within foure dayes, bringing with them twelue pounde weight of orient pearles, after eight ounces to the pounde. Thus reioycing on both parties they embrased, and made a league of continuall friendship. Tumaccus thought himselfe happie that he had presented our men with such thankfull gyftes, and was admitted to their friendship, and our men thinking themselves happie and blessed that they hadde found such tokens of great riches, swallowed downe their spittle for thirst. At all these dooinges, king Chiapes was present, as a witness and companion. He also reioyced not a little aswell that by his conducting he sawe that our men shoulde bee satisfied of their desire, as also that by this meanes hee hadde declared to the next king his borderer and enemy, what friends hee hadde of our men, by whose ayde hee might liue in quietnes and bee reuenged of his aduersarie, if neede shoulde so require. For (as wee haue sayde) these naked kinges infest themselves with grieuous warres, onely for ambition and desire to rule. Vaschus boasteth in his epistle, that he learned certayne maruelous secretes of Tumaccus himselfe, as concerning the great riches of this lande, whereof (as he sayth) he would vtter nothing at this present, forasmuche as Tumaccus tolde it him in his eare. But he was enfourmed of both the kinges, that there is an Ilande in that gulf, greater then any of the other, hauing in it but onely one king, and him of so great power, that at suche times of the yeere as the sea is calme, he inuadeth their dominions with a great nauie of Culchas, spoiling and carying away for a praie all that he meeteth. This Ilande is distant from these coastes, only twentie miles: So that the promontories or pointes thereof, reaching into the sea, may be seene from the hilles of this continent. In the sea neere about this Ilande sea muscles are engendred, of such quantitie, that many of them are as brode as bucklers. In these are pearles founde (being the hartes of those shell fishes) oftentimes as bigge as beanes, somtimes bigger then Oliues, and suche as sumptuous Cleopatra might haue desired. Although this Iland be so neere to the shore of this firme lande, yet is the beginning thereof in the maine sea, without the mouth of the gulf. Vaschus being ioyful and mery with this rich communication, fantasising nowe in maner nothing but princes treasures, beganne to speak fierce and cruell woordes against the tirant of that Iland, meaning hereby to winne the mindes of the other kinges, and binde them to him with a neerer bonde of friendship. Yet therefore railing further on him with spitefull and opprobrious woordes, he swore great othes, that he woulde forthwith inuade the Ilande, spoiling, destroying, burning, drowning, and hanging, sparing neither swoorde nor fire, vntill he had reuenged their iniuries: and there with commaunded his Culchas to be in a readines. But the two kinges, Chiapes and Tumaccus, exhorted him friendly to defer this enterprise, vntill a more quiet season, because that sea was not nauigable without great danger, being nowe the beginning of Nouember: Wherein the kinges seemed to saie true. For as Vaschus him selfe writeth, great roring of the sea was heard among the Ilands of the gulf, by reason of the raging and conflict of the water. Great riuers also, descending from the toppes of the mountaines the same time of the yeere, and overflowing their bankes, driuing downe with their violence greate rockes and trees, make, a marueilous noise. Likewise the furie of the South and Northeast windes associate with thunder and lightning at the same season, did greatly molest them. While the weather was faire, they were vexed in the night with colde, and in the day time the heate of the sunne troubled them, whereof it is no maruaille, for asmuch as they were neere vnto the Equinoctial lyne, although they make no mention of the eleuation of the pole, for in such regions, in the night the Moone and other colde planettes, but in the day the Sunne and other hotte planettes, doe chiefly exercise their influence, although the antiquitie were of an other opinion, supposing the Equinoctial circle

circle to bee vnhabitable and desolate, by reason of the heate of the sunne, hauing his course perpendicularly or directly ouer the same, except a fewe of the contrary opinion, whose assertions the Portugales haue at these dayes by experience prouoed to be true: for they sayle yearly to the inhabitants of the South pole, being in maner Antipodes to the people called Hyperborei vnder the North pole, and exercise marchandize with them. And here haue I named Antipodes, forasmuch as I am not ignorant that there hath bin men of singular witte and great learning, which haue denied that there is Antipodes, that is, such as walke feete to feete. But it is certayne, that it is not giuen to any one manne to knowe all thinges, for euen they also were men, whose propertie is to erre, and be deceiued in many thinges. Neuerthelesse, the Portugales of our time, haue sayled to the fise and fyftie degree of the South pole: where, compassing about the poynt thereof, they might see throughout all the heauen about the same, certeine shining white cloudes here and there among the starres, like vnto them which are seene in the tract of heauen called Lactea via, that is, the mylke white way. They say, there is no notable starre neere about that pole, like vnto this of ours, whiche the common people thinke to bee the pole of it selfe (called of the Italians Tramontana, and of the Spanyardes Nortes) but that the same falleth beneath the Ocean. When the Sun descendeth from the myddest of the axiltree of the worlde from vs, it ryseth to them, as a payre of ballance, whose weyght enclining from the equall poyse in the myddest towarde eyther of the sides, causeth the one end to ryse as much as the other falleth. When therefore it is Autumne with vs, it is spring time with them, and sommer with vs, when it is wynter with them. But it sufficeth to haue sayde thus much of strange matters. Let vs now therfore returne to the historie, and to our men.

The starres
about the South
pole.

A similitude de-
claring Anti-
podes.

The seconde Chapter of the thirde Decade.

VAschus by the aduice of king Chiapes & Tumaccus, determined to defer his voyage to the sayd Ilande, vntill the next spring or sommer, at which time, Chiapes offered himselfe to accompany our men, and ayde them therein all that he might. In this meane time, VAschus hadde knowledge that these kings had nettes and fishing places in certaine stations of that sea neere vnto the shore where they were accustomed to fishe for sea muscules, in the which pearles are engendred, and that for this purpose they had certaine dyuers or fishers, exercised from their youth in swimming vnder the water. But they doe this onely at certaine times when the sea is calme, that they may the easier come to the place wher these shel fishes are wont to lie: for the bigger that they are, so much lye they the deeper & neerer to the bottome: but the lesser, as it were daughters to the other, are neerer the brimme of the water: likewise the least of all, as it were their nieces, are yet neerer to the superficiall part thereof. To them of the biggest sorte which lie lowest, the fishers discend the depth of three mens height, & sometime foure, but to the daughters or nieces, as their succession, they discend onely to the midde thygh. Sometimes also, after that the sea hath bin disquieted with vehement tempestes, they find a great multitude of these fishes on the sandes, being dryuen to the shore by the vyolence of the water. The pearles of these, which are found on the sande, are but litle, the fish it selfe, is more pleasant in eating, then are our oysters, as our men report: But perhaps hunger, the sweete sause of all meates, caused our men so to thinke. Whether pearles be the hartes of sea muscules (as Aristotle supposed) or the byrth or spawne of their intrals (as Plinie thought) or whether they cleaue continually to the rockes, or wander by companies in the sea by the guiding of the eldest, whether euery fish bring forth one pearle or more, at one birth, or at dyuers: also whether they be filled from the rockes whereunto they cleaue, or may bee easely pulled away, or otherwise fall of by themselves when they are come to their full growth: Lykewise whether pearles bee harde within the shell, or soft, our men haue as yet no certaine experience, but I trust or it bee long to know the trueth hereof: for our men are euen now in hande with the matter. Also, as soone as I shall bee aduertised of the arryual of Petrus Arias the captayne of our menne, I will desire him by my letters to make diligent search for these thinges, and certifie me thereof in all poyntes. I knowe that hee will not be slacke or omit any thing herein, for hee is my verie

The maner of
fishing for
pearles.

Petrus Arias.

Wanton and superfluous pleasures.

The fishing place of king Chiapes.

Gold in maner in euery house. The rich treasury of nature.

The golde mines of Dariena.

King Teaocha enterteineth Vaschus friendly.

Twenty-pound weight of wrought gold.

Desartes full of wilde beastes. Dried fishe.

King Pacra a tyrant.

friende, and one that taketh great pleasure in considering the works of nature. And surely it seemeth vnto mee vndecent, that we shoulde with silence ouerslyppe so great a thing, which aswell in the olde time, as in our dayes, hath and yet doth, drawe both men and women to the immoderate desire of superfluous pleasure. Spayne therefore shall bee able hereafter with pearles to satisfie the greedie appetite of such as in wanton pleasures are like vnto Cleopatra and Asopus: So that from henceforth wee shall neyther enuie nor reuerence the nice fruitfulnessse of Stoidum, or Taprobana, or the red sea. But let vs now returne to our purpose. Vaschus therefore determined with the fishers of Chiapes, to proue what might bee done in his fishe poole or stations of sea muscles. Chiapes to shewe himselfe obedient to Vaschus his request, although the sea were boysterous, commanded thirtie of his fishers to prepare themselues, and to resort to the fishing places. Vaschus sent onely sixe of his menne with them, to beholde them from the sea bankes, but not to committe themselues to the daunger of the sea. The fishing place was distaunt from the pallace of Chiapes about tenne myles. They durst not aduenture to dyue to the bottome, by reason of the furie of the sea: Yet of the muscles whiche lye hyghest, and of suche as were dryuen to the shore by the violence of the water, they brought sixe great fardelles in the space of a fewe dayes. The pearles of these were but little, about the byggenesse of small fytches: yet verie sayre and beautifull by reason that they were taken newly out of the fishe, beeing yet rawe. And that they shoulde not be reprovod of lying, as concerning the bignesse of these sea muscles, they sent many of them into Spaine to the king, with the pearles, the fishe being taken out: We thinke verily that there may in no place bigger be founde. These shel fishes therefore being thus founde here in so many places in that sea, and gold in maner in euery house, doe argue the riche treasure of nature to be hidde in those coastes, forasmuche as great riches haue ben founde, as it were in the litle finger of a giauntes hands. What then may we thinke of the whole hande of the giaunt (for hitherto they haue onlie benne in hande with the confines of Vraba) when they shall haue throughlie searched all the coastes and secretes of the inner partes of all that large lande: But Vaschus contented with these signes, and ioyfull of his good successe in these enterprises determined by another way to returne to his felowes in Dariena, where also they haue golde mines, about tenne miles from the village. He gaue therefore king Chiapes leaue to depart, and to folowe him no further, counsailing him to continue faithful vnto the Christian king his lorde & maister. Thus embracing the one the other, & ioyning handes, Chiapes departed with teares, declaring the good minde which he bore to our men. Vaschus leauing his sicke men with Chiapes went forward on his iourney with the residue, hauing also with him for guides three of Chiapes Mariners. He conueighed his armie ouer a great riuer, in to the dominion of a certaine king called Teaocha, who being aduertised of the comming of our men, of whose famous actes he had hearde muche before, was very glad thereof, and entertained them honourably, so that for a token of his friendly affection towards them, he gaue Vaschus twentie pounds waight of wrought golde, after eight ounces to the pounce: also two hundred bigge pearles, but not faire, by reason they were taken out of the muscles after they had ben sodden. After they had ioyned handes, Vaschus recompenced him with certaine of our things: likewise rewarding his guides the seruantes of Chiapes, he dismissed them with commendations to their lord. King Teaocha, at the departure of our men from his pallace, did not only appoint them guides to conduct them in the way, but also gaue them certaine slaues, in the steede of beastes to cary their victuals, because they should passe through many desartes, barren and rough mountaines and terrible woods full of Tigers and Lions. He sent also one of his sonnes with these slaues, lading them with salted and dried fishe, & bread of those regions, made of the rootes of Maizium and Iucca. He also commaunded his sonne not to depart from our men, vntil he were licensed by Vaschus. By their conducting therfore, Vaschus came to the dominion of an other king, whose name was Pacra, a cruel tyrant, fearefull to the other kinges his borderers, and of greater power then any of them. This tyrant, whether it were that his guiltie conscience, for his mischeiuous actes, put him in feare that our men would reuenge the same,

same, or that he thought himselfe inferiour to resist them, fled at their comming. Vaschus writeth, that in these regions in the month of Nouember, he was sore afflicted with great heate and intollerable thirst, by reason that side of the mountaines hath little water: Inso-much that they were in daunger to haue perished, but that certaine of thinhabitantes shewed them of a spring, which was in the secret place of a wood, whither Vaschus with all speede sent two quicke & strong young men of his companions, with their gourdes, and such water vessels as Teancha his men brought with them. Of thinhabitantes, there durst none depart from their company, because the wild beasts do soone inuade naked men: For in those mountaines, and especially in the woods neare vnto the spring, they say that they are sometimes taken out of their houses in the night, except they take good heede that the doores be well sparde. It shal not be from my purpose heere to declare a perticular chaunce, before I enter any further in this matter. They say therefore, that the last yeere the region of Dariena was no lesse infested and troubled with a fierce Tiger, then was Calidonia in time past with a wild Boore, and Nemea with a horrible Lion. For they affirme that for the space of sixe whole monethes, there passed not one night without some hurt done: so that it killed nightly either a Bullocke, a Mare, a Dogge, or a Hogge, and sometimes euen in the high waies of the village: For our men haue nowe great heardes of cattel in those regions. They say also, that when this Tiger had whelpes, no man might safelie goe forth of his doores, because shee spared not men, if shee mette firste with them. But at the length, necessitie enforced them to inuent a policie how they myght be reuenged of suche bloodshed. Searching therefore diligently her foote steppes, and following the pathe whereby shee was accustomed in the night season to wander out of her denne to seeke her praye, they made a great trenche or pyt in her walke, couering the same with hurdels, whereupon they cast part of the earth, and dispersed the residue. The dogge Tyger chaunced first into this pitfall, and fel vpon the poynts of sharpe stakes, and such other engins as were of purpose fixyd in the bottome of the trench. Being thus wounded, he rored so terribly, that it grated the bowelles of such as hearde him, and the woodes and mountaynes neare about rebounded the noyse of the horrible cry. When they perceiued that he was layd fast, they resorted to the trenche, and slue him with stones, dartes and pykes. With his teethe and clawes hee brake the dartes into a thousande chypes. Beeing yet dead, hee was fearful to all such as behelde him: what then thinke you he would haue doone beeing alyue and loose? One Iohannes Ledisma of Ciuille, a neere friend to Vaschus, and one of the companions of his traualles, tolde mee that hee himselfe did eate of the flesh of that Tyger, and that it was nothing inferiour to beefe in goodnesse. Being demanded howe they knewe it to bee a Tyger, forasmuch as none of them had euer seene a Tyger: they answered that they knewe it by the spottes, fiercenesse, agilitie, and such other markes and tokens whereby auncient writers haue described the Tyger. For some of them had before time seene other spotted wilde beastes, as Libardes and Panthers. The dogge Tyger being thus killed, they following the trase of his steppes towarde the mountaynes, came to the denne where the bitche remayned with her two young sucking whelpes. But shee was not in the denne at their comming. They firste caryed awaie the whelpes with them. But afterwarde, fearing least they shoulde dye because they were young, entending when they were bigger to send them into Spayne, they put cheynes of iron about their neckes, and caryed them agayne to their denne: whither returning within a fewe dayes after, they founde the denne emptie, and their cheynes not remoued from their place. They supposed that the damme in her furie tore them in peeces, and caryed them away, least any should haue the fruition of them. For they playnely affirme, that it was not possible that they shoulde bee loosed from the chaynes aliue. The skinn of the dead Tyger stuffed with drie hearbes and strawe, they sent to Hispaniola, to the Admirall, and other of the chiefe rulers, from whome the newe landes receiue their lawes and succour. It shal at this time suffice to haue written thus muche of the Tygers, as I haue learned by report of them which both susteined damage by their rauening, and also handled the skinn of that which was slayne. Let vs nowe therefore returne to king Pacra, from whom we haue digressed. When Vaschus had entred into

Great heate in
the month of
Nouember.

Hurt by wilde
beastes.

A Tiger.
Calidonia is a
forest in Scot-
land.
Nemea is a
wood in Greece.

Tigers whelpes.

Thus the Egip-
tians take Cro-
codiles.

The dogge
tyger taken.

The roaring of
the tyger.

Tygers flesh
eaten.

The bitche
tyger.

Tygers whelpes.

A strange thing.

King Pacra.
the

Naturall hatred
of vice.

Foure kinges deu-
oured of dogges.

The vse of
dogges in the
warre against
naked men.

The Canibales
are expert ar-
chers.

Swoordes of
wood.

Fiftie pound
weight of gold.

King Bononi-
ama, fried to the
Christians.
Wrought gold.

The oration of
king Bononiama.

The sparke of
the lawe of na-
ture, is the lawe
written in the
hartes of men.

the houses forsaken of Pacra, he sent messengers to recōile him as he had done the other kinges. At the first he refused to come but after threatninges he came, with three other kinges in his company. Vaschus writeth, that he neuer sawe a more monstrous & de-
fourmed creature, and that nature hath only giuen him humane shape, and otherwise to bee worse then a brute beast, with manners according to the liniamentes of his bodie. Hee abused, with most abhominable lechery, the daughters of foure kinges his borderers, from whom he hadde taken them by violence. Of the filthie beehauour of Pacra, of his crueltie, and iniuries done by him, many of the other kinges made grieuous complayntes to Vaschus, as vnto a hygh Iudge, and iust reuenger, most humbly beseeching him to seee suche thinges punyshed, forasmuche as they tooke him for a man sent of God for that purpose. Heereupon Vaschus, aswell to winne their good willes, as also to shewe an example of terroure to suche as vsed like fashions, commaunded that this monstrous beast, with the other three kinges whiche were subiecte to him, and of like conditions, shoulde bee giuen for a pray to his fighting dogges, and their torne carkases to bee burned. Of these dogges whiche they vse in the warres, they tell maruelous thinges for they say, that they runne vpon the inhabitautes armed after their manner, with no lesse fiercenesse, then if they were Hartes or wilde bores, if the Spanyardes doe but onely poynt toward them with their fingers: insomuche that oftentimes they haue hadde no neede to driue their enemies to flight with swoordes or arrowes, but haue doone the same only with dogges, placed in the forefront of their battaile, and letting them slippe with their watche woorde and priue token: whereupon the barbarians stricken with feare, by reason of the cruell countenances of their masties, with their desperate boldenesse, and vnaccustomed howling and barking, haue disparckled at the first onsette and brake their array. Yet it chaunceth otherwise when they haue any conflicte against the Canibales, and the people of Caramairi: for these are fiercer and more warlike men, also so expert archers, that they can moste certainly direct their venomous arrowes against the dogges, with suche celeritie as if they were thunderboltes, by reason whereof, they sometimes kill many of them. Thinhabitautes of these mountaines doo not keepe warre with bowes and arrowes, but vse only Macanis, that is, certaine long and brode swoordes made of wood, also slinges, long pikes, and dartes, hardened at the endes with fire. While king Pacra yet liued, no man coulde knowe of him, neither by faire meanes nor by fowle, where he had the golde whiche was founde in his house: for our men founde in his iewell house fiftie poundes waight of golde. Being therfore demaunded where he had it, he aunswered, that they which geathered the same in those mountaines in his fathers daies, were all dead, and that since he was a childe, he neuer esteemed golde more then stones: More then this they coulde not get of him. By this seuer punishment executed vpon Pacra, Vaschus conciled vnto him the mindes of all the other kinges of that prouince, and by this meanes it came to passe, that when he sent for the sicke men whiche he left behinde him with king Chiapes, another king whiche was in the midde way, (whose name was Bononiama) entertained them gently, and gaue them twentie pounde weight of pure wrought golde, beside great plentie of victualles. And not this onely, but also accompanied them him selfe, vntill he had brought them safely from his pallace, into the dominion of Pacra, where taking each of them by the right handes he deliuered them to Vaschus him selfe, as a faithfull pledge committed to his charge, and therewith spake to Vaschus in this effecte: Moste mightie and valiaunt victourer, behoulde, I heere deliuer vnto you, your companions in such plight as I receiued them: wishing that I had ben aswell able to giue them health, as they were hartly welcome to suche poore entertainment as I was able to shewe them. For the fauoure and gentlenesse whiche I haue founde both in you and them, he shall rewarde you whiche sendeth thundering and lightning to the destruction of mischeuous men, and of his clemencie giueth vnto good men plentie of Iucca and Maizium in due season. As he spake these woordes, he lifted vp his handes and eies toward the Sunne whom they honour as God. Then he spake further to Vaschus, saying, In that you haue destroied and slaine our violent and proude enemies, you haue brought peace and quietnesse to vs and our families, and bounde vs for euer to loue and obey you. You haue so overcome and tamed wilde monsters, that we thinke you to bee sent from

from heauen, for the punishement of euill men, and defence of innocentes, that vnder the protection of your mightie sworde, we may hereafter leade our liues without feare, and with more quietnesse giue thanks to the giuer of all good thinges, for his mercie shewed vnto vs in this behalfe. When the interpretour hadde tolde Vaschus that the king Bononiana had saide these woordes, and suche like, Vaschus rendered him like thanks for his humanitie declared towarde our men, and rewarded him as he had doone other in whom he founde like gentlenesse. Vaschus writeth, that he learned manie thinges of this kinge as concerning the great riches of these regions, but that he woulde at this present speake nothing thereof, and rehearse the same, as thinges like to haue good successe. What this implicate Hiperbole, or aduancement meaneth, I do not well vnderstand, but he plainly seemeth hereby to promise many great thinges. And surely it is to be thought, that according to his hope, great riches may be looked for. For they came in maner into none of thinhabitants houses, but that they founde in them either bresteplates or currettes of golde, or else golden ouches, iewels, or garlandes to weare about their heades, neckes, or armes. I coniecture therefore thus by a similitude of our houses: If amonge vs any men of great power were moued with the desire to haue great plentie of Iron, and woulde enter into Italie with a maine force, as did the Gothes in time past, what abundance of Iron shoulde he haue in their houses, whereas hee shoulde finde in one place a fryingpan, in another a caldron, here a triuet, and there a spitte, and these in manner in euery poore mans house, with suche other innumerable? whereby any man may coniecture, that Iron is plentifully engendred in suche regions where they haue so great vse thereof. Our men also perceiued, that the inhabitants of these regions do no more esteeme gold then we do Iron, nor yet so much, after they saw to what vse iron serued vs. Thus much haue I thought good to write to your holinesse, of suche thinges as I haue gathered out of the letters of Vaschus Nunnez, and learned by woorde of mouth of suche as were his companions in these affayres. As we receiue them, so wee giue them vnto you. Time, whiche reuealeth all secretes, shall hereafter minister larger argument of writing. They coulde at this time doe no great thing in searching the golde mynes, forasmuche as of a hundred, fourescore, and tenne men, which Vaschus brought with him from Dariena, there remained only threescore and ten, or at the most fourescore, whose ayd he now vsed in these dangerous aduentures, leauing euer the crased men beehinde him in the kinges houses all the way that hee went, but they most especially fell into sundry diseases, which came lately from Hispaniola, for they were not able to abide such calamities, as to liue onely contented with the bread of those regions, and wilde hearbes, without salt, drinking none other then ryuer water, and that oftentimes eyther lacking, or vnwholesome whereas before their stomackes had bin vsed to good meates. But the olde souldiers of Dariena, were hardened to abide all sorrowes, & exceeding tollerable of labour, heate, hunger, & watching, insomuch that merily they make their boast, that they haue obserued a longer & sharper Lent then euer your holinesse enioyned: for they say, that for the space of foure whole yeers they eate none other then hearbes and fruites, except now and then perhappes fyssh, and very seldome fleshe: yea, and that sometime for lacke of all these, they haue not abhorred from mangie dogges and filthie toades, as wee haue sayde before. The olde souldiers of Dariena, I call those which first followed the capitaines Nicuesa & Fogeda, to inhabit the land, of the which nowe fewe were liuing. But let vs nowe omit these thinges, and returne to Vaschus, the victourer of the mountaynes.

The thirde Chapter of the thirde Decade.

WHEN Vaschus had remained thirtie daies in the pallace of king Pacra, conciling vnto him the mindes of the inhabitants, & providing things necessary for his companions. As he departed from thence, by the conduct of king Teaocha his men, and came to the banke of the ryuer Commogrus, whereof the region and king thereof, are named by the same name, Comogrus. he founde the sides of the mountaynes so rude and barren, that there was nothing apt to bee eaten, but wyld rootes, and certayne vnpleasant fruites of trees. The kinges being neere of bloude, inhabited this vnfortunate region, which Vaschus ouerpassed with all speede, for

Great plenty of golde.

A similitude for the profe of plentie of golde.

Change of dyet is dangerous.

Old souldiers.

A long lent.

Two poore kinges.

Desartes.

Vessels of golde.

King Chiorisus
sendeth Vaschus
xxx. dishes of
pure golde.Axes of Iron
more esteemed
then any golde.

for feare of hunger. One of these poore kinges was named Cotochus, and the other Ciurizis: He tooke them both with him, to guide him the way, and dismissed Teaocha his men with victuals & rewardes. Thus for the space of three dayes, he wandered through many desert woods, craggy mountaynes, and muddie marishes, full of such quamyses, that men are oftentimes swallowed vp in them, if they looke not the more warily to their feete: also through places not frequented with resort of men, and such as nature hadde not yet opened to their vse, forasmuche as the inhabitauntes haue seldome entercourse betwene them, but onely by sundry incursions, the one to spoyle and destroy the other: being otherwise contented to liue onely after the law of nature, without all worldly toyle for superfluous pleasures. Thus entryng at the length into the territorie of another king, whose name was Bechebuea, they founde all things voyde and in silence: for the king and his subiectes were all fledde to the woodes. When Vaschus sent messengers to fetch him, hee did not onely at the first submit himselfe, but also promise his aide, with all that he might make: Protesting furthermore, that he fledde not for feare that our men woulde doo them iniurie, but that he hid him selfe for verie shame and grieffe of minde, for that he was not able to receiue them honorablie, according vnto their dignitie, because his store of vitales was consumed. Yet in a token of obedience and friendship, he sent our men many vesselles of golde, desiring them to accepte them as the gifte of a friende whose good will wanted not in greater thinges, if his abilitie were greater. By whiche woordes, the poore man seemed to insinuate that he had ben robbed, and otherwise cruelly handled of his borderers, by reason whereof, our men were enforced to departe from thence more hungrily then they came. As they went forward therefore, they espied certaine naked men comming downe from a hill toward them. Vaschus commaunded his armie to stay, and sent his interpretours to them, to knowe what they woulde haue. Then one of them, to whome the other seemed to giue reuerence, spake in this effect. Our lord and king Chiorisus, greeteth you well, willing vs to declare that he hearde of your puissaunce, and vertue, wherby you haue subdued euill men, & reuenged the wronges doone to innocentes: For the whiche your noble factes and iustice, as he doth honour your fame, so woulde he thinke him selfe most happie, if he might receiue you into his palace. But, forasmuch as his fortune hath ben so euill (as he imputeth it) that being out of your way, you haue ouerpassed him, he hath sent you this golde, in token of his good will and friendship toward you. And with these woordes he deliuered to Vaschus thirtie dishes of pure golde, adding hereunto, that when so euer it shoulde please him to take the paines to come to their king, he shoulde receiue greater giftes. He declared further, that a king whiche was their borderer and mortall enimie, was very riche in golde and that in subduing of him, they shoulde both obtaine great richesse, and also deliuer them from daily vexations: whiche thing might easily be doone by their helpe, because they knewe the country. Vaschus put them in good comfort, and gaue them for rewarde certaine Iron axes, whiche they more esteemed then great heaps of golde. For they haue little neede of golde, hauing not the vse of pestiferous money: but he that may gette but one axe or hatchet thinketh himselfe richer then euer was Crassus. For euen these naked men, doe perceiue that an axe is necessarie for a thousand vses, and confesse that golde is desired onely for certayne vaine and effeminate pleasures, as a thing whiche the life of manne may lacke without any inconuenience: for our gluttony and superfluous sumptuousnesse hath not yet corrupted them. By reason whereof, they take it for no shame to lacke cobards of plate, whereas the pride and wantonnesse of our time doth in manner impute it to vs for ignominie, to bee without that, whereof by nature wee haue no neede. But their contentation with the benefites of nature, doth playnely declare, that men may leade a free and happie life without tables, tables clothes, carpettes, napkins, and towels, with suche other innumerable, whereof they haue no vse, except perhaps the kinges furnishe their tables with a fewe golden vesselles. But the common people dryue away hunger with a peece of their breade in the one hand, and a peece of broyled fyshe, or some kinde of fruite in the other hande: for they eate flesh but seldome. When their fingers are imbrued with any vnctuous meates,

meates, they wype them eyther on the soles of their feete, or on their thyghes, yea and sometimes on the skins of their priue members, in the steade of a napkin: and for this cause do they oftentimes wash themselves in the riuers. Our menne therefore went forward laden with golde, but sore afflicted with hunger. Thus they came at the length to the dominion of king Pocchorrosa, who fled at their comming. Here for the space of thirtie dayes, they filled their emptie bellies with breade of the rootes of Maizium. In the meane time, Vaschus sent for Pocchorrosa, who being allured with promises and fayre woordes, came and submitted himselfe, bringing with him for a present fysteene poundes weyght of wrought golde, and a fewe slaues: Vaschus rewarded him as he hadde done other before. When hee was mynded to depart, he was aduertised, that he shoulde passe through the dominion of a certayne king, whose name was Tumanama. This is hee whome the sonne of king Comogrus declared to be of so great power, and fearefull to all his borderers, and with whom many of Commogrus familiars had bin captiue, but our men now perceiued that they measured his power by their owne: For their kinges are but gnattes (compared to Elephantes) in respect to the power and policie of our men. Our men were also enfourmed by such as dwelt neare about Tumanama, that his region was not beyonde the mountaynes as they supposed, nor yet so rich in golde as young Commogrus had declared: Yet consulted they of his subduing, whiche they thought they might the easilier bring to passe, because Pocchorrosa was his mortall enemy, who most gladly promised them his aduice and ayde herein. Vaschus therefore, leauing his sicke men in the village of Pocchorrosa, tooke with him threescore of his most valiant souldiers, and declared vnto them, how king Tumanama had often times spoken proude and threatning woordes agaynst them: Likewise that it nowe stode them in hande of necessitie to passe through his dominion, and that hee thought it best to set vpon him vnwares. The souldiers consented to his aduice, and exhorted him to giue the aduerture, promising that they would follow him whither soeuer he went. They determined therefore to goe two dayes iourney in one day, that Tumanama, not knowing of their sodayne comming, might haue no leysure to assemble an armie: and the thing came to passe euen as they had deuised. For in the first watch of the night, our menne, with the Pocchorrosians, inuaded the village and pallace of Tumanama, where they tooke him prysoner, suspecting nothing lesse. He had with him two young men, which hee abused vnnaturally, also fourescore women, which he hadde taken violently from diuers kinges: likewise, a great number of his gentlemen and subiectes were taken stragling in other villages neere about his pallace. For their houses are not adherent together as ours bee, because they are oftentimes troubled with vehement whirlewindes, by reason of the sodayne changes and motions of the ayre, caused by the influence of the planettes, in the equalitie of the day and night, being there in maner both of one length throughout all the yeere, forasmuch as they are neere vnto the Equinoctiall lyne, as we haue sayde before. Their houses are made of trees, couered, and after their manner thatched with the stalkes of certayne rough hearbes. To the pallace of Tumanama, was onely one house adherent, and that euen as bygge as the pallace it selfe. Eyther of these houses were in length a hundred and twentie paces, and in breadth fiftie paces, as our men measured them. In these two houses the king was accustomed to muster his menne, as often as he prepared an armie. When Tumanama therefore was thus taken captiue, with all his Sardanapanicall familie, the Pocchorrosians bragged and threatened him, being nowe bounde, that he should shortly be hanged: the other kinges also his borderers, reioyced at his misfortune. Whereby our menne perceiued that Tumanama was no lesse troublesome to his neighboures, then was Pacra to the kinges of the South side of the mountaynes. Vaschus also the better to please them, threatned him grieuously, but in deede entended no euill towardes him. He spake therefore sharply vnto him with these woordes: Thou shalt nowe suffer punishment thou cruell tyrant, for thy pride and abhominations. Thou shalt know of what power the Christians are, whom thou hast so contemned, and threatened to drawe by the hayre of their heads to the next ryuer, & there to drowne them, as thou hast oftentimes made thy vaunt among thy naked slaues: But thou thy selfe shalt first feele that, which thou hast prepared for others. And herewith commaunded him to bee

Plenty of gold
and scarcenes of
meate.

A good policie.

The cause of
vehement winds
neere the Equi-
noctiall.

Vaschus his
woordes to King
Tumanama.

Odesit quem
metuunt.

xxx. pounce
weyght of
wrought gold.

Threescore
poundes weight
of golde.

They abhorre
labour.

The colour of
the golden earth,
and a triall of
the same.

taken vppe: Neuerthelesse giuing a priue token of pardon to them whiche layde handes on him. Thus vnhappy Tumanama, fearing and beleeuing that Vaschus, hadde ment in earnest as he commanded, fell prostrate at his feete, and with teares desired pardon: Protesting that hee neuer spake any such wordes, but that perhaps his noble menne in their drunkennesse hadde so abused their tongues, whiche hee coulde not rule: For their wines, although they be not made of grapes, yet they are of force to make men drunken. Hee declared furthermore, that the other kinges his borderers had of malice surmised such lyes of him, enuying his fortune, because he was of greater power then they, most humbly desiring Vaschus, that as hee tooke him to bee a iust victourer, so to giue no credite vnto their vniust and malicious complayntes: Adding heereunto, that if it woulde please him to pardon him, not hauing offended, he woulde bring him great plentie of golde. Thus laying his right hande on his breast, he swore by the Sunne, that he euer loued and feared the Christians since hee first hearde of their fame and victories: especially when hee hearde say, that they had Michanas, that is swordes sharper than theirs, and suche as cutte in peeces all thinges that come in their wayes. Then directing his eyes towarde Vaschus, who had his sword in his hande, he spake thus, Who (except he were out of his witte) dare lift vp his hande agaynst this sword of yours, wherewith you are able with one stroake to cleaue a manne from the head to the nauell? Let no manne therefore perswade you (O most migtie victourer) that euer suche wordes proceeded out of my mouth. As Tumanama with trembling spake these wordes, therewith swallowing downe the knotte of death, Vaschus seemed by his teares to be moued to compassion, and speaking to him with chearefull countenance, commaunded him to bee loosed. This doone hee sent immediately to his pallace for thirtie poundes weight of pure golde, artificially wrought into sundry ouches, which his wyues and concubines vsed to weare. Also the thirde day following, his noble men & gentlemen, sent threescore poundes weight of golde for their fine and raunsome. Tumanama being demanded where they had that golde: he answered, that it was not gathered in his dominions, but that it was brought his ancestours from the riuier Comogrus towarde the South. But the Pocchorrosians and other his enemies sayde that he lyed, affirming that his kingdome was riche in golde. Tumanama on the contrary parte, instantly protested that he neuer knew any golde myne in all his dominions, yet denyed not but that there hath sometimes beene founde certayne small graines of gold, to the gathering whereof, he neuer hadde any regard, because they could not get it without great & long labour. While these things were doing, the sicke men which Vaschus had left in the village of Pocchorrosa, came to him the viii. day of the Calendes of Ianuary, in the yeere of CHRIST. 1413. bringing with them certayne labourers from the Kinges of the South, with sundry instrumentes to digge the grounde, and gather golde. Thus passing over the day of the natiuitie of CHRIST without bodily labour, vpon Saint Stephens day hee brought certayne myners to the side of a hill, not farre distant from the pallace of Tumanama, where (as he sayth) hee perceiued by the colour of the earth, that it was like to bring forth golde. When they had digged a pit, not past a hand breadth and a halfe, and sifted the earth thereof, they founde certayne small graines of golde, no bygger then lintell seede, amounting to the weyght of twelue graynes, as they prooued with their balances of assaie, before a notarie and witnesse, that the better credite might bee giuen thereto. Whereby they argued, that the richenesse of that land was agreeable to the report of the borderers, although Vaschus coulde by no meanes cause Tumanama to confesse the same. They suppose that he nothing esteemed so small a portion: but other say, that hee denied his countrey to be fruitfull of golde, leas by reason thereof, the desire of golde might intice our menne to inhabite his kingdome, as indeed the seely king was a prophet in so thinking. For they chose that and the region of Pocchorrosa to inhabite, and determined to buylde townes in them both, if it should so please the king of Castile: aswell that they may bee bayting places and vitailynge houses for such as should iourney towarde the South, as also that both the regions were fruitfull, and of good grounde to beare fruites and trees. Intending nowe therefore to depart from thence, hee tryed the earth by chaunce in an other place, where the colour of the ground, with certayne

certayne shining stones, seemed to be a token of golde, where causing a small pitte to be digged, litle beneath the vpper crust of the earth, hee founde so much gold as weyghed the peece of golde whiche the Spanyardes call Castellatum Aureum, and is commonly called Pesus, but not in one grayne. Reioycing at these tokens, in hope of great riches, hee bad Tumanama to bee of good comfort, promising him that hee woulde bee his friende and defender, so that hee troubled not any of the kinges, whiche were friendes to the Christians: Hee also perswaded him to gather plentie of golde. Some say that he ledde away all Tumanama his women, and spoyled him, least he shoulde rebell. Yet hee deliuered his sonne to Vaschus, to be brought vp with our menne, to learne their language and religion, that hee might hereafter the better vse his helpe aswel in all thinges that he should haue to doe with our menne as also more politikelly rule, and obtayne the loue of his owne subiectes. Vaschus at this tyme fell into a vehement feuer, by reason of excesse of labour, immoderate watching, and hunger, insomuche that departing from thence, hee was fayne to bee borne vpon mens backes in sheetes of Gossampine cotton: likewise also many of his souldiers, whiche were so weake, that they coulde neyther goe nor stande. To this purpose they vsed the helpe of the inhabitantes, who shewed themselves in all thinges willing and obedient. Also some of them which were somewhat feeble and not able to trauallye, although not grievously sicke, were ledde by the armes, vntill they came to the dominion of king Comogrus, a great friende to the Christians, of whom we haue largely made mention before. At Vaschus comming thither, hee founde that the olde king was dead and his Sonne (whome wee so prayed for his wisdom) to raygne in his steade, and that he was baptized by the name of Charles. The pallace of this Commogrus, is situate at the foote of a steepe hyll well cultured, hauing towarde the South a plaine of twelue leagues in breadth, and very fruitfull. This playne they call Zauana. Beyonde this, are the great and high mountaynes, whiche diuide the two seas, whereof wee haue spoken before. Out of the steepe hilles, springeth the ryuer Commogrus whiche runneth through the sayde playne to the hygh mountaynes, receiuing into his channell by their valleyes, all other ryuers, and so falleth into the South sea: It is distant from Dariena, about threescore and tenne leagues towarde the West. As our men therfore came to these parties, king Commogrus (otherwise called Charles by his Christian name) met them ioyfully, and entertayned them honourably, giuing them their syll of pleasaunt meates and drinks: Hee gaue also to Vaschus twentie pounce weight of wrought golde. Vaschus recompenced him with thinges whiche hee esteemed muche more, as axes, and sundry kindes of carpenters tooles: also a souldiers cloake, and fayre shurt, wrought with needle woork. By these giftes Comogrus thought himselfe to bee halfe a God among his borderers. Vaschus at his departing from hence, earnestly charged Comogrus, and the other kinges, to remayne faithfull and obedient to the Christian king of Castile, if they desired to liue in peace and quietnesse, and that they shoulde hereafter more diligently applie themselves to the geathering of golde, to bee sent to the great Christian Tiba (that is) king: Declaring further, that by this meanes, they shoulde both gette them and their posteritie a patrone and defender against their enemies, and also obtayne great abundance of our thinges. These affayres thus happily atchieued, hee went forward on his voyage to the pallace of king Poncha, where he founde foure yong men, which were come from Dariena, to certifie him that there were certayne shyppes come from Hispaniola laden with victualles, and other necessities. Wherefore taking with him twentie of his most lustie soldiers, he made hast to Dariena, with long iorneyes: leauing the residue behind him, to followe at their leysure. He writeth, that he came to Dariena the xiiii. Ca. of Fe. An. 1514. The date of his letter is: From Dariena, the iiii. day of March. He writeth in the same letter, that he had many sore conflictes & that he was neyther yet wounded, or lost any of his men in the battayle: and therefore in all his large letter, there is not one leaf without thanks giuing to almighty God for his deliury, and preservation from so many imminent perils. He attempted no enterpryse, or tooke in hand any voyage, without thinuocation of God and his holy saintes. Thus was Vaschus Balboa of a violent Goliah, turned into Heliseus, and from Anteus to Hercules, the conqueror of monsters. Being therefore thus turned from

Tokens of great
plenty of golde.

Feeblenesse of
hunger and
watching.

The riuer Co-
mogrus.

Vaschus return-
eth to Dariena.

The good for-
tune of Vaschus.

O Battering
fortune, looke
his death in the
booke of the
Iland lately
found.

The earth is
our general
mother.

The courtes of
infernal Pluto.

Marchantes.

The fiercenesse
of the Canibales.

Our duty to
God, and na-
turall loue to
mankinde.

The office of
Christian
princes.
The harvest is
great.

The fourth
nauigation of
Colonus the
Admirall.

a rashe royster, to a politike and discreet capytayne, he was iudged worthy to bee aduanced to great honour: By reason whereof, hee was both receiued into the Kinges fauour, and thereupon created the generall or Lieutenaut of the Kinges armie in those Regions. Thus muche haue I gathered both by the letters of certayne my faithfull friends being in Dariena, and also by worde of mouth of such as came lately from thence. If your holynesse desire to knowe what I thinke herein, surely by such thinges as I haue seene, I beleeue these thinges to be true, euen so the order and agreeing of Vaschus and his companions warrelike letters, seeme to confirme the same. The Spanyarde therefore shall not neede hereafter, with vndermining the earth with intollerable labour, to break the bones of our mother, and enter many myles into her bowelles, and with innumerable daungers cut in sunder whole mountaynes to make away to the courtes of infernall Pluto, to bring from thence wicked golde, the seed of innumerable mischieues, without the whiche, notwithstanding wee may nowe scarcely leade a happie lyfe, sith iniquitie hath so preuailed, and made vs slaues to that, wherof we are Lordes by nature: The Spanyardes (I say) shall not neede with such trauayles and difficultie, to dygge farre into the earth for gold, but shall finde it plentifully, in maner in the vpper crust of the earth or in the sandes of ryuers dried vp by the heate of sommer, onely washing the earth softly from the same, and shall with like facilitie gather plentie of pearles. Certaynly the reuerent antiquitie (by all the Cosmographers assent) obtained not so great a benefite of nature, nor yet aspired to the knowledge hereof, because there came neuer a man before out of our knowne world, to these vnknowne nations, at the least with a power of men by force of armes, in manner of conquest: wheras likewise nothing can bee gotten here, forasmuch as these nations are for the most part seuered defenders of their patrimonies, and cruel to straungers, in no conditiō admitting them otherwise than by conquest especially the fierce Canibales or Caribes. For these wylie hunters of men, giue themselues to none other kinde of exercise, but onely to manhunting, and tyllage, after their maner. At the comming therefore of our menne into their regions, they looke as surely to haue them fall into their snares, as if they were hartes or wilde bores: and with no lesse confidence, licke their lippes secretly, in hope of their praye. If they gette the vpper hande, they eate them greedily: if they mystrust themselves to be the weaker parte, they trust to their feete, and flee swifter then the winde. Agayne, if the matter be tryed on the water, aswell the women as the men can dyue and swimme, as though they had bene euer brought vp and fedde in the water. It is no maruayle therefore, if the large tract of these regions haue bin hitherto vnknowne. But nowe sith it hath pleased God to discover the same in our time, it shall beecome vs to shewe our naturall loue to mankinde, and ducie to God, to endeauour our selues to bring to them ciuilitie and true religion, to the increase of Christes flocke, to the confusion of Infidels and the Deuill their father, who delighteth in our destruction, as hec hath done from the beginning. By the good successe of these first fruites, our hope is that the Christian religion shall stretch forth her armes very farre, whiche thing shoulde the sooner come to passe, if all men to their power, especially Christian princes (to whom it chiefly perteyneth) woulde putte their handes to the plough of the Lordes vineyarde: The harvest surely is great, but the workemen are but fewe. As wee haue sayde at the beeginning, your holynesse shal hereafter nourish many myriades of broodes of chykens vnder your winges. But let vs nowe returne to speake of Beragua, being the West side of Vraba, and first found by Colonus the Admiral, then vnfortunatly gouerned by Diego Nicuesa, and now left in maner desolate, with the other large regions of those prouinces, brought from their wilde and beastly rudenesse, to ciuilitie and true religion.

The fourth Chapter of the thirde Decade.

I Was determined (most holy father) to haue proceeded no further herin, but that one fiery sparke, yet remaining in my mind, would not suffer me to cease. Whereas I haue therefore declared how Beragua was first found by Colonus, me thinke I should comit a hainous crime if I shoulde defraud the man of the due commendations of his trauayles, of his cares and troubles, and finally of the dangers & perils which he susteyned in that nauigation.

navigation. Therefore in the yeere of Christ 1502. in the 6. day of the Ides of May, he hoysed vp his sayles, and departed from the llands of Gades, with foure ships, of fiftie or threescore tunne a peece, with a hundred, threescore, and ten men, and came with prosperous winde to the llandes of Canarie, within fve dayes following. From thence arruying the 16. day at the llande of Dominica, beeing the chiefe habitation of the Canibales, he sayled from Dominica to Hispaniola in fve other dayes. Thus within the space of 26. dayes, with prosperous winde, and by the swift fall of the Ocean from the East to the West, hee sayled from Spayne to Hispaniola, whiche course is counted of the mariners, to be no lesse then a thousand and two hundred leagues. Hee taryed but a while in Hispaniola, whether it were willingly, or that hee were so admonished of the Vice Roy. Directing therefore his voyage from thence toward the West, leauing the llandes of Cuba and Iamaica on his right hande toward the North, he writeth that he chaunced vpon an llande more southwarde then Iamaica, which the inhabitantes call Guanassa, so flourishing and fruitefull, that it might seeme an earthly Paradyse. Coasting along by the shores of this llande, hee mette two of the Canoas, or boates of those prouinces, whiche were drawne with two naked slaues against the streame. In these boates was caryed a ruler of the llande, with his wife and children, all naked. The slaues seeing our men alande, made signes to them with proud countenance in their maisters name, to stand out of the way, and threatned them, if they woulde not giue place. Their simplenesse is such, that they neyther feared the multitude, or power of our men, or the greatnesse and straungenesse of our shippes. They thought that our men would haue honoured their maister with like reuerence as they did. Our menne hadde intelligence at the length, that this ruler was a great marchant, which came to the marte from other coastes of the lland: for they exercise buying and selling by exchange with their confines. Hee had also with him good store of such ware as they stande in neede of, or take pleasure in; as laton belles, rasers, kniues, and hatchettes made of a certayne sharpe yellowe bright stone, with handles of a strong kinde of wood: also many other necessarie instruments with kytchen stufte, and vesselles for all necessarie vases: likewise sheetes of Gossampine cotton, wrought of sundry colours. Our men tooke him prysoner, with all his familie, but Colonus commaunded him to be loosed shortly after, and the greatest parte of his goods to be restored, to winne his friendshippe. Beeing heere instructed of a lande lying further towarde the South, hee tooke his voyage thither. Therefore little more then ten myles distant from hence, he found a large land, which the inhabitants called Quiriquetana, but he named it Ciamba. When he went alande, and commaunded his chaplaine to say masse on the sea bankes, a great confluence of the naked inhabitants flocked thither, simplie and without feare, bringing with them plentie of meate and freshe water, marueling at our menne, as they had beene some straunge myracle. When they had presented their giftes, they went somewhat backward, and made lowe curtesie after their manner, bowing their heades and bodies reuerently. He recompenced their gentlenesse, rewarding them with other of our thinges, as counters, braslettes, and garlandes of glasse, and counterfeit stones, looking glasses, needelles, and pynnes, with such other trashe, whiche seemed vnto them precious marchandize. In this great tracte, there are two regions, whereof the one is called Tuia, and the other Maia. Hee writeth, that all that lande is very faire and wholesome, by reason of the excellent temperatnesse of the ayre: And that it is inferiour to no lande in fruitefull ground, beeing partly full of mountaynes, and partly large playnes: also replenished with many goodly trees, wholesome hearbes, continuing greene, and flourishing all the whole yeere. It beareth also very many holly trees, and pyneapple trees. Also vii. kindes of date trees, whereof some are fruitefull, and some barren. It bringeth forth likewise of it selfe Pelgoras, and wild vines, laden with grapes, euen in the woodes among other trees. He sayth furthermore, that there is such abundaunce of other pleasant and profitable fruites that they passe not of vines. Of one of those kindes of date trees they make certaine long and broad swords, and dartes. These regions beare also Gossampine trees here and there commonly in the woodes. Likewise Mirobalanes of sundry kyndes, as those which the phisitians call Embleios, and Chebulos: Maizium also, Iucca, Ages, and Battatas,

From Spayne
to Hispaniola
a thousande &
two hundred
leagues.

Simple people.

A great
marchaunt.

Gentle people

The region of
Tuia & Maia.

Seuen kindes
of date trees.
Wilde vines.

Mirobalane.

Birds and
foules.

People of
goodly stature.

They paynt
their bodies.

The swift
course of the
sea from the
East to the
West.

Fresh water in
the sea.

Fayre ryuers,
Great reedes,
Great Tortoys.

Quatuor
tempora.

The region of
Quicuri.

Battatas, like vnto those which we haue said before to be founde in other regions in these coastes. The same nourisheth also Lions, Tygers, Hartes, Roes, Goates, and dyuers other beastes. Lykewise sundry kindes of byrdes and foules: among the whiche they keepe onely them to franke and feede, which are in colour, biggenesse, and tast, much like vnto our Pehennes. He sayth that the inhabitantes are of hygh and goodly stature, well lymmed and portioned, both men and women, couering their priuie partes with syne breeches of gossampine cotton, wrought with diuers colours. And that they may seeme the more comely and beautifull (as they take it) they paynt their bodies redde and blacke, with the iuyce of certayne apples, whiche they plant in their gardens for the same purpose. Some of them paynt their whole bodies, some but parte, and other some drawe the portitures of hearbes, floures, and knottes, euery one as seemeth best to his owne phantasie. Their language differeth vtterly from theirs of the Ilandes neere about them. From these regions, the waters of the sea ran with as full a course towardes the West, as if it had bene the fall of a swift ryuer. Neuerthelesse he determined to searche the East partes of this lande, reuoluing in his minde that the regions of Paria & O Draconis with other coasts founde before towardes the East, should bee neere there about, as indeede they were. Departing therefore from the large region of Quiriquetana, the xiii. day of the Calendes of September when he had sayled thirtie leagues, he founde a riuer, within the mouth whereof he drew fresh water in the sea: where also the shore was so cleane without rockes, that hee founde grounde euery where, where he might aptly cast anker. He writeth that the swift course of the Ocean was so vehement & contrary, that in the space of fourtie dayes, he coule scarcely sayle threescore and tenne leagues, and that with much difficultie, with many fetches and compassinges, finding himselfe to bee sometymes repulsed and driuen farre backe by the violent course of the sea, when hee woulde haue taken lande towardes the euening, least perhappes wanderyng in ynknowne coastes in the darknesse of the night, he might be in danger of shippewracke. Hee wryteth, that in the space of eight leagues, he found three great and fayre ryuers, vppon the bankes whereof there grewe reedes bygger then a mannes thygh. In these ryuers was also great plentie of fishe, and great Tortoysses: Lykewise in many places, multitudes of Crocodiles lying in the sande, and yaning to take the heate of the sunne: beside, diuers other kindes of beastes, whereunto he gaue no names. He sayeth also that the soyle of that lande is verie diuers and variable, being somewhere stonie and full of rough and craggie promontories, or poyntes reaching into the sea, and in other places as fruitfull as may bee. They haue also diuers Kinges and rulers. In some places they call a King Cacicus: in other places they call him Quebi, and somewhere Tiba. Such as haue beehaued themselues valyantly in the warres agaynst their enemies, and haue their faces full of scarres, they call Cupras, and honour them as the antiquitie did the gods which they called Heroes, supposed to bee the soules of such menne, as in their life time excelled in vertue and noble actes. The common people they call Chiui, and a manne, they call Homem. When they say in their language, take manne, they say Hoppa home. After this, hee came to another ryuer apt to beare great shippes, before the mouth whereof, lye foure small Ilandes, full of flourishing and fruitfull trees: these Ilandes he named Quatuor tempora. From hence, saying towardes the East for the space of xiii. leagues, still agaynst the violent course of the water, he found twelue other small Ilandes, in the which, because he founde a new kind of fruits, much like vnto our Lemonds, he called them Limonares. Wanderyng yet further the same way for the space of xii. leagues, hee founde a great hauen entring into the lande, after the manner of a gulf, the space of three leagues, and in maner as broade, into the which fell a great ryuer. Here was Nicuesa lost afterwarde, when he sought Beragua, by reason wherof, they called it Rio de los perdidos, that is, the ryuer of the lost men. Thus Colonus the Admirall yet further continuing his course agaynst the furie of the sea, founde manie hygh mountaines, and horrible valleyes, with dyuers ryuers and hauens, from all the which (as he sayth) proceeded sweete sauours, greatly recreatyng and comforting nature: insomuche that in all this long tract, there was not one of his men diseased, vntill he came to a region which the inhabitants call Quicuri, in the which is the hauen called

called Cariai, named Mirobalanus by the Admirall, because the Mirobalane trees are native in the regions thereabout. In this haven of Cariai, there came about two hundred of the inhabitants to the sea side, with euerie of them three or foure daries in their handes, yet of condition gentle enough, and not refusing straungers. Their comming was for none other purpose, then to knowe what this newe nation meant, or what they brought with them. When our menne hadde giuen them signes of peace, they came swimming to the shypes, and desired to barter with them by exchange. The Admirall, to allure them to friendship, gaue them many of our thinges: But they refused them, suspecting some desecit thereby, because hee would not receiue theirs. They wrought all by signes: for one vnderstoode not a woorde of the others language. Such giftes as were sent them, they left on the shore, and woulde take no part thereof. They are of suche ciuilitie and humanitie, that they esteeme it more honorable to giue, then to take. They sent our men two young women, being virgines, of commendable fauour, and goodly stature, signifying vnto them, that they might take them away with them, if it were their pleasure. These women, after the manner of their country, were couered from their ancles somewhat aboue their priuie partes, with a certayne cloth made of gossampine cotton, but the men are al naked. The women vse to cutte their hayre: but the men let it growe on the hinder part of their head, and cutte it on the fore part. Their long hayre, they binde vppe with syllettes, and winde it in sundry rowles, as our maydes are accustomed to doe. The Virgins which were sent to the Admirall, he decked in fayre apparell, and gaue them many giftes, and sent them home agayne. But likewise all these rewardes and apparell they left vppon the shore, because our men had refused their giftes. Yet tooke hee two men away with him (and those verie willingly) that by learning the Spanishe tongue, hee might afterwarde vse them for interpreters. He considered that the tractes of these coastes were not greatly troubled with vehement motions, or ouerflowinges of the sea, forasmuche as trees growe in the sea not farre from the shore, euen as they doe vpon the bankes of ryuers: the whiche thing also other do affirme, which haue latelier searched those coastes, declaring that the sea ryseth and falleth but litle thereabout. He sayth furthermore, that in the prospect of this land, there are trees engendred euen in the sea, which after that they are growen to any height, bend downe the toppes of their branches into the grounde: whiche embracing them, causeth other branches to spring out of the same and take roote in the earth, bringing forth trees in their kinde successiuelly, as did the first root from whence they hadde their originall, as doe also the settes of vines, when onely both the endes thereof are put into the grounde. Plinie in the twelfth booke of his naturall hystorie maketh mention of suche trees describing them to bee on the lande, but not in the sea. The Admirall writeth also, that the like beastes are engendred in the coastes of Cariai, as in other prouinces of these regions, and such as we haue spoken of before: Yet that there is one founde here in nature muche differeng from the other. This beast is of the bygnesse of a great Monkey, but with a tayle much longer and bigger, it lyueth in the woodes, and remoueth from tree to tree in this manner: Hanging by the tayle vpon the branche of a tree, and gathering strength by swaying her body twyse or thrise to and fro, shee casteth her selfe from branch to branche, and so from tree to tree, as though shee flew. An archer of ours hurt one of them, who, perceiuing her selfe to bee wounded, leapt downe from the tree, and fiercely set on him whiche gaue her the wounde, in so much that he was faine to defend himselfe with his swoorde. And thus by chauce, cutting of one of her armes, he tooke her, and with much a do brought her to the shypes, where within a while shee waxed tame. While she was thus kept and bounde with cheynes, certayne other of our hunters had chased a wilde Bore out of the maryshes neere vnto the sea side: for hunger and desire of flesh, caused them to take double pleasure in hunting. In this meane time other which remayned in the shypes, going a lande to recreate themselves, tooke this Monkie with them, who assoone as she had espied the Bore, set vppe her brystels, and made towarde him. The Bore likewise shooke his bristels, and whet his teeth. The Monkie furiously inuaded the Bore, wrapping her tayle about his body, & with her arme, reserued of her victourer, held him so fast about the throte, that he was suffocate.

The haven of Cariai or Mirobalanus.

Cille and hunc people.

Trees growing in the sea after a strange sort.

Plinie.

A strange kind of Monkeys.

A Monkey fighteth with a man.

A conflict betwene a Monkey and a wild Bore.

The bodies of
kings dried and
reserved.

Crownes of
beasts clawes.

Spightfull peo-
ple.

Guns make
peace.

Seuen golden
ryuers.

Note wher the
plenty of gold
endeth.

cate. These people of Cariai, vse to drie the dead bodies of their princes vppon hurdels, and so reserue them inuolued in the leaues of trees. As he went forward, about twentie leagues from Cariai, he found a gulfe of suche largenesse, that it containd xii. leagues in compasse, in the mouth of this gulfe was foure litle llandes, so neere together, that they made a safe haven to enter into the gulfe: This gulfe is the haven which wee sayde before to bee called Cerabaro of the inhabitants. But they haue nowe learned, that only the land of the one side therof, lying on the right hand at the enteriing of the gulfe, is called by that name, but that on the left side, is called Aburema. Hee sayth that all this gulfe is full of fruitfull llandes, well replenished with goodly trees, and the grounde of the sea to bee very cleane without rockes, and commodious to cast anker: likewise the sea of the gulfe to haue great abundance of fyshe, and the lande on both the sides to bee inferiour to none in fruitfulnessse. At his first arryuing, he espyed two of the inhabitantes, hauing cheynes about their neckes, made of ouches (whiche they call Guauines) of base golde, artificially wrought in the fourmes of Eagles, and Lions, with diuers other beastes, and fowles. Of the two Cariaians whiche he brought with him from Cariai, he was enformed that the regions of Cerabaro and Aburema were rich in gold, and that the people of Cariai haue al their gold from thence for exchange of other of their thinges. They tolde him also, that in the same regions there are fiue villages, not farre from the sea side, whose inhabitantes applie themselues onely to the gathering of gold. The names of these villages are these, Chirara, Puren, Chitaza, Iureche, Atamea. All the men of the prouince of Cerabaro, go naked, & are painted with diuers colours. They take great pleasure in wearyng garlandes of floures, and crownes made of the clawes of Lions & Tygers. The women couer onely their priuie partes with a fyllet of gossampine cotton. Departing from hence, & coasting still by the same shore for the space of xviii. leagues, he came to another riuer, where he espyed about three hundred naked men in a company. When they saw the shyppes drawe neare about the land, they cryed out aloud, with cruell countenaunces, shaking their wooden swordes, and hurling dartes, taking also water in their mouthes, and spouting the same against our men: whereby they seemed to insinuate, that they would receiue no condition of peace, or haue ought to doe with them. Here he commaunded certayne pieces of ordinaunce to be shot of towarde them, yet so to ouershoote them, that none might bee hurt thereby: For hee euer determined to deale quietly & peaceably with these newe nations. At the noyse therefore of the gunnes, and sight of the fire, they fell downe to the grounde, and desired peace. Thus enteriing into further friendshippe, they exchanged cheynes and ouches of golde, for glasses, and hawkes belles, and such other marchandies. They vse drummes or tymbrels made of the shelles of certayne sea fishes, wherewith they encourage themselues in the warres. In this tracte are these seuen ryuers, Acateba, Quareba, Zobroba, Aiaguitin, Vrida, Duribha, Beragua, in all the whiche, golde is founde. They defende themselues agaynst rayne and heate with certayne great leaues of trees, in the steade of clokes. Departing from hence, he searched the coastes of Ebetere, and Embigar, into the whiche fall the goodly ryuers of Zohoran and Cubigar: And here ceaseth the plentie and fruitfulnessse of golde, in the tract of fiftie leagues, or there about. From hence, onely 3. leagues distant, is the rocke which in the vnfortunate discourse of Nicuesa we sayd was called of our men Pignonem, but of the inhabitantes the Region is called Vibba. In this tract also, about syxe leagues from thence, is the haven whiche Colonus called Portus Bellus (wherof we haue spoken before) in the regiõ which the inhabitantes call Xaguaguara. This region is very populous but they goe all naked. The king is paynted with blacke coloures, but all the people with redde. The king and seuen of his noblemen, had euery of them a litle plate of gold hanging at their nosethrylles, downe vnto their lypes: and this they take for a comely ornament. The men inclose their priuy members in a shell, and the women couer theirs with a fyllet of gossampine cotton, tyed about their loynes. In the gardens they nourishe a fruite much like the nut of a pine tree, the which (as wee haue sayde in another place) groweth on a shrubbe, much like vnto an hartichoke, but the fruite is much softer, and meate for a king: also certayne trees whiche beare gourdes, whereof wee haue spoken

spoken before: this tree they call Hibuero. In these coastes they mette sometimes with Crocodiles lying on the sandes, the whiche when they fledde, or tooke the water, they left a very sweete sauoure beehinde them, sweeter then muske or Castoreum. When I was sent ambassadour for the Catholike King of Castile, to the Soltane of Babylon, or Alcayre in Egypt, the inhabitantes neere vnto the riuer of Nilus tolde mee the like of their female Crocodiles, affirming furthermore, that the fat or shewet of them, is equall in sweetnesse with the pleasaunt gummes of Arabie. But the Admirall was nowe at the length enforced of necessitie to depart from hence, aswell for that he was no longer able to abide the contrarie and violent course of the water, as also that his shippes were dayly more and more putrified, and eaten through with certaine wormes, which are engendred of the warmenesse of the water in all those tractes, neere vnto the Equinoctiall lyne. The Venetians call these wormes Bissas. The same are also engendred in two hauens of the citie of Alexandria in Egypt, and destroy the shippes if they lye long at anker. They are a cubite in length, and somewhat more, not passing the quantitie of a finger in bignes. The Spanish maryner calleth this pestilence Broma. Colonus therefore, whom before the great monsters of the sea could not feare, now fearing this Broma, being also sore vexed with the contrary fal of the sea, directed his course with the Ocean toward the West, and came first to the ryuer Hiebra, distant onely two leagues from the ryuer of Beragua, because that was comodious to harborowe great ships. This region is named after the ryuer and is called Beragua the lesse, because both the riuers are in the dominion of the king whiche inhabiteth the region of Beragua. But what chaunced vnto him in this voyage on the right hande and on the left, let vs nowe declare. While therfore Colonus the Admirall remained yet in the ryuer Hiebra, he sent Bartholomeus Colonus his brother, and Lieutenaut of Hispaniola, with the shyp boates, and threescore and eyght men, to the riuer of Beragua, where the king of the Region, beeing naked, and paynted after the manner of the countrey, came towards them, with a great multitude of men waiting on him, but all vnarmed and without weapons, giuing also signes of peace. When hee approched neerer, and entred communication with our men, certayne of his gentlemen, neerest about his person, remembering the maiestie of a king, and that it stode not with his honour to bargayne standing, tooke a great stone out of the ryuer, washing and rubbing it very decently, and so put it vnder him with humble reuerence. The king thus sitting, seemed with signes and tokens, to insinuate that it should be lawfull for our men to search and viewe all the riuers within his dominion. Wherefore the sixth day of the Ides of February, leauing his boates with certayne of his company, he went by lande on foote, from the bankes of Beragua, vntill he came to the ryuer of Duraba, which he affirmeth to be richer in golde then either Hiebra or Beragua: For golde is engendred in all ryuers of that land, insomuch that among the rootes of trees growing by the bankes of the ryuers, and among the stones left of the water, and also wheresoeuer they dygged a hole or pyt in the grounde, not past the depth of a handefull and a halfe, they founde the earth, being taken out thereof, myxte with golde: whereupon he determined to fasten his foote there, and to inhabite. Which thing the people of the countrey perceiuing, and smelling what inconuenience and mischief might thereof ensue to their countrey, if they should permitte straungers to plant their inhabitations there, assembled a great armie, and with horrible outcries assailed our menne (who had now begun to build houses) so desperately, that they were scarcely able for to abide the first brunte. These naked Barbarians at their first approche, vsed onely slynges and dartes: but when they came neerer to hande strokes, they fought with their wooden swoordes, whiche they call Michanas, as we haue sayde before. A man woulde not thinke what great malice and wrath was kindled in their hartes agaynst our men, and with what desperate myndes they fought for the defence of their libertie, whiche they more esteeme then life or riches: For they were nowe so void of all feare, and contemning death, that they neyther feared long bowes or crosse bowes, nor yet (which is moste to be marueyled) were any thing discouraged at the terrible noyse of the gunnes, shotte of from the shippes. They retyled once: but shortly after encreasing their number, they returned more fiercely then at the first. They would haue bin contented to haue

Crocodiles of
sweete sauour,
Alcayre or Ba-
bylon in Egypt.

Shippes eaten
with wormes.

Alexandria is
Egypt.

How the king
of Beragua en-
tertained the
Lieutenant.

Their reuerence
to their king.

Slynges and
dartes.

Libertie more
esteemed then
riches.

The Spanyardes
are dryuen to
flight.

A miserable
case.

Necessitie hath
no lawe.

Howe farre life is
to be esteemed.

Sanctus Domi-
nicus.

Landes found
by Colonus.

Temperat re-
gions and hol-
some aire.

Expert miners.

A godly nature
in golde.

receiued our men friendly as straungers, but not as inhabitours. The more instaunt that our men were to remayne, so much the greater multitude of borderers flocked together daily, disturbing them both night & day, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other. The shippes lying at anker neare vnto the shore, warded them on the backe halfe: but at the length they were fayne to forsake this lande, and returne backe the same way by the whiche they came. Thus with much difficulty & daunger they came to the lland of Iamaica, lying on the South side of Hispaniola & Cuba, with their shippes as full of holes as siues, and holes so eaten with wormes, as though they had been bored through with wimbles. The water entred so fast at the riftes and holes, that yf they had not with the painful labour of their handes emptied the same as fast, they were like to haue perished: where as yet by this meanes they arriued at Iamaica, although in manner halfe dead. But their calamitie ceased not heere: For as fast as their shippes leaked, their strength diminished, so that they were no longer able to keepe them from sinking. By reason whereof, falling into the handes of the Barbarians, and inclosed without hope of departure, they led their liues for the space of tenne monethes among the naked people, more miserable then euer did Achemenides among the Giautes, called Ciclopes, rather liuing, then being either contented or satisfied with the strange meates of that llande, and that onely at suche times as pleased the Barbarians to giue them part of theirs. The deadly enmitie and malice whiche these barbarous kinges beare one against an other, made greatly with our men: For at suche times as they attempted warre against their borderers, they woulde sometimes giue our men part of their bread, to aide them. But how miserable and wretched a thing it is to liue onely with bread gotten by begging, your holinesse maye easily coniecture: especially where al other accustomed foode is lacking, as wine, oile, fleshe, butter, cheese, and milke, wherewith the stomackes of our people of Europe haue euer been norished, euen from their cradels. Therefore as necessitie is subject to no law: so doth it enforce men to attempt desperate aduentures, and those the sooner, which by a certaine nobilitie of nature do no further esteeme life then it is ioined with some felicitie. Bartholomeus Colonus therefore, intending rather to prooue what God woulde do with him and his companions in these extremities, then any longer to abide the same, commaunded Diegus Mendez his stewarde, with two guides of that llande, whome he had hired with promises of great rewardes at their returne, to enter into one of their Canoas, and take their voiage to Hispaniola. Being thus tossed on the sea to and fro from rocke to rocke, by reason of the shortnesse and narrownesse of the Canoa, they arriued at the length at the last corner of Hispaniola, being distant from Iamaica fourtie leagues. Here his guides departing from him, returned againe to Colonus, for the rewardes whiche he had promised them: but Diegus Mendez went on forward on foote, vntill he came to the citie called Sanctus Dominicus, being the chiefe & head citie of the llande. The officers and rulers of Hispaniola, being enfourmed of the matter, appointed him two shippes, wherewith he returned to his maister and companions. As he founde them, so came they to Hispaniola, very feeble, and in maner naked. What chaunced of them afterwarde, I knowe not as yet. Let vs now therefore leaue these particulars, and speake somewhat more of generals. In al those tracts, whiche we saide here before to haue been founde by Colonus the Admiral, both he him selfe writeth, and all his companions of that voiage confesse, that the trees, hearbes, and fruites, are flourishing and greene all the whole yeere, and the aire so temperate & wholesome, that of al his companie there neuer fel one man sicke, nor yet were vexed either with extreme colde or heate, for the space of fiftie leagues, from the great hauen of Cerabaro, to the riuers of Hiebra and Beragua. Thinhabitantes of Cerabaro, and the nations whiche are betwixt that & the saide riuers, applie not them selues to the geathering of golde, but only at certaine times of the yeere, and are very expert and cunning herein, as are our miners of siluer and Iron. They knowe by long experience in what places golde is most abundantly engendred: as by the colour of the water of the riuers, and such as fall from the mountaines, and also by the colour of the earth and stones. They beleeeue a certaine godly nature to be in golde, forasmuche as they neuer geather it, except they vse certaine religious expiations or purging, as to abstaine

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absteine from women, and all kindes of pleasures, and delicate meates and drinkes, during all the time that their golden haruest lasteth. They suppose that mē do naturally liue Golden haruest. and die as other beastes do, and therefore honour none other thing as God: Yet do they pray to the Sunne, and honour it when it riseth. But let vs now speake of the mountaines, and situation of these landes. From all the sea bankes of these regions, exceeding great and high mountaines are seene towarde the South, yet reaching by a continual tract from the East into the West, by reason wherof, I suppose that the two great seas (wherof I haue spoken largely before) are deuided with these mountaines, as it were with bulwarkes, least they shoulde ioine and repugne, as Italie diuideth the sea called Tirrhenum, from the sea Adriatike, whiche is now commonly called the gulfe of Venice. For whiche way so euer Tirrhenum is now called Tuscane. they sailed from the point called Promontorium, S. Augustini (whiche pertaineth to the Portugales, and prospecteth against the sea Atlantike) euen vnto Vraba and the hauen Cerabaro, and to the furthest landes founde hitherto westward, they had euer great mountaines in sight, both neere hande, and also farre of, in all that long rase. These mountaines where in some place smooth, pleasunt, and fruitfull, full of goodly trees and hearbes, and somewhere high, rough, ful of rockes, & barren, as chaunceth in the famous mountaines of Taurus in Asia, and also in diuers coastes of our mountaines of Apennini, and such other of like bignes. The ridges also of these mountaines are diuided with goodly and faire vallies. That part of the mountaines which includeth the limittes of Beragua, is thought to be higher then the cloudes, in-much that (as they say) the tops of them can seldome bee seene for the multitude of thicke cloudes whiche are beneath the same. Colonus the Admiral, the first finder of these regions, affirmeth that the toppes of the mountaines of Beragua, are more then fiftie miles in height. He saith furthermore, that in the same region at the rootes of the mountaines the way is open to the South sea, & compareth it as it were betwene Venice and Genua, or Ianua, as the Genues will haue it called, whiche fable that their citie was builded of Ianus. He affirmeth also, that this land reacheth forth toward the South, and that from hence it taketh the beginning of breadth: like as from the Alpes, out of the narrow thigh of Italie, wee see the large and maine landes of Fraunce, Germanie, and Pannonie, to the Samaritans and Scythians, euen vnto the mountaines and rockes of Riphea, and the frozen sea, & embrace there with, as with a continuall bonde, al Thracia, and Grecia, with all that is included within the promontorie or point of Malea, and Hellespontus south warde, and the sea Euzinus, and the marisshes of Meotis in Scithia northwarde. The Admiral supposeth, that on the left hande, in sailing towarde the West, this lande is ioined to India, beyonde the riuer of Ganges, and that on the right hande towarde the North, it is extended to the frozen sea, beyonde the Hiperboreans and the North pole. So that both the sea (that is to meane that South sea which we said to bee founde by Vaschus and our Ocean) shoulde ioine and meete in the corners of that lande, and that the waters of these seas do not onely inclose and compasse the same without diuision, as Europe is inclosed with the seas of Hellespontus and Tanais with the frozen Ocean, and our sea of Tyrrhenum with the Spanishe seas: But in my opinion, the vehemēt course of the Ocean toward the West, doth signifie the let that the said two seas shoulde not so ioine together, but rather that that lande is adherent to the firme landes towarde the North, as we haue saide before. It shall suffice to haue saide thus muche of the length hereof: Let vs now therefore speake somewhat of the breadth of the same. We haue made mention before howe the South sea is diuided by narrowe limittes from our Ocean, as it was proued by the experience of Vaschus Nunnez and his companions, which first made open the way thither. But as diuersly the mountaines of our Alpes in Europe are somewhere narrowe and in some place brode: euen so, by the like prouidence of nature, this land in some part therof reacheth farre in breadth, and is in other places coarcted with narrowe limittes from sea to sea, with vallies also in some places, whereby men may passe from the one side to the other. Where we haue described the regions of Vraba and Beragua to be situate, these seas are diuided by small distaunce: Yet ought we to thinke the region, whiche the greates riuer of Maragnonus runneth through, to be very large, if we shall graunt Maragnonum to be a riuer and no sea, as the freshe waters of the same ought

High & great
mountains.

Tirrhenum is
nowe called
Tuscane.

The mountains
of Beragua
higher then the
cloudes.

Mountaines of
fiftie miles
height.

Ianus otherwise
called Iaphet the
son of Noe.

By this coniec-
ture, the way
shoulde open to
Cathai by the
Hyperboreans.

Looke the nauig-
ation of Ca-
bote. Deca. iii.
lib. Vi.

The great riuer
Maragnonus.

The great riuer
Dabaiba, or
sancti Iohannis.

The ryuers haue
their increase
from the springes
of the moun-
taynes.
The ryuer of
Nilus in Egypt.

Maryshes and
desolate waies.

A superstitious
opinion of the
original of the
mountaynes of
Dabaiba.

Dragons and
Crocodyles in
the maryshes.

The hauen Ce-
rabo.

Twentie golden
ryuers.

Precious stones.

A precious Dia-
mond of exceed-
ing bigenes.

Topasia.

to perswade vs. For in suche narowe caues of the earth, there can be no swallowing gulfes of suche bignesse as to receiue or nourishe so great abundance of water. The like is also to be supposed of the great riuer of Dabaiba, whiche we saide to be from the corner of the gulfe of Vraba, in some place of fortie fathomes depth, & som wher fiftie: also three miles in breadth, and so to fall in to the sea. We must needes graunt, that the earth is brode there, by the which the riuer passeth from the high mountaynes of Dabaiba from the East, and not from the West. They say that this ryuer consisteth and taketh his encrease of foure other ryuers, falling from the mountaynes of Dabaiba. Our men call this riuer Flumen S. Iohannis. They say also that from hence it falleth into the gulfe of Vraba by seuen mouthes, as doth the ryuer of Nilus into the sea of Egypt: Likewise that in the same region of Vraba, there are in some places narrowe streyghts, not passing fyfteene leagues, and the same to bee sauage, and without any passage, by reason of diuers maryshes and desolate wayes, which the Latines call Lamas, but the Spanyardes according to their varietie call them Tremedales, Trampales, Cenegales Sumideros, and Zabondaderos. But before wee passe any further, it shall not bee greatly from our purpose to declare from whence these mountaynes of Dabaiba haue their name, according vnto the antiquities of the inhabitantes. They sayde that Dabaiba was a womanne, of great magnanimitie and wisdom among their predecessours in olde time, whome in her life all the inhabitauntes of those prouinces did greatly reuerence, and beeing dead, gaue her diuine honour, and named the region after her name, beleeuing that shee sendeth thunder and lightning, to destroy the fruites of the earth if shee be angred, and to send plentie if shee be well pleased. This superstition hath bene perswaded them by a craftie kinde of men, vnder pretence of religion, to the intent that they might enioy suche giftes and offeringes as were brought to the place where shee was honoured. This is sufficient for this purpose. They say furthermore, that the maryshes of the narrow land, whereof we haue spoken, bring forth great plentie of Crocodiles, Dragons, Battes, and Gnats, being very hurtfull. Therefore whensoever they take any journey toward the South, they goe out of the way toward the mountaynes, and eschewe the regions neere vnto those perylous fennes or maryshes. Some thinke that there is a valley lying that way that the ryuer runneth, which our men call Rio de los Perdidos, that is, the ryuer of the lost men (so named by the misfortune which there befell to Nicuesa and his company) and not farre distaunt from the hauen Cerabaro, whiche diuideth those mountaynes toward the South. But let vs now finish this booke with a few other thinges worthe to be noted. They say therefore, that on the right hand and left hand from Dariena there are twentie ryuers, in all the whiche great plentie of golde is founde. Beeing demaunded what was the cause why they brought no greater abundance of golde from thence: they answered, that they lacked myners, and that the men which they tooke with them from Spayne thither, were not accustomed to labour, but for the most part brought vp in the warres. This land seemeth also to promise many precious stones: For beside those which I sayde to be founde neere vnto Cariari and Sancta Martha, one Andreas Morales, a pilot (who had trauayled those coastes with Iohannes de la Cossa while hee yet liued) hadde a precious Diamonde, which hee bought of a naked young man in the region of Cumana, in the prouince of Paria. This stone was as long as two ioyntes of a mans middle finger, and as bigge as the first ioynt of the thumb, beeing also paynted on euery side, consisting of eight squares, perfectly fourmed by nature. They say that with this they made scarres in anuylls and hammers, and brake the teeth of fyles, the stone remayning vnperished. The young man of Cumana, wore this stone about his necke among other ouches, & solde it to Andreas Moralis for fyue of our counterfeit stones, made of glasse of diuers colours, wherewith the ignorant young man was greatly delighted: They found also certaine Topases on the shore. But the estimation of golde was so farre entred into the heades of our men, that they had no regard to stones. Also the most parte of the Spanyardes, doe laugh them to scorne which vse to weare many stones, specially such as are common, iudging it to be an effeminate thing, & more meet for women then men. The noble men only, when they celebrate solemne marriages, or set forth any triumphes, weare cheynes of golde, beset with precious stones, & vse fayre appa-
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rell of silke, embrodered with golde, intermyxte with pearles and precious stones, and not at other times. They thinke it no lesse effeminate for men to smel of the sweete sauours of Arabie, and iudge him to be infected with some kinde of fylthy lechery, in whome they smell the sauour of muske or Castoreum. But like as by one apple taken from a tree, we may perceiue the tree to be fruitfull, and by one fyshe taken in a ryuer, wee may knowe that fishe is engendred in the same: euen so, by a litle gold, and by one stone wee ought to consider that this land bringeth fourth great plentie of golde, and precious stones. What they haue found in the porte of Sancta Martha, in the region of Cariai, when the whole nauie passed thereby vnder the gouernaunce of Petrus Arias, and his company, with certayne other of the kinges officers, I haue sufficiently declared in his place. To bee short therefore all thinges doe so flourish, growe, encrease, and prosper, that the last are euer better then the first. And surely to declare my opinion herein, whatsoever hath heretofore bin discovered by the famous trauayles of Saturnus and Hercules, with such other whom the antiquitie for their heroical factes honoured as gods, seemeth but litle and obscure, if it be compared to the Spanyards victorious labours. Thus I bid your holinesse farewell, desiring you to certifie me howe you like these first fruites of the Ocean, that being encouraged with your exhortations, I may the gladlier, and with lesse tediousnesse, write such thinges as shall chaunce hereafter.

The fifth Chapter of the thirde Decade.

ALL such liuing creatures, as vnder the circle of the moone bring forth any thing, are accustomed by the instinct of nature, as soone as they are deliuered of their birth, either to close vp y^e matrice, or at the least to be quiet for a space: But our most fruitfull Ocean and new world, engendreth & bringeth forth daily new birthes, whereby men of great wit, and especially suche as are studious of newe and marueylous thinges, may haue somewhat at hand wherewith to feed their mindes. Yf your holinesse doe aske to what purpose is all this: ye shall vnderstand, that I had scarcely finished the historie of such thinges as chaunced to Vaschus Nunnez and his companie in their voyage to the South sea, when sodenly there came newe letters from Petrus Arias the newe gouernour, whom the king had appoynted the yeere before with an armie of men and a nauie of ships to sayle to these newe landes. He signified by his letters, that hee with his nauie and company arryued all safely. Furthermore, Iohannes Cabedus (whom your holinesse at the request of the most catholike king hadde created Bishop of that prouince of Dariena) & three other of the chiefe officers ioyned in commission to be his assistantes, as Alphonsus de Ponte, Diegus Marques, and Iohannes de Taura, confirmed the same letters, and subscribed them with their names. The nauigation therefore of Petrus Arias, was in this maner. The day before the Ides of April, in the yeere of Christe. 1514. he hoysed vp his sailes, in the towne of saint Lucar de Barrameda, situate in the mouth of the ryuer Bætis, which the Spanyardes now call Guadalchebir. The seuen Ilandes of Canaria are about foure hundred myles distant from the place where this riuer fall-eth into the sea. Some thinke that these are the Ilandes whiche the olde wryters did call the fortunate Ilandes: but other thinke the contrary. The name of these Ilandes are these. The two that appeare first in sight, are named Lanzelota and Fortisuentura. On the backhalfe of these, lyeth Magna Canaria or Grancanaria, beyond that is Tenerife and Gomera somewhat towards the North from that. Palma and Ferrea lye behinde, as it were a bulwarke to all the other. Petrus Arias therefore, arryued at Gomera the eight day after his departure, with a nauie of seuentene ships, & a thousand and fye hundred men, although there were onely a thousande and two hundred assigned him by the kinges letters. It is sayd furthermore, that hee left behinde him more then two thousande very pensiue and sighing that they also myght not bee receiued, proferyng themselves to goe at their owne charges. Hee taryed xvi. dayes in Gomera, to the intent to make prouision of fuel and freshe water, but chiefly to repayre his shippes, beeing sore broosed with tempestes, and especially the gouernours shyppe, which had lost the rudder: For these Ilandes are commodious resting place for all such as intende to attempt any nauigations in that maine sea. Departing from hence in the

The nauigation
of Petrus Arias.

The Ilande of
Canarie.

Prouision of
fresh water and
fuel.

Nones

The sea of
hearbes.

These moun-
taines are called
Montes Niuales,
or Serra Neuta,
Deca. 2. li. lib. 1.
and ii.

Mountaynes co-
uered with
snowe.

The stoutnes of
the Barbarians.

The Canibals
fight in the
water.

Nones of May, he sawe no more lande vntill the third day of Iune, at the which hee arryued at Dominica an Ilande of the Canibales, beeing distaunt from Gomera about eight hundred leagues. Here hee remayned foure dayes, making newe prouision of fresh water and fuell, duryng which tyme, hee sawe no man, nor yet any steppes of men, but founde plentie of sea Crabbes and great Lisarts. From hence he sayled by the Ilandes of Matinina (otherwise called Madanino) Guadalupea and Galanta (otherwise called Galana) of all whiche wee haue spoken in the first Decade. Hee passed also through the sea of hearbes or weedes, continuing a long tract: Yet neyther he, nor Colonus the Admirall (who first found these Ilandes, and sayled through this sea of weedes) haue declared any reason how these weedes should come. Some thinke the sea to bee verie muddie there, and that these weedes are engendred in the bottome thereof, and so beeing loosed, to ascende to the vppermost part of the water, as wee see oftentimes chaunce in certayne standing pooles, and sometymes also in great riuers. Other suppose that they are not engendred there, but to bee beaten from certayne rockes by the violence of the waters in tempestes: And thus they leaue the matter in doubt. Neyther haue they yet any certayne experience whether they sticke fast or giue place to the shippes, or wander loose vpon the water: But it is to be thought, that they are engendred there, for otherwise they shoulde bee dryuen together one heapes, by the impulsion of the shyps, euen as a beasome gathereth the sweepinges of a house, and should also let the course of the shippes. The fourth day after that he departed from Dominica, the hygh mountaynes couered with snowe, (whereof we haue spoken in the seconde Decade) appeared vnto him. They say that there the seas runne as swiftly towarde the West, as it were a ryuer falling from the toppes of hygh mountaynes, although they sayled not directly toward the West, but inclined somewhat to the South. From these mountaynes falleth the ryuer of Gaira, famous by the slaughter of our men, at such time as Rodericus Colmenares passed by those coastes, as we haue sayde before: Likewise many other fayre ryuers haue their originall from the same mountaynes. This prouince (in the which is also the region of Caramairi) hath in it two notable hauens, of the which our men named the one Carthago or Carthagena, & the other Sancta Martha, the region wherof the inhabitats call Saturma. The port of Sancta Martha, is neerer to the mountaynes couered with snowe, called Montes Niuales, for it is at the roots of the same mountains, but the hauen of Carthago is more westward, about fyftie leagues. Hee wryteth marueilous thinges of the hauen of Sancta Martha, whiche they also confirme that came lately from thence: Of the which young Vesputius is one, to whom Americus Vesputius his vncle (being a Florentine borne) left the exact knowledge of the Mariners facultie, as it were by inheritance after his death, for hee was a very expert maister in the knowledge of his carde, his compasse, and the eleuation of the pole starre, with all that pertayneth thereto. This young Vesputius was assigned by the king to bee one of the maisters of the gouernours shippes, because hee was cunning in iudging the degrees of the eleuation of the pole starre by the quadrant: For the charge of gouerning the rudder, was chiefly committed to one Iohannes Serranus a Spanyard, who hadde oftentimes ouerrunne those coastes. Vesputius is my very familiar friend, and a wittie young man, in whose company I take great pleasure, and therefore vse him oftentimes for my ghest. He hath also made many voyages into these coastes, and diligently noted suche thinges as hath scene. Petrus Arias therefore wryteth, and he confirmeth the same, that the inhabitantes of these regions tooke their originall of the Carribbes or Canibales, as appeared by the desperate fiercenesse & cruelty which they oftentimes shewed to our men when they passed by their coastes. Suche stoutnesse and fortitude of mynde is naturally engendred in these naked Barbarians, that they feared not to assayle our whole nauie, and to forbidde them to haue a lande. They fight with venemous arrowes, as wee haue sayde beefore. Perceiuing that our menne contemned their threatninges, they ranne furiously into the sea, euen vp to the breastes, nothing fearing eyther the byggenesse or multitudes of our shippes, but ceased not continually beeing thus in the water, to cast dartes, and to shoote their venemous arrowes as thicke as hayle: Insomuch that our men had bin in great danger, if they had not bin defended by the cages or pausses of the shippes, and their targettes: Yet were two of them

them wounded, which died shortly after. But this conflict continued so sharpe, that at the length our men were enforced to shoote of their greatest peeces of ordinaunce with hayle-shoote: at the slaughter and terrible noyse whereof, the Barbarians beeing sore discomfited and shaken with feare, thinking the same to bee thunder and lightning, turned their backs, and fledde amayne. They greatly feare thunder, because these regions are oftentimes vexed with thunder and lyghtnynges, by reason of the hygh mountaynes, and nearenesse of the same to the region of the ayre, wherein such fiery tempests are engendred, which the philosophers call Meteora. And albeit that our men hadde nowe dryuen their enemies to flight, and sawe them disparcelled and out of order, yet doubted they, and were of diuers opinions, whether they shoulde pursue them, or not. On the one partie shame pricked them forward, and on the other side, feare caused them to cast many peryls, especially considering the venomous arrowes whiche these Barbarians can direct so certainly. To depart from them with a drye foote (as sayth the prouerbe) with so great a nauie, and such an armie, they reputed it as a thing greatly sounding to their reproach and dishonour. At the length therefore, shame ouercomming feare, they perswaded them, & came to land with their ship boates. The gouernour of the nauie, and also Vesputius doe write, that the hauen is no lesse then three leagues in compasse, being also safe without rockes, and the water thereof so cleare, that a man may see pybble stones in the bottome twentie cubits deepe. They say likewise, that there falleth two fayre ryuers of freshe water into the hauen: but the same to be meeter to beare the Canoas of these prouinces, then any bygger vessels. It is a delectable thing to heare what they tel of the plentie and varietie, and also of the pleasaunt tast of the fyshes, aswell of these riuers, as of the sea there about: By reason wherof they found here manie fysher boates and nettes woonderfully wrought of the stalkes of certayne hearbes or weedes, dried and tawed, and wreathed with cords of spunne gossampine cotton. For the people of Caramairi, Gaira, and Saturma, are verie cunning in fishing, and vse to sell fish to their borderers, for exchange of such thinges as they lacke. When our men hadde thus chased the Barbarians from the sea coastes, and had nowe entred into their houses, they assayed them with newe skirmishes, especially when they sawe them fall to sacking and spoyling, and their wyues and children taken captiue. Their householde stuffe was made of great reedes, which growe on the sea bankes, and the stalkes of certayne hearbes beaten, and afterwarde made harde. The floores thereof were strewed, with hearbes of sundrie colours, and the walles hanged with a kinde of tapstry, artificially made of gossampine cotton, and wrought with pictures of Lions, Tigers, and Eagles. The doores of their houses and chambers were full of diuers kindes of shelles, hanging loose by small cordes, that being shaken by the winde, they might make a certaine ratteling, and also a whisteling noise, by gathering the winde in their holowe places: for herein they haue great delight, and impute this for a goodly ornament. Diuers haue shewed me many wonderfull thinges of these regions, especially one Canzalus Fernandus Ouiedus, being one of the magistrates appointed in that office, which the Spaniardes call Veedor, who haue also hitherto entred further into the land then any other. He affirmeth, that he chaunced vpon the fragment of a Saphire, bigger then the egge of a goose, and that in certaine hilles where he trauiled with thirtie men, he founde many of the pretious stones called Smaragdes, Calcidones, and Iaspers, beside great peeces of Amber of the mountaynes. He also, with diuers others do affirme that in the houses of som of the Canibales of these regions, they found the like precious stones, set in golde, and inclosed in tapstry or arras (if it may be so called) wherewith they hang their houses. The same lande bringeth forth also many woodes of brasile trees, and great plentie of gold, in so much that in manner in al places they found on the sea bankes, & on the shores, certayne marchasites in token of golde. Fernandus Ouiedus declareth furthermore, that in a certaine region called Zenu, lying fourescore and tenne miles from Dariena Eastwarde, they exercise a straunge kinde of marchaundize: For in the houses of the inhabitants, they founde great chests and baskets, made of the twigges and leaues of certaine trees apte for that purpose, being all ful of Grassehoppers, Grilles, Crabbes or Cre-fishes, Snalles also, and Locustes, which destroye the fieldes of corne, all well aried and salted.

The use of gunnes.

The generation of thunder and lightning.

Plenty of fish.

Cunning fishers.

Tapietrie.

This is he whom Cardanus praiseth.

Precious stones. The Smaragde is the true Hemerode. Another kinde of Amber is founde in whales.

Golde and Brasile.

Marchasites are flowres of metals, by the colours whereof, the kindes of mettals are knowne.

These Locustes burne the corne with touching, and deuoure the

residue. They
are in India of
three foote
length.

●gardens.

Insuhres are
nowe called
Lumbardes, and
Hetruri,
Tuscans.

One myriade is
ten thousande.

The maner of
planting the
roote lucca.

Earth turned
into rootes.

How bread is
made of roots.

salted. Being demanded why they reserued such a multitude of these beastes: they answered, that they kept them to be sould to the borderers, whiche dwell further within the lande, and that for the exchange of these pretious birdes, and salted fishes, they receiued of them certayne straunge thinges, wherein partly they take pleasure, and partly vse them for their necessarie affaires. These people dwell not together, but scattered heere and there. The inhabitantes of Caramairi, seeme to dwel in an earthly Paradise, their region is fayre and fruitfull, without outragious heate, or sharpe colde, with litle difference of the length of day and night throughout all the yeere. After that our men hadde thus dryuen the Barbarians to flight, they entred into a valley, of two leagues in breadth, and three in length, extending to certayne fruitfull mountaynes, full of grasse, hearbes, and trees, at the rootes whereof, lye two other vallies towarde the ryght hande and the left, through eyther of the whiche runneth a fayre ryuer, whereof the ryuer of Caira is one, but vnto the other they haue yet giuen no name. In these vallies they found many fayre gardens, and pleasaunt fieldes, watered with trenches, distributed in marueilous order, with no lesse art then our Insubrians and Hetrurians vse to water their fieldes. Their common meate, is Ages, Lucca, Maizium, Battata, with such other rootes and fruites of trees, and also such fyshe as they vse in the llandes and other regions of those prouinces. They eate mannes fleshe but seldome, because they meete not oftentimes with straungers, except they goe forth of their owne dominions with a mayne armie, of purpose to hunt for menne, when their rauenyng appetite pricketh them forward: For they abstayne from themselves, and eate none but suche as they take in the warres, or otherwise by chaunce. But surely it is a miserable thing to heare howe many myriades of men these filthy and vnnaturall deuourers of mens flesh haue consumed, and left thousandes of most fayre and fruitfull llandes and regions desolate without menne: by reason whereof, our menne found so many llandes, whiche for their fayrenesse and fruitfulnessse myght seeme to be certayne earthly Paradyces, and yet were viterly voyde of men. Hereby your holinesse may consider how pernicious a kynde of men this is. We haue sayde before, that the lland named Sancti Iohannis (which the inhabitants cal Burichena) is next to Hispaniola. It is sayde, that onely the Canibales which dwell in the other llandes neere about this, as in the llande called Hayhay or Sancta Crucis, and in Guadalupea (otherwise called Queraqueira, or Carucuiera) haue in our tyme violently taken out of the sayde llande of Sancti Iohannis, more then fyue thousande menne to be eaten. But let it suffice thus muche to haue wandered by these monstrous bloud-suckers. Wee will now therefore speake somewhat of the rootes wherof they make their bread, forasmuch as the same shall hereafter be foode to Christian men, in steade of breade made of wheate, and in the steade of radyshe, with such other rootes as they haue bene accustomed to eate in Europe. We haue oftentimes sayde before, that Lucca is a roote, whereof the best and most delicate bread is made, both in the firme lande of these regions, and also in the llandes: but howe it is tyllid or husbanded, howe it groweth, and of how diuers kindes it is, I haue not yet declared. Therefore, when they entend to plant this Lucca, they make a hole in the earth, knee deepe, and rayse a heape of the earth taken out of the same, fashionyng it like a square bedde, of nine foote breadth on euery side, setting twelue trunkes of these rootes (being about a foote and a halfe long apeece) in euery of the sayd beddes containing three rootes of a side, so layd a slope, that the endes of them ioyned in manner together in the center or midst of the bedde within the grounde. Out of the ioyntes of the rootes, and spaces betweene the same, spring the toppes of the blades of newe rootes, whiche by little and little encreasyng growe to the bignes and length of a mans arme in the brawne, and oftentimes as bygge as the thygh: so that by the tyme of their full rype-nesse, in manner all the earth of the heape is conuerted into rootes. But they say that these rootes are not rype, in lesse then a yeere and halfe, and that the longer they are suffered to grow, euen vntil two yeeres complete, they are so much the better, and more perfecte to make breade thereof. When they are taken forth of the earth, they scrape them, and slyae them, with certayne sharpe stones, seruing for the same purpose. And thus laying them betweene two great stones, or putting them in a sacke made of the stalkes of certayne tough

tough hearbes and small reedes, they presse them (as we doe cheese or crabbes, to drawe out the iuyce thereof) and so let them dry a day before they eate them. The iuyce or liquor they cast away: (as wee haue sayde) it is deadly poyson in the Ilands. Yet is the iuyce of such as growe in the firme lande wholesome, if it be sodde, as is the whey of our milke. They say that there are many kyndes of this Lucca, whereof some are more pleasant and delicate then the other, and are therefore reserued as it were to make fyne Manchet for the kinges owne table: But the Gentlemen eate of the meaner sort, and the common people of the basest. The finest they call Cazabbi, whiche they make rounde like cakes, in certayne presses, before they seethe it, or bake it. They say furthermore, that there are likewise diuers kyndes of the rootes of Ages, and Battatas. But they vse these rather as fruites, and dyshes of seruice, then to make breade thereof, as we vse Rapes, Radishes, Mushromes, Nauies, Parsnippes, and suche like. In this case, they most especially esteeme the best kinde of Battatas, which in pleasant tast and tendernesse, farre exceedeth our Mushromes. It shall suffice to haue sayd thus much of roots: We will nowe therefore speake of another kinde of their bread. We declared before, that they haue a kinde of grayne or Pulse, mache like vnto Panicum, but with somewhat bygger graynes, which they beate into meale, vpon certayne great hollow stones with the labour of their handes, when they lacke lucca, and of this is made the more vulgar or common breade. It is sowne thryse a yeere, so that the fruitfulnessse of the ground may beare it, by reason of the equalitie of the time, whereof we haue spoken sufficiently before. In these regions they found also the grayne of Maizium, and sundry kyndes of fruites of trees, diligently planted, and well husbanded. The way betweene the regions of Caramairi and Saturma, is layre, broade, and right forth. They founde here also sundry kyndes of water pottes made of earth, of diuers colours, in the which they both fetch and keepe freshe water: Lykewyse sundry kyndes of iugges, godderdes, drinking cuppes, pottes, pannes, dishes, and platters, artificially made. When the gouernour hadde giuen commaundement by proclamation, that the inhabitantes should eyther obey the Christian king, and embrace our religion, or els to depart out of their cuntry: they answered with venemous arrowes. In this skirmishe, our menne tooke some of them: whereof, clothing the most parte in fayre apparell, they sent them agayne to their owne companie: But leading the residue to the shyppes, to the intent to shew them the power and magnificence of the Christians, that they might declare the same to their companions, thereby to wyne their fauour, they appareled them lykewise, and sent them after their fellowes. They affirme, that in all the ryuers of these coastes, they sawe great argumentes and tokens of golde. They founde here and there in their houses good store of Harts flesh, & Bores flesh, wherewith they fedde themselues delicately. They also haue great plenty of sundry kyndes of birdes, and foules, whereof they bring vppe many in their houses, some for necessarie food, and other for dayntie dyshes, as wee doe Hennes and Partridges. Our menne hereby coniecture, that the ayre of these regions is very wholesome, forasmuch as sleeping all night vnder the firmament on the bankes of the ryuers, none of them were at anie tyme offended with reumes or headache, by reason of any noysome humour, or vapour proceeding from the earth, ayre, or water. Our menne furthermore founde there many great botomes of gossampine cotton ready spunne, and fardelles of dyuers kyndes of feathers, whereof they make themselues crestes and plumes, after the maner of our men of armes: also certaine clokes, which they esteeme as most comely ornamentes. They founde likewise an innumerable multitude of bowes and arrowes. The inhabitantes also of these regions, in some places vse to burne the carcases of their princes when they are dead, and to reserue their bones buryed with spyces in certayne hylles. In other places, they onely drie them, and imbalme them with spyces and sweete gummes, and so reserue them in sepulchers in their owne houses. Somewhere also, they drie them, spyce them, adourne them with precious iewelless, and ouches, and so reuerently place them in certain tabernacles, made for the same purpose in their owne pallaces. When our men hadde many of their tablettes, braselettes, collers, and such other ouches (which they call Guanines) they found them rather to be made of laton then of golde: whereby they suppose that they haue vsed to exchange their ware with some craftie straungers, which brought them those coun-

Panicum is a
grayne some-
what like milke:
The Italians call
it Melica.

He meaneth the
equal length of
day & night
which is conti-
nually in regions
vnder the Equi-
noctiall lyne.

Holsome ayre.

Gossampine
Cotton.
Feathers.

Bowes and
arrowes.

Dead bodies re-
serued.

Sonzalus Oui-
edus sayth, that
they gyll mar-
ryously with
the iuyce of a
certayne hearbe

terfeit ouches, to defraude them of their golde : For euen our men perceined not the deceit vntill they came to the melting. Furthermore, certayne of our builders wandering a little way from the sea coastes, chanced to find certayne peeces of white marble : whereby they thinke that in time past some strangers haue come to those lands, which haue digged marble out of the mountaines, and left those fragments on the playne. There our men learned that the riuier Maragnonus descendeth from the mountaynes couered with snow, called Montes Niuales, or Serra Neuata, and the same to bee encreased by many other riuers, which fall into it throughout all the lowe and waterly regions, by the which it runneth with so long a tract from the sayd mountaynes into the sea, and this to be the cause of the greatnesse thereof. These thinges being thus brought to passe, the gouernour commaunded the trumpeter to blowe a retraite : Whereupon they which were sent to land (being fīue hundred in number) making a great shout for ioy of their victory, set themselues in order of battayle, and so keeping their array, returned to the ships laden with spoyle of those prouinces, and shining in souldiers clokes of feathers, with fayre plumes & crestes of variable colours. In this meane time, hauing repayed their ships, and furnished the same with all necessaries, they loosed anker the xvi. day of the Calendes of Iuly, directing their course to the hauen of Carthagena, in the which voyage they destroyed & wasted certayne llands of the Canibales, lying in the way according as they were commanded by the king. But the swift course of the water deceiued both Iohannes Sarranus the chiefe Pilot of the gouernours ship, and al the other although they made their best that they perfectly knew the nature therof : For they affirme that in one night they were caried fourty leagues beyond their estimation.

The sixt Chapter of the thirde Decade.

HERE must wee somewhat digresse from Cosmography, and make a philosophical discourse to searche the secret causes of nature. For wher as they all affirme with one consent that the sea runneth there from the East to the Weste, as swiftly as it were a ryuer falling from high moūtaynes, I thought it not good to let such matter slyppe vntouched. The which while I consider, I am drawne into no small ambiguitie and doubt, whyther those waters haue their course, whiche flowe with so continuall a tract in circuite from the East, as though they fledde to the West, neuer to returne, and yet neyther the West thereby any whit the more fylled, nor the East emptied. If we shall say that they fal to their centre (as in the nature of heauie thinges) and assigne the Equinoctiall lyne to bee the centre (as some affirme) what centre shall we appoynt to be able to receiue so great abundance of water ; Or what circumference shall be found wet ; They whiche haue searched those coastes, haue yet founde no like reason to bee true. Many thinke that there should be certaine large strayghtes or entrances in the corner of that great lande, which we described to be eight tymes bigger then Italie, and the corner thereof to bee full of gulfes, whereby they suppose that some strayghtes shoulde passe through the same, lying on the West side of the llande of Cuba, and that the sayde strayghtes shoulde swalowe vp those waters, and so conueye the same into the West, and from thence agayne into our East Ocean, or North seas, as some thinke. Other will, that the gulfe of that great lande bee closed vpppe, and the lande to reache farre towarde the North on the backe side of Cuba, so that it embrace the North landes, which the frozen sea encompasseth vnder the North pole, and that all the lande of those coastes, should ioine together as one firme lande : Whereby they coniecture, that those waters shoulde be turned about by the obiect or resistance of that lande, so bending towarde the North, as we see the waters turned about in the crooked bankes of certayne ryuers. But this agreeth not in all poyntes. For they also which haue searched the frozen sea, and sayled from thence into the West, doe likewise affirme, that those North seas flowe continually toward the West, although nothing so swiftly. These North seas haue bin searched by one Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in manner an infant, his parents caried with them into Englande, hauing occasion to resort thither for trade of marchandize, as is the manner of the Venitians, to leaue no parte of the worlde vnsearched to obtayne rychesse. Hee therfore furnished two shyppes in England at his owne charges :

White marble.

The great ryuer
Maragnonus.
This ioyneth
with the mightie
riuier called
Flumen Amazon-
um, found of
late.

Clokes of feathers.

The swift course
of the water.

Fourtie leagues
in one night.

Sundry opinions
why the sea
runneth with so
swift course
from the East
into the West.

The Equinoctiall
lyne.
Why al waters
moue towarde
the South or
Equinoctiall,
Ferdinandus
de sul'tu t. liber
ii. de clementia.
Strayghtes.

As by the
strayght of Ma-
gelanus.
The North
landes.

The frozen sea.

Sebastian Cabot.

charges: And first with three hundred menne, directed his course so farre toward the North pole, that even in the moneth of Iuly he found monstrous heapes of Ice swimming on the sea, and in manner continuall day light: Yet sawe hee the lande in that time to free from Ice, whiche hadde beene moulted by heate of the Sunne. Thus seeing such heapes of Ice beefore him, hee was enforced to turne his sayles, and folowe the West, so coasting still by the shore, that he was thereby brought so far into the South, by reason of the lande bending so much southwarde, that it was there almost equall in latitude with the sea called Fretum Herculeum, hauing the North pole eleuate in maner in the same degree. He sayled likewise in this tract so farre toward the West, that hee hadde the Iland of Cuba on his left hande, in maner in the same degree of longitude. As he traualyed by the coastes of this great lande (whiche he named Baccallaos) he sayth, that hee founde the like course of the waters toward the West, but the same to run more softly and gently, then the swift waters which the Spanyardes founde in their nauigations southwarde. Wherefore, it is not onely more like to bee true, but ought also of necessity to be concluded, that betweene both the landes hitherto vnknown there shoulde be certayne great open places, whereby the water should thus continually passe from the East into the West: which waters I suppose to be dryuen about the globe of the earth by the vncessaunt mouing and impulsions of the heauens, and not to be swallowed vp and cast out agayne by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some haue imagined, because they see the seas by increase & decrease, to flow and reflow. Sebastian Cabot himselfe named those landes Baccallaos, because that in the seas therabout he founde so great multitudes of certayne bygge fyses, much like vnto Tunnies (which thinhabitants call Baccallaos) that they sometimes stayed his shippes. Hee founde also the people of those regions couered with beastes skinned: yet not without the vse of reason. He also sayth there is great plentie of Beares in those regions, whiche vse to eate fyshe: For plunging themselves into the water where they perceiue a multitude of these fyses to lye, they fasten their clawes in their scales, and so drawe them to lande, and eate them: So that (as he sayth) the beares beeing thus satisfied with fyshe, are not noysome to menne. He declareth further, that in many places of these regions, he sawe great plentie of laton among the inhabitantes. Cabot is my very friende, whom I vse familiarly, and delight to haue him sometimes keepe mee companie in my owne house: For beeing called out of Englande by the commaundement of the Catholike king of Castile, after the death of Henry King of Englande, the seuenth of that name, hee was made one of our counsaile and assistance as touching the affayres of the new Indies, looking dayly for shippes to bee furnished for him to discover this hidde secret of nature. This voyage is appoynted to be begunne in Marche in the yeere next following, being the yeere of Christe. 1516. What shall succede, your holynesse shall be aduertised by my letters, if God graunt me life. Some of the Spanyardes denie that Cabot was the first finder of the lande of Bacallaos, and affirme that hee went not so farre Westwarde: But it shall suffice to haue sayde thus muche of the gulfes and strayghtes, and of Sebastian Cabot. Let vs nowe therefore returne to the Spanyardes. At this time, they let passe the hauen of Carthago vntouched, with all the Ilandes of the Canibales therabout, whiche they named Insulas Sancti Bernardi, leauing also behinde their backes, all the regions of Caramairi. Heere by reason of a sodayne tempest, they were cast vpon the Ilande Fortis, beeing about fyftie leagues distaunt from the entraunce of the gulfe of Vraba. In this Ilande, they founde in the houses of the inhabitantes, many baskets made of certayne great sea reedes, full of salt. For this Iland hath in it many goodly salt bayes, by reason whereof they haue great plentie of salte, which they sell to other nations for such thinges as they stand in neede of. Not farre from hence, a great Curlew, as bigge as a Storke, came flying to the gouernours shippe, and suffered her selfe to be easely taken, which beeing caryed about among all the shippes of the nauie, dyed shortly after: They sawe also a great multitude of the same kinde of foules on the shore a farre of. The gouernours shippe, which we sayde to haue lost the rudder, beeing nowe sore broosed, and in manner vnprofitable they left behinde, to followe at leasure. The nauie arryued at Dariena the twelfth day of the Calendes of Iuly, and the gouernours

the voyage of
Sebastian Cabot
from Englande
to the troien
sea.

Demogorgon is
the spirit of the
earth.

People couered
with beastes
skinned.

The Ilandes of
the Canibales.

The Ilande
Fortis.

Salte.

A strang thing.

How Vachus
received the
newe gouernour.

Habitable regi-
ons vnder the
Equinoctiall line.

Where the new
gouernour plant-
eth his habita-
tion.

A passinger ship.

Decurians are
officers deuised
into tenues &c.

The golde mines
of Dabaiba.

uernours shippe (being voide of men) was driuen alande in the same coastes within foure daies after. The Spaniards whiche now inhabited Dariena, with their Captaine and Lieutenant Vachus Nunnez Balboa (of whome we haue largelie made mention before) being certified of the arriual of Petrus Arias and his companie, went forth three miles to meete him, and receiued him honorably, and religiously with the psalme *Te deum laudamus*, giuing thanks to God by whose safe conduct they were brought so prosperously thitherto al their comfortes. They receiued them gladly into their houses builded after the maner of those prouinces. I may wel cal these regions, Prouinces, a *Procul Victis* (that is) such as are ouercome farre of, forasmuche as our men do now inhabite the same, al the barbarous kinges and Idolatours being eicted. They entertained them with such cheare as they were able to make them: as with the fruites of those regions, and new bread, both made of rootes and the graine Maizium. Other delicates to make vp the feast, were of their own store, which they brought with them in their ships, as poudred flesh, salted fishe, and bread made of wheat: for they brought with them many barrells of wheate meale for the same purpose. Heere may your holinesse, not without iust cause of admiration, beholde a kinges nauie and great multitude of Christians, inhabiting not only the regions situate vnder the circle of heauen, called *Tropicus Cancrī*, but also in maner vnder the Equinoctiall line, contrarie to the opinion of the olde wryters, a fewe excepted. But after that they are now mette together, let vs further declare what they determined to do. Therefore, the day after that the nauie arriued, there assembled a company of Spaniards th inhabitours of Dariena, to the nūber of foure hundred and fiftie men. Petrus Arias the gouernour of the nauy, and his companie, conferred with them both priuillie and openlie of certaine articles, whereof it was the kinges pleasure he shoulde enquire: and most especially as concerning suche thinges whereof Vachus the first finder and Admirall of the South sea, made mention in his large letter sent from Dariena to Spaine. In this inquisition they founde al things to be true whereof Vachus had certified the king by his letters, and therevpon cōcluded, that in the dominions of Comogra, Pocchorrosa & Tumanama, at the assignement of Vachus, certaine fortresses shoulde be erected forthwith, to thintent there to plant their colonie or habitation. To the better accomplyshment hereof, they sent immediatly one Iohannes Aiora, a noble young gentle man of Corduba, & vnder Lieutenant, with foure hundred men, and foure Carauels, and one other litle ship. Thus departing, he sailed first directly to the hauen of Comogrus, distant from Dariena about twentie and fiue leagues, as they write in their last letters. From hence, he is appointed to sende a hundred and fiftie of his foure hundred, towarde the South, by a newe and righter way founde of late, by the whiche (as they say) it is not past twentie and sixe leagues from the pallace of king Comogrus to the entraunce of the gulfe of Sancti Michaelis. The residue of the foure hundred shal remaine there, to be an aide and succour to al such as shall iorney to and fro. Those hundred and fiftie whiche are assigned to go southwarde, take with them for interpreteurs certain of our men, which had learned the soothern language of the bondmen which were giuen to Vachus when he ouerranne those regions, & also certaine of the bondemen themselves which had nowe learned the Spanishe tongue. They say that the hauen of Pocchorrosa is only seuen leagues distant from the hauen of Comogrus. In Pocchorrosa he is assigned to leaue fiftie men, with the lightest ship, which may be a passinger betwene them: that like as we vse post horses by land, so may they by this currant ship, in short space certifie the Lieutenant and th inhabitours of Dariena of such thinges as shal chaunce. They entend also to build houses in the region of Tumanama. The pallace of king Tumanama, is distant frō Pocchorrosa about twenty leagues. Of these foure hundred men, being of the olde souldiers of Dariena, & men of good experience: fiftie were appointed to be as it were Decurians, to guide and conduct the newe men from place to place to do their affaires. When they had thus set all thinges in order, they thought it good to aduertise the king hereof, and therewith to certifie him, that in those prouinces there is a king named Dabaiba, whose dominion is verie riche in gold, but the same to be yet vntouched by reason of his great power. His kingdome ioineth to the second great riuer, named Dabaiba after his name, whiche falleth into the sea

out

out of the corner of the gulfe of Vraba, as we haue largely declared before. The common report is, that all the land of his dominions is ryche in golde. The pallace of King Dabaiba is fyftie leagues distant from Dariena. The inhabitants say, that from the pallace, the gold mynes reach to the borders on euery side. Albeit our menne haue also golde mynes not to bee contemned, euen within three leagues of Dariena, in the which they gather golde in many places at this present: Yet do they affirme greater plentie to bee in the mynes of Dabaiba. In the booke of our first fruites, written to your holinesse, we made mention of this Dabaiba, wherein our men were deceiued, and mystooke the matter: For where they founde the fshermen of king Dabaiba in the maryshes, they thought his region had bene there also. They determined therefore to sende to king Dabaiba, three hundred choyse young men, to be chosen out of the whole armie, as most apt to the warres, and well furnished with all kyndes of armour and artillerie, to the intent to go vnto him, and will him, eyther friendly and peaceably to permit them to inhabite part of his kingdome, with the fruition of the golde mynes, or els to bidde him battayle, and driue him out of his cuntry. In their letters, they oftentimes repeat this for an argument of great ryches to come, that they in a manner dygged the ground in no place, but founde the earth myxt with sparkes and small graynes of golde. They haue also aduertised the king, that it shal be commodious to place inhabitours in the hauen of Sancta Martha, in the region of Saturma, that it may be a place of refuge for them that sayle from the Ilande of Dominica, from the whiche (as they say) it is but foure or fve dayes sayling to that hauen of the region of Saturma, and from the hauen, but three dayes sayling to Dariena. But this is to bee vnderstoode in going and not in returning. For the returning from thence is so laborious and difficulte, by reason of the contrary course of the water, that they seeme as it were to ascende hyghe mountaynes, and stryue agaynst the power of Neptunus. This swift course of the sea towards the West, is not so violent to them whiche returne to Spayne from the Ilandes of Hispaniola and Cuba, although they also doe labour agaynst the fall of the Ocean: The cause whereof is, that the sea is heere very large, so that the waters haue their full scope. But in the tract of Paria, the waters are constrained together by the bending sides of that great lande, and by the multitude of Ilandes lying against it, as the like is seene in the strayghtes or narrowe seas of Scicile, where the violent course of the waters cause the daungerous places of Scilla and Caribdis by reason of those narrowe seas which conteyne Ionium, Libicum, and Tirrenum. Colonius the firste finder of these regions, hath left in wryting, that sayling from the Ilande of Guanahua, and the prouinces of Iaia, Maia, and Cerabaro, being regions of the West marches of Beragua, he founde the course of the water so vehement and furious agaynst the foreparte of his shippe, while he sayled from those coastes towardes the East, that he coule at no time touche the ground with his sounding plummet, but that the contrarie violence of the water woulde beare it vppe from the bottome: Hee affirmeth also, that hee coule neuer in one whole day, with a meetely good winde, wyne one myle of the course of the water. And this is the cause why they are oftentimes enforced to sayle first by the Ilandes of Cuba and Hispaniola, and so into the mayne sea towardes the North, when they returne to Spaine, that the North wyndes may further their voyage, whiche they cannot bring to passe by a direct course: But of the motions of the Ocean sea to and fro, this shall suffice. Let vs nowe therefore rehearse what they write of Dariena, and of their habitation there, which they call Sancta Maria Antiqua, planted on the sea bankes of Dariena. The situation of the place, hath no natural munition or defence, & the aire is more pestiferous then in Sardus. The Spanishe inhabitours are all pale and yelow, like vnto them which haue the yelowie iaundies: which neuerthelesse commeth not of the nature of the region, as it is situate vnder the hauen. For in many regions being vnder the selfe same degree of latitude, hauing the pole of the same eleuation, they find holsome & temperate ayre, in such places where as the earth bringeth forth sayre springes of water, or where holsome riuers runne by bankes of pure earth without mudde: but most especially where they inhabite the sides of the hils, and not the valleyes. But that habitation whiche is on the bankes of the ryuer of Dariena, is situate in a deepe valley, and enuironed

An error

The region of
Saturma.
The Ilande of
Dominica.

Difficult sayling
agaynst the
course of the sea.

The daungerous
strayghtes of
Scylla and Cha-
ribdis.

The vehement
course of the sea
from the East to
the West.

on

By what meanes
the Sunne
beames are cause
of feruent heate:

The pernicious
ayre of Dariena.

Toades and Flies
engendred of
drops of water.

Necessitie hath
no lawes.

A house set on
fire with light-
ning.

A dogge deu-
oured of a
Crocodile.
Tanquam canis
de Nilo.
The byting of
Battes.

Lions and
Tygers.

Beastes waxe
higher in their
kindes.

on euery side with high hilles: By reason whereof, it receiueth the Sunne beames at noonetyde directly perpendicular ouer their heades, and are therefore sore vexed by reflection of the beames, both before, behinde, and from the sides. For it is the reflection of the sunne beames whiche causeth feruent heate, and not their accesse or neerenesse to the earth, forasmuch as they are not passible in themselves, as doth manifestly appeare by the snowe lying continually vnmoulten vpon certayne hygh mountaynes, as your holinesse knoweth right well. The sunne beames therfore falling on the mountaynes, are reflected downwarde into the valley, by reason of the obiecte of the declining sides of the hylles, as it were the fall of a great rounde stone, rowled from the toppe of a mountayne. The valley therefore receiueth both those beames whiche fall directly thereon, and also those whiche are reflected downwarde from euery side of the mountaynes. Their habitation therefore in Dariena, is pernicious and vnwholesome, onely of the particular nature of the place, and not by the situation of the region as it is placed vnder the heauen, or neere to the sunne. The place is also outrageous by the nature of the soile, by reason it is compassed about with muddie and stinking maryshes, the infection whereof is not a little encreased by the heate: The village it selfe is in a marishe and in manner a standing puddle, where, of the droppes falling from the handes of the bondemen, while they water the pauementcs of their houses, Toades are engendred immediately, as I my selfe sawe in another place the droppes of that water turne into flies in the Sommer season. Furthermore, wheresoeuer they digge the ground the depth of a handfull and a halfe, there springeth out vnwholesome and corrupt water, of the nature of the ryuer, whiche runneth through the deepe and muddy chanell of the valley, and so falleth into the sea: Now therefore they consult of remoouing their inhabitations. Necessitie caused them first to fasten their foote heere, because that they whiche first arryued in those landes, were oppressed with suche vrgent hunger, that they hadde no respect to chaunge the place, although they were thus vexed by the contagion of the soyle and heate of the Sunne, beeside the corrupt water, and infectious ayre, by reason of venemous vapours, and exhalations rysing from the same. An other great incommodity was, that the place was destitute of a commodious haue, being three leagues distaunt from the mouth of the gulfes: The way is also rough and difficult to bring victualles and other necessities from the sea. But let vs now speake somewhat of other particular thinges which chaunced. Therefore shortly after that they were arryued, there happened many thinges whereof they hadde no knowledge before. A certayne well learned phisition of Ciuile, whom partly the authoritie of the Byshop of Dariena, and partly the desire of golde, had allured to those landes, was so scarred with lightning in the night season, lying in bedde with his wife, that the house and all the stuffe therein being set on fire and burnt, hee and his wife beeing sore scorched, ranne forth crying, and almost naked, hardly escaping the daunger of death. And another time as certayne of them stode on the shore, a great Crocodile sodenly caryed away a mastie of a yeere and a halfe olde, as a kyte shoulde haue snatched vp a chicken: and this euen in the presence of them all, where the miserable dogge cryed in vaine for the helpe of his maister. In the nyght season they were tormented with the byting of battes, whiche are there so noysome, that if they bite any man in his sleepe, they putte him in daunger of life, onely with drawing of bloude: In so much that some haue dyed thereof, falling as it were into a consumption through the maliciousnesse of the venemous wounde. If these Battes chaunce to finde a cocke or a henne abroad in the night season, they byte them by the combs, and so kil them. They also whiche went last into these dominions, do write, that the lande is troubled with Crocodiles, Lions, and Tygers: but that they haue nowe deuised artes and engins how to take them. Likewise that in the houses of their fellows, they founde the hides and cases of such Lions and Tygers as they hadde killed. They write furthermore, that by reason of the ranknesse and fruitfulnessse of the grounde, kyne, swyne, and horses, doe marueilously increase in these regions, and growe to a muche bygger quantitie then they whiche were of the first broode. Of the exceeding highnesse of the trees with their fruites, of the garden hearbes, fruites, plantes, and seedes, which our men brought from Spaine, and sowed and set the same in these regions: likewise of the Hartes

and other foure footed beastes both tame and wilde, also of diuers kindes of foules, birdes, and fishes, they write euen as wee haue declared in the decades before. Careta, the king of the region of Cioba, was with them for the space of three daies: whom when they had friendly entertained, and shewed him the secrete places of their shippes, their Horses also, with their trappers, bards, and other furnimentes, beside many other thinges whiche seemed straunge to him, and had further delighted his minde with the harmony of their musical instrumentes, & giuen him many rewardes, they dismissed him halfe amased with too much admiration. He signified vnto them, that there are trees in that prouince, of the planks whereof if shippes were made, they shoulde be safe from the woormes of the sea, whiche they call Bromas. Howe these woormes gnawe and corrode the shippes, we haue declared before. Our shippes are greatly troubled with this plague, if they lie long in the hauens of these regions. But they affirme that the wood of this tree is so bitter, that the woormes will not taste thereof. There is also an other tree peculiar to these landes, whose leaues if they only touche the bare in any place of a mans body they cause great blisters, and those so malicious, that except the same be forthwith healed with salte water or fasting spittle, they do incontinently engender deadly paines. They say likewise, that the sauour of the wood is present poison, and that it can no whither be caried without daunger of life. When thinhabitantes of the Ilande of Hispaniola had oftentimes attempted to shake of the yoke of seruitude, and coulde neuer bring the same to passe, neither by open warre, nor yet by priuie conspiracies, they were determined in the night season to haue killed our men in their sleepe with the smoke of this wood: But when the Christian men had knowledge hereof, they compelled the poore wretches to confesse there intent, and punished the chiefe authours of the deuice. They haue also a certaine hearbe with the sauour wherof they are preserued from the hurt of this venomous wood, so that they may beare it safely. Of these small thinges it shall suffice to haue saide thus much. They looke dayly for many greater thinges to certifie vs of from the Ilandes of the South sea: For at such time as the messenger whiche brought our letters departed from thence, Petrus Arias prepared an expedition to that riche Ilande which lieth in the mouth of the gulfie called Sinus S. Michaelis, and reacheth into the South sea, being also left vntouched of Vaschus, by reason that the Sea was at that time of the yeere sore troubled with tempestes, as we haue further declared in Vaschus his voiage to the South. Wee looke therefore dayly for greater thinges then are hitherto past. For they haue now taken in hande to subdue manie other prouinces, which we suppose to be either very riche or to bring forth some straunge workes of nature. Iohannes Diaz Solisius of Nebrissa (of whom we haue made mention before) is sent by the front of the cape or point of Sancti Augustini (which reacheth seuen degrees beyonde the Equinoctial line, and pertaineth to the dominion of the Portugales) to thintent to ouerrunne the South side, from the backe halfe of Paria, Cumana, Cuquibacca, with the hauens of Carthago, and Sancta Martha, of Dariena also, and Beragua, that more perfect and certaine knowledge may be had of those tractes. Further more, one Iohannes Poncius was sent forth with three ships, to destroye the Canibales, both in the lande and Ilandes there about: aswell that the nations of the more humane & innocent people may at the length liue without feare of that pestiferous generation, as also the better and more safely to searche the secretes and riches of those regions. Many other likewise were sent diuers and sundrie waies, as Gasper Badaicius to search the West partes, Franciscus Bexerra, to saile by the corner of the gulfie and Valleiuis, to passe by the mouth or enterance thereof to the Easte coastes of the gulfie, to searche the secretes of the lande, in the which Fogeda with his company had of late begun to plant there habitation, and had builded a fortresse and a village, Badaicius departed first from Dariena, with fourescore souldiours wel appointed, whome Lodouicus Mercado folowed with fiftie: To Bezerra were also fourescore assigned, and threescore and tenne to Valleiuis. Whether they shall arriue at safe and commodious hauens, or fall into vnfortunate stations, he onely knoweth whose prouidence ruleth all: for as for vs men wee are included within the knowledge of thinges after they haue chaunced. Let vs now therefore come to other matters.

Note.

Broma or Bismar is a worme, which destroyes shippes.

A venomous tree.

Perhaps their venomous arrows are made of this woode.

A preseruatiue against poison.

The Ilands of the South sea.

The rich Iland called Dites.

Cap. sancti Augustini.

Of the euil success of these voiaiges, see the Libr. 9.

An expedition to destroy the Canibales.

Looke decade 3. Lib. 9.

The

The seuenth Chapter of the thirde Decade.

The nauigations
of Andreas
Moralis.
 PETrus Arius the gouernour of the supposed cōtinent, was scarsly entred into the mayne sea with his nauie, onwarde on his voyage to Dariena, but I was aduertised that one Andreas Moralis a pilot, who had oftentimes ouerrun the coastes of these newe seas, and the Ilandes of the same, was come to the court to sel such marchandies as he brought with him from thence. This man had diligently searched the tracte of the supposed continent, and especially the inner regions of the Ilande of Hispaniola, whereunto hee was appoynted by his brother Nicolaus Ouandus (the gouernour of the Ilande, and chiefe Commendator of the order of the knights of Alcantara) because he was a wittie man, and more apt to search such things then any other: so that with his owne handes hee drewe fayre cardes and tables of such regions as hee discovered. Wherein as he hath beene founde faithfull of such as haue since had better triall hereof, so is he in most credite amongst the best sort. He therefore resorted to me, as all they are accustomed to do which returne from the Ocean. What I learned of him & diuers other, of things heretofore vnknown, I wil now declare. The beginning of this narration, shall be the particular description of the Ilande of Hispaniola, forasmuche as it is the heade, and as it were, the principall marte of all the liberality of the Ocean, and hath a thousand & againe a thousand, faire, pleasant, beautifull, & rich Nereides, whiche lye about it on euery side, adorning this their lady & mother, as it were an other Tethis the wife of Neptunus enuyroning her about, & attēding vpō her as their queene & patronesse. But of these Nereides (that is to say, the Ilandes placed about her) wee will speake more hereafter. Lette vs in the meane tyme declare somewhat of the Ilande whiche our menne named Margarita Diues (which the Spanyardes call De las perdas) being nowe well knowne, and lying in the South sea in the gulfes called Sinus Sancti Michaelis (that is) saint Michaels gulfes. This Ilande hath presently brought to our knowledge many straunge and woonderfull things, and promiseth no small hope of greater things in tyme to come. In this is founde great plenty of pearles, so fayre and great, that the sumptuous queene Cleopatra might haue seemed to weare them in her crownes, chaynes, and braslettes. Of the shellfishes wherein these are engendred, we wil speake somewhat more in the end of this narration. But let vs nowe returne to Hispaniola, moste like vnto the earthly paradise.

A particular description of the Ilande of Hispaniola. Nereides are nymphes of the sea, he meaneth Ilandes. Tethis the wife of Neptunus & goddess of the sea.
 In the description hereof, wee will beginne of the imposition of diuers names, then of the fourme of the Ilande, temperate ayre, and beneficiall hauen, and finally of the deuision of the regions. Therefore for the righter pronounciation of the names, your holines must vnderstand that they are pronounced with the accent, as you may know by the verge set ouer the heads of the vowels, as in the name of the Ilande Matinino, where the accent is in the last vowell, and the like to bee vnderstoode in all other names. They say therefore, that the first inhabitours of the Ilande were transported in their Canoas (that is, boates made of one whole peece of woode) from the Ilande of Matinino, being lyke banished men dryuen from thence by reason of certaine contrarie factiōs and diuisions among themselues, like as we reade howe Dardanus came from Corytho, and Teucus from Creta into Asia, and that the region where they placed their habitation, was afterward called Troianum. The like wee reade howe the Tyrians and Sidonians arriued with their navy in Libya by the fabulous conduction of Dido. These Matinians in like maner being banished from their owne country, planted their first habitation in that parte of the Ilande of Hispaniola, which they call Cahonao, vpon the banke of the ryuer named Bahaboni as is reade in the beginnyng of the Romans that Æneas of Troy arryued in the regiō of Italie, called Latium, vpon the bankes of the riuier of Tiber. Within the mouth of the ryuer of Bahaboni, lyeth an Iland, where it is sayd that the inhabitantes builded their first house, whiche they named Camoteia. This house they consecrated shortly after, and honoured the same reuerently with continuall giftes and monumentes, euen vntill the comming of our menne, like as the Christians haue euer religiously honoured Hierusalem the fountayne and originall of our fayth: As also the Turkes attribute the like to the citie of Mecha in Araby, and the inhabitantes of the fortunate Ilandes (called the Ilandes of Canarie) to Tyrma, builded vppon a hygh rocke, from the whiche manie were wont with ioyfull

Great pearles.

Hispaniola like vnto the earthly Paradise.

The first inhabitours of Hispaniola.

Ierusalem.

Mecha.

The Ilandes of Canarie.

ioyfull myndes and songes to cast themselues downe headlong, beeing perswaded by their priestes that the soules of all such as so died for the loue of Tyrma, shoulde thereby enioye eternall felicitie. The conquerors of the llandes of Canarie, founde them yet remaynyng in that superstition euen vntill our tyme, nor yet is the memorie of their sacrifices vtterly worne away: the rocke also reserueth the olde name vnto this daye. I haue also learned of late, that there yet remayneth in the llande some of the faction of Betanchor the Frenche manne, and first that brought the llandes to good culture and ciuilitie, being thereto lycenced by the king of Castile, as I haue sayde before. These do yet (for the most part) obserue both the language and maners of the Frenche menne, although the heyres and successours of Betanchor, had solde the two subdued llands to certaine men of Castile: Yet the inhabitours which succeeded Betanchor, & builded them houses, and encreased their families there, do continue to this day, and liue quietly and pleasantly with the Spanyardes, not griued with the sharpe colde of Fraunce. But let vs nowe returne to the inhabitantes of Martinino and Hispaniola. The llande of Hispaniola was first named by the first inhabitours Quizqueia, and then Haiti: and this not by chance, or at the pleasure of suche as deuised these names, but of credulitie and beleefe of some great effecte. For Quizqueia, is as muche to say as, A great thing, and that so great, that none may bee greater. They interprete, also, that Quizqueia signifieth large, vniuersall, or all, in like signification as the Greekes named their God called Pan, because that for the greatnes thereof, these simple soules supposed it to bee the whole worlde: and that the Sunne beames gaue light to none other world, but onely to this llande, with the other adiacent about the same, and thereupon thought it most woorthie to be called great, as the greatest of all other knowne to them. Haiti is as much as to say by interpretation, as rough, sharpe, or craggie. But by a figuratiue speache called denomination (whereby the whole is named by parte) they named the whole llande Haiti (that is) rough: Forasmuch as in many places the face of this llande is rough, by reason of the craggie mountaynes, horrible thicke woodes, and terrible darke and deepe vallies, enuironed with great and high mountaynes, although it bee in manie other places exceeding beautifull and flourishing. Heere must wee somewhat digresse from the order we are entred into. Perhappes your holinesse will maruell by what meanes these symple men shoulde of so long continuance beare in minde such principles, wheras they haue no knowledge of letters. So it is therefore, that from the beginning, their princes haue euer beene accustomed to commit their children to the gouernance of their wise men, which they cal Boitios, to be instructed in knowledge, and to beare in memorie suche thinges as they learne. They giue themselues chiefly to two thinges: As generally, to learne the originall and successe of thinges, and particularly, to rehearse the noble factes of their graundfathers, great graundfathers, and auncestours, aswell in peace as in warre. These two thinges they haue of old time composed in certayne meeters and ballettes in their language. These rymes or ballettes, they call Areitos. And as our minstrelles are accustomed to sing to the Harpe or Lute, so do they in like manner sing these songs, and daunce to the same, playing on Timbrels made of shels of certayne fishes: These Timbrels they call Maguei. They haue also songs and ballettes of loue, and other of Lamentations and mourning, some also to encourage them to the warres, with euery of them their tunes agreeable to the matter. They exercise themselues much in dauncing, wherein they are very actiue, and of greater agilitie then our men, by reason they giue themselues to nothing so much, and are not hindered with apparell, which is also the cause of their swiftnesse of foote. In their ballets left them of their auncestours, they haue prophecies of the comming of our menne into their countrey. These they sing with mourning, and as it were with groning, bewayle the losse of their libertie & seruitude. For these prophecies make mention that there shoulde come into the lland Maguachochios, that Note. is, men clothed in apparell, and armed with suche swoordes as shoulde cutte a man in sunder at one stroke, vnder whose yoke their posteritie should be subdued. And here I do not maruell that their predecessours coulde prophecie of the seruitude and bondage of their succession (if it be true that is sayd) of the familiaritie they haue with spirites, whiche appeare to them in the night, whereof we haue largely made mention in the ninth chapter of

Betanchor a Frenchman

The first names of Hispaniola.

Their manner of learning.

Ballets and rymes.

Singing and dauncing.

Songs of loue and mourning.

Prophecies.

Their familiaritie with spirites.

The deuill is
driuen away by
baptisme.

Surmeyors.

Serpentes.
A Crocodile is
much like to
our Ewte or
Lysette.

Cipanga.
Italie called
Latium.

Isabella.

The fourme of
the Iland of
Hispaniola.

A particular
carde of His-
paniola.

Hispaniola com-
pared to Italie.

The tempera-
ture of Hispa-
niola.

The Equinoc-
tiall.

Cold accidental,
and not by the
situation of the
regions.

the first decade, where also we haue intreated of their Zemes (that is) their Idolles, and images of deuilles whiche they honoured. But they saye that since these Zemes were taken away by the Christians, the spirites haue no more appeared. Our men ascribe this to the signe of the crosse, wherwith they defende themselves from such spirites: For they are nowe all cleansed and sanctified by the water of baptisme, wherby they haue renounced the deuill, & are consecrated the holy members of Christ. They are vniuersally studious to knowe the bondes and limits of their regions and kingdomes, and especially their Mitani (that is) noble men: so that euen they are not vitterly ignorant in the surueying of their landes. The common people haue none other care then of selling, sowing, and planting. They are most expert fishers, by reason that throughout the whole yeere, they are accustomed dayly to plunge themselves in the ryuers, so that in manner they liue no lesse in the water then on the lande. They are also giuen to hunting: For (as I haue sayd before) they haue two kindes of foure footed beastes whereof the one is, little Conies, called Vsias, and other Serpentes, named Iuannas, much like vnto Crocodiles, of eight foote length, of most pleasant taste, and lyuing on the sande. All the llandes nourishe innumerable byrdes and foules: as Stockdoves, Duckes, Geese, Hearons, beside no lesse number of Poppingayes then Sparrowes with vs. Euery King hath his subiectes diuided to sundrye affaires: as some to hunting, other to fishing, and other some to husbandrie. But let vs nowe returne to speake further of the names. Wee haue sayde that Quizqueia and Haiti, were the olde names of this Ilande. The whole Iland was also called Cipanga, of the region of the mountaynes abounding with golde: lyke as our auncient poets called all Italie Latium, of part thereof. Therefore as they called Ausonia and Hesperia, Italy: euen so by the names of Quizqueia, Haiti, and Cipanga, they vnderstood the whole Iland of Hispaniola. Our men did first name it Isabella, of Queene Helisabeth, whiche in the Spanishe tongue is called Isabella, and so named it of the first Colony where they planted their habitation, vpon the banke neere vnto the sea on the North side of the Ilande, as we haue further declared in the first Decade. But of the names, this shall suffice. Let vs nowe therfore speake of the fourme of the Ilande. They which first ouerranne it, described it vnto me to be like vnto the leafe of a Chesnut tree, with a gulfie towarde the West side, lying open agaynst the Ilande of Cuba. But the expert shypmaister Andreas Moralis, brought me to the forme therof somewhat differing from that. For from both the corners, as from the East angle and the West, he described it to be indented and eaten with many great gulfes, & the corners to reache forth very farre, and placeth manie large and safe hauens in the great gulfie on the East side: But I trust shortly so to trauale further herein, that a perfect carde of the particular description of Hispaniola may be sent vnto your holinesse. For they haue now drawne the Geographicall description therof in cardes, euen as your holinesse hath seene the fourme and situation of Spayne, and Italy, with their mountaynes, valleyes, riuers, cities, and colonies. Let vs therfore without shamefastnesse compare the Iland of Hispaniola to Italie, sometime the head and Queene of the whole worlde. For if we consider the quantitie, it shall bee founde little lesse, and much more fruitefull. It reacheth from the East into the West, fife hundred and fourtie myles, according to the computation of the latter searchers, although the Admirall somewhat increased this number, as wee haue sayde in the first Decade. It is in breadth somewhere almost three hundred myles, and in some places narrower, where the corners are extended: But it is surely much more blessed and fortunate then Italie, being for the most parte thereof so temperate and flourishing, that it is neyther vexed with sharpe colde, nor afflicted with immoderate heate. It hath both the stayinges or conuersions of the Sunne (called Solstitia) in manner equall with the Equinoctiall, with little difference betweene the length of the day and the night throughout all the yeere. For on the South side, the day ascendeth scarcely an houre in length aboue the night, or contrariwise. But the difference is more on the North side: Yet are there some regions in the Ilande in the whiche the colde is of some force. But your holynesse must vnderstande this to bee incident by reason of the obiect or neerenesse of the mountaynes, as we will more largely declare hereafter: Yet is not this colde so pearcing or sharpe, that the inhabitauntes are molested

molested with snow or byting frost. In other places, the llande enioyeth perpetuall spring time, and is fortunate with continuall sommer and haruest. The trees flourish there all the whole yeere, and the meddowes continue alway greene. All thinges are exceeding fortunate, and growe to great perfection. Howe wonderfully all garden hearbes and fruites do encrease, so that within the space of sixteene dayes after the seede is sown, all hearbes of small steames, as lettise, borage, radishe, and such other, come to their full ripenesse, and also how hearbes of the bigger sort, as Gourdes, Melons, Cucumbers, Pompons, Sitrones, and such other, come to their perfection in the space of thirtie dayes, we haue sufficiently declared els where. Of the beastes transported out of Spayne thither, we haue saide howe they growe to a much greater kinde: Insomuch that when they fall into communication of the oxen or kine, they compare them in bignesse to Elephantes, and swyne to Mules: but this somewhat by an excessiue kinde of speach. Wee haue also made mention howe their swines fleshe is more sauourie and of farre better and more pleasaunt tast, and more wholesome then ours, by reason that they are fedde with the fruites of Mirobalane trees, and other pleasaunt and nourishing fruites of that countrey, which growe there of themselves, as doe with vs Beeches, Holly, and Okes. Vines woulde also prosper there with marueylous encrease, if they hadde any regard to the planting therof. The like encrease commeth of wheate, if it be sown vpon the mountains, where the cold is of some strength: but not in the same plaines, by reason of too much fatnesse and ranknes of the ground. It is in maner incredible to heare, that an eare of wheate should be bigger then a mans arme in the brawne, and more then a span in length, bearing also more then a thousand graynes, as they all confesse with one voyce, and earnestly affirme the same with othes. Yet they say that the bread of the llande called Cazabbi, made of the roote of Iucca, to be more holsome, because it is of easier digestion, and cultured with lesse labour, and greater increase. The residue of the time which they spend not in setting and planting, they bestowe in gathering of golde. They haue nowe such plentie of foure footed beastes, that Horses and oxen hydes, with sheepe skinned, and goate skinned and such other, are brought from thence into Spaine: so that nowe the daughter in many thinges helpeth and succoureth her mother. Of the trees of brasyle, spices, the graine which coloureth scarlet in bright shyning red, mastix, Gossampine cotton, the precious metall called Electrum, & such other commodities of this llande we haue spoken sufficiently before. What therefore canne chaunce more happy vnto man vpon the earth, then there to lyue where he need not to be dryuen to close chambers with sharpe colde or faynting heate, nor yet in winter eyther to be laden with heauie apparel, or to burne the shinnes with continuall sitting at the fire, which thinges make men olde in short time, by resoluing the naturall heate, whereof a thousand diseases ensue. They also affirme the ayre to be very healthfull, and the waters and ryuers to be no lesse holsome, as they whiche haue their continuall course through the earth of the golden mynes. For there is in maner no ryuers, no mountaynes, and but fewe playnes, that are vtterly without golde. But lette vs nowe at length come to the particular description of the inner partes of this blessed llande. Wee haue before declared how it is in maner equally diuided with foure great ryuers, descending from hygh mountaynes, whereof that which runneth towards the East, is called Iunna, as that towards the West is named Attibunicus, the thirde is Nahiba or Haiba, whiche runneth Southward, the fourth is called Iache, and falleth towarde the North. But this shypmaister hath brought an other description, obserued of the inhabitantes from the beginning. Let vs therefore diuide the whole lland in to fīue partes, calling the regions of euery prouince by their olde names: and finally make mention of such thinges as are worthy memory in euery of them. The beginning of the llande on the East side, is contained in the prouince named Caizcimu, so named for that in their language Cimu signifieth the front or beginning of anie thing. After this, foloweth the prouince of Hubaba, and then Caibabo, the fourth is Bainoa. Guaccarima containeth the West corner. But the last saue one, Bainoa is of larger boundes then the three other. Caizcimu reacheth from the first front of the llande to the riuer Hozama, which runneth by the cite of saint Dominicke. But towarde

Perpetuall
spring and
sommer.

Marueilous
fruitfulness.

Beastes.

Oxen and swine
of exceeding
bignes.

Swine fed with
Mirobalanes,

An eare of
wheat as big as
a mans arme in
the brawne.

Great plenty of
cattayle.

Incommodities
of intemperate
regions.

Holsome ayre
and water.
Golde euery
where.

The cite of
S. Dominick.

the North side, it is ended at the rough mountaines of Haiti. Hubabo is included within the mountaines of Haiti and the riuier Iaciga. Caiabo the third prouince, conteineth al that lieth between Cubabo and Dahatio, euen vnto the mouth of the riuier Iaccha or lache (one of the foure which diuide the Iland equally) & ascendeth to the mountaines of Cibaua, where the greatest plentie of gold is founde, out of the which also the riuier Demahus springeth, and ioining with the springes of the riuier of Naiba (being an other of the foure which diuideth the Iland toward the South sea) falleth to an other banke of the riuier of saint Dominick. Bainoa beginneth at the confines of Caiabi, and reacheth euen vnto the Iland of Cabini, which lieth neare vnto the sea bankes of the North side of the Ilande, where we saide that they erected the first colonie or habitatiō. The prouince of Guaccaiarima, occupieth the remanēt towarde the West: this they named Guaccaiarima because it is the extreame or vttermost part of the Iland. For Iarima in their language, signifieth the taile or end of any thing, and Gua, is an article which they vse oftentimes in the names of things, and especially in the names of their kinges, as Guarionexius & Guaccanarillus. In the prouince of Caizium, are these regions, Higuei, Guanama, Reyre, Xagua, Aramana, Arabo, Hazoa, Macorix, Caiacoa, Guaiagua, Baguanimabo, & the rough mountaines of Haiti. Here let vs speake somewhat of their aspirations, which they vse otherwise then the Latines do. It is to be noted that there is no aspiration in their vowels, which haue not the effect of a consonant. So that they pronounce their aspirations more vehemently then we do the consonant. f. Yet, all suche wordes as in their tongue are aspirate, are pronounced with like breath and spirite as is f. sauing that heerein the neather lippe is not moued to the vppermost teeth. With open mouthes, and shaking their breastes they breathe out these aspirations, ha, he, hi, ho, hu, as the Hebrues and Arabians are accustomed to pronounce theirs. I finde also that the Spaniardes vse the like vehemencie in the aspirations of those wordes, which they haue receiued of the Moores & Arabians which possessed Spaine, and continued there many yeeres, as in these wordes Almohadda, which signifieth a pillow or boulder, also Almohaza, that is a horse combe: with diuers such other words, which they speake in maner with panting breastes, & vehement spirites. I haue thought it good to rehearse these thinges, because among the the Latines it oftentimes so chaunceth, that only the accent or aspiration, chaungeth the signification of the worde, as hora, for an houre, and ora, for the plurall number of this worde or, whiche signifieth the mouth: also ora, whiche signifieth regions or coastes. The like also chaunceth in the diuersitie of the accent, as occido I kil, & occido I fal: euen so in the language of these simple men, there are many thinges to be obserued. But let vs now returne to the description. In the prouince of Hubabo, are these regions, Xamana, Canabacoa, Cubabo, with many other, the names whereof I haue not yet learned. The prouince of Cubabo, conteineth these regions, Migua and Cacacubana. The inhabitants of this region, haue a peculiar language much differing from the common language of the Iland, and are called Maiorixes. There is also an other region called Cubana, whose language differeth from the other. Likewise the region of Baiohagua, hath a diuers tongue. There are also other regions, as Dahabon, Cybaho, and Manababo. Cotoy is in the middle of the Ilande. By this runneth the riuier Nizaus, and the mountaines called Mathaitin, Hazua, & Neibaymao, confine with the same. In the prouince of Bainoa, are 3 regiōs of Maguana, Iagohaiucho, Baurucco, Dabaigua, & Attibuni, so named of the riuier, also Caunoa, Buiacici, Dababonici, Maio guariti, Atiei, Maccazini, Guahabba, Anninici, Mariē, Guaricco, Amaguei, Xaragua, Yaguana, Azuei, Iacchi, Honorucco, Diagno, Camaie, & Neibaimao. In Guaccaierima the last prouince, these regions are contained Maucarao, Guabagua, Taquenazabo, Nimaca, Baiona the lesse, Cabaini, Iamaici, Manabaxao, Zauana, Habacoa, and Ayquiora. But let vs entreate somewhat of the particulars of the regions. In the prouince of Caizcimu, within the great gulfes of the beginning, there is a great caue in a hollow rocke vnder the root of a high mōtaine, about two furlonges from the sea, the entry of this caue is not much vnlyke the doores of a great temple, being very large, and turnyng many wayes. Andreas Moralis the shypmaister at the commandement of the gouernour, attempted to search the caue with the smalest vessels. He sayth that by certayne priue wayes

Of prouinces
diuided into
regions.

The pronuncia-
tion of the
Hebrues and
Arabians.
The Moores
and Arabians
possessed
Spaine.

How the aspi-
ration chaungeth
the signification
of wordes.

Diuers lan-
guages in the
Iland.

wayes many ryuers haue concurse to this caue, as it were a synke or chanel. After the experience hereof, they ceased to maruaile whither other ryuers ranne, which comming four-score & ten myles were swallowed vp, so that they appeared no more, nor yet fel into the sea by any knowne wayes. Nowe therefore they suppose that ryuers swallowed vp by the hollow places of that stony mountayne, fall into this caue. As the shypmaister entred into the caue, his shippe was almost swallowed. For he sayth, that there are many whirlpooles and rysinges or boylinges of the water, which make a violent conflict and horrible roryng, one encounteryng the other: also many huge holes and hollow places, so that what on the one side with whirlpooles, and on the other side with the boyling of the water, his shyppe was long in manner tossed vp and downe like a ball. It greatly repented him that he had entred, yet knew he no way how to come forth. He now wandred in darknesse aswell for the obscuresse of the caue into the which hee was farre entred, as also that in it were thick clouds, engendred of the moist vapours proceeding of the conflict of the waters, which continually fall with great violence into the caue on euery side. Hee compareth the noyse of these waters, to the fal of the famous riuier Nilus from the mountains of Ethiope, they were also deafe, that one could not heare what another saide. But at the length with great daunger and feare, he came forth of the caue, as it had bene out of hell. About threescore myles distant from the chiefe citie of Saint Dominicke, there are certayne hygh mountaynes, vpon the toppes whereof is a lake or standing poole inaccessible, neuer yet scene of the which came lately to the llande, both by reason of the roughnesse of the mountaynes, and also for that there is no path or open way to the toppes of the same. But at the length the shipmaster being conducted thither by one of the kinges, ascended to the toppes of the mountaynes, and came to the poole. He saith that the colde is there of some force: and in token of winter, he founde fearne and bramble bushes, which two growe onely in colde regions. These mountaynes, they call Ymizui Hibabaino. This poole is of fresh water three myles in compasse, and wel replenished with diuers kinds of fishes. Many smal riuers or brooks fall into it. It hath not passage out, because it is on euery side enclosed with the toppes of mountaynes. But let vs now speake of another poole, which may well be called a sea in the mydlande, and bee compared to the Caspian or Hircanian sea in the firme lande of Asia, with certayne other lakes and pooles of freshe water.

Riuers deuoured of caues.

Whirlpooles and conflict of waters.

Clouds in the caue.

The cataracts of Nilus.

A standing poole at the top of a high mountaine.

Fearne and bramble bushes grow onely in cold regions.

The Caspian and Hircanian sea.

The eyght Chapter of the thirde Decade.

The prouince of Bainoa being thirse as bigge as the three first, that is Caizcimu, Vhabo, and Caibabo, includeth a velley named Caiouani, in the which there is a lake of salt, sower and bytter water, as we reade of the sea called Caspium, lying in the firme lande betweene Sarmatia and Hircania. We haue therefore named it Caspium, although it bee not in the region of Hircania. It hath many swallowing gulfs, by the which, both the water of the sea springeth into it, & also such as fal into it from the mountayns are swallowed vp. They thinke that the caues thereof, are so large and deepe, that great fyshes of the sea passe by the same into the lake. Among these fyshes, there is one called Tiburonus, which cutteth a man in sunder by the myddest at one snap with his teeth, and deuoureth him. In the ryuer Hozama, running by the chiefe citie of Saint Dominicke, these Tiburoni doe sometymes come from the sea, and deuoure many of the inhabitantes: especially such as do dayly plunge themselves in the water, to the intent to keepe their bodies very cleane. The riuers which fall into the lake, are these. From the North side Guanicanon: From the Southe, Xaccoei: From the East, Guannabo: And from the West, Ocoa. They saie that these riuers are great and continually, and that beside these, there are xx. other small riuers whiche fall into this Caspium. Also on the North side within a furlong of the lake, there are about two hundred springs, occupying likewise about a furlong in circuite, the water whereof is colde in sommer, freshe also, and holsome to be drunke. These springs make a riuier that can not be waded ouer, which neare at hande ioining with the other, falleth into the lake. Here must we staie a while. The kinge of this region founde his wife praying in a Chapell builded by the Christians within the precincte of his dominion, and required her company

A great lake of sower and salt water.

Sea fishes in lakes of the midlande.

The deuouring fish called Tiburonus.

The riuers that fall into the lake Caspium.

CC. springs within the space of a furlong.

A miracle.

The Indian
language.

A king stricken
dumme and
lame by a
myracle.

Such as are
drowned in the
lake are not
cast vp againe.

A lake of salt &
freshe water.

A lake of fresh
water.

A lake of ten
miles in length.

A plaine of a
hundred and
twenty miles.

A plain of two
hundred miles
in length.

The maruey-
lous fyshe
Manati.

pany to satisfie his fleshely lust. His wife reprobued him, and put him in remembrance to haue respect to the holy place. The wordes which she spake to him were these, Teitoca, Teitoca, which is as much to say, as, be quiet, be quiet. Techeta cynato guamechyna: That is God will be greatly angry. Guamechyna, signifieth God, Techeta greatly, Cynato angrie. But the husbände haling her by the arme, saide, Guaibba, that is, goe, Cynato macabuca guamechyna: That is, What is that to me if God be angry? And with these wordes as he profered her violence, sodenly he became dumme and lame. Yet by this myracle being stricken with repentaunce, he euer after ledde a religious life, insomuche that from thencefoorth he would neuer suffer the Chapell to be swepte or decked with any other mans hande. By the same miracle, many of thinhabitantes, and all the Christians being moued, resorted deuoutly to the Chapell. They take it in good parte that the king suffered the reuenge of that reproche. Let vs now returne to Caspium. That salte lake is tossed with stormes and tempestes, and oftentimes drowneth small shippes or fisher boates, and swalloweth them vp with the mariners: In so muche that it hath not been hearde of, that any man drowned by shippewracke, euer plunged vp againe, or was caste on the shore, as commonly chaunceth of the dead bodies of suche as are drowned in the sea. These tempestes, are the daintie banquets of the Tiburones. This Caspium, is called Hagueigabon. In the myddest hereof, lyeth an lland named Guarizacca, to the which they resort when they go a fishing: but it is now cultured. There is in the same playne, an other lake next vnto this, whose water is mixte of salt and fresh, and is therfore neither apt to be drunke, nor yet to be refused in vrgent necessitie: This containeth in length twentie and fve miles, and in breadth eight miles, in some places also nine or ten. It receiue many riuers, which haue no passage out of the same, but are swallowed vp as in the other. Water springeth out of the sea into this also: but in no great quantitie, which is the cause that it is so commixt. In the same prouince towards the West side, there is an other lake of freshe water, not farre distaunt from Caspius: this the inhabitantes call Iainagua. The same salte lake hath on the North side thereof, an other named Guacca: this is but litle, as not past three or foure miles in breadth, and one in length, the water of this may well bee drunke. On the South side of the salt lake, there lieth an other named Babbareo, of three miles in length, and in maner rounde: the water of this is freshe, as of the two other. This lake, because it hath no passage out, nor yet any swallowing gulfs, conueieth the superfluous waters to the sea if it be encreased with the streames which fall somtimes more abundantly from the mountaines: There is in the region of Xamana in the prouince of Bainoa. There is an other called Guaniba, lying betwene the East and the South, neere vnto the side of Caspius: this is ten miles in length, and almost rounde. There are furthermore many other small standing pooles or lakes disparsed here and there in the llande, whiche I will let passe, lest I should be tedious in remaining too long in one thing. I will therfore make an ende with this addition, that in all these great plentie of fishe and foule is nourished. All these lakes lie in a large plaine, the which from the East reacheth into the West a hundreth and twentie myles, being of breadth. xviii. miles where it is narrowest, and. xxv. where it is largest. Looking toward the West, it hath collaterally on the left hand the mountaines of Daiguani, and on the right hand, the mountains of Gaigua, so called of the name of the vale it selfe. At the roots of the mountaynes of Caigua towarde the North side, there lyeth an other vale much longer and larger then that before named: For it containeth in length almost two hundred myles, and in breadth thirtie where it is largest, and about. xx. where it is narrowest. This vale in some parte thereof, is called Maguana, in an other place, Iguanu, and els where, Hathathiei. And forasmuch as we haue here made mention of this parte of the vale named Hathathiei, wee will somewhat digresse from the discourse of this description, and entreate of a thing so straunge and marueilous, that the lyke hath not bene heard of. So it is therefore, that the king of this region named Caramatexius, taketh great pleasure in fishing. Into his nettes chaunced a young fyshe of the kinde of those monsters of the sea, which the inhabitours called Manati, not founde I suppose in our seas, nor knowne to our men before this tyme. This fishe is foure footed, and in shape lyke vnto

vnto a Tortoyse, although shee be not couered with a shell, but with scales, and those of such hardnesse, & couched in such order that no arrow can hurte her. Her scales are beset and defended with a thousand knobbes, her backe is playne, and her head vtterly like the head of an Oxe. She liueth both in the water, & on the land, shee is slowe of mouing, of condition meeke, gentle, associable, and louing to mankind, and of a marueilous sence or memory, as are the Elephant and the Delphyn. The king nourished this fish certayne daies at home with the bread of the countrey, made of the root of Iucca & Panycke, and with such other roots as men are accustomed to eate: For when shee was yet but young, hee cast her into a poole or lake neere vnto his pallace, there to bee fed with hande. This lake also receiue waters, and casteth not the same forth againe. It was in tyme past called Guaurabo: but is now called the lake of Manati, after the name of this fyshe, which wandered safely in the same for the space of xxv. yeeres, and grewe exceeding bigge. Whatsoever is written of the Delphines of Baian or Arion, are much inferiour to the dooings of this fyshe, which for her gentle nature they named Matum, that is, gentle, or noble. Therefore whensoever any of the kinges familyers, especially such as are knowne to her, resorte to the bankes of the lake, and call Matum, Matum, then she (as mindefull of such benefites as shee hath receiued of Matum. men) lifteth vp her head, and commeth to the place whither she is called, and there receiue meate at the handes of suche as feede her. If anie desirous to passe ouer the lake, make signes and tokens of their intent, she boweth her selfe to them, therewith as it were gently inuityng them to amount vpon her, and conueyeth them safely ouer. It hath bene seene, that this monstrous fish hath at one tyme safely carryed ouer tenne men singing and playing. But if by chaunce when shee lifted vp her head she espyed any of the Christian men, she would immediately plunge downe againe into the water, and refuse to obey, because shee had once receiued iniurie at the handes of a certayne wanton young manne among the Christians, who hadde cast a sharpe darte at her, although shee were not hurte, by reason of the hardnesse of her skinne, being rough and full of scales and knobbes, as wee haue sayde: Yet did shee beare in memorie the iniurie shee susteyned, with so gentle a reuenge requiting the ingratitude of him, which had dealt with her so vngently. From that day whensoever shee was called by any of her familiars, she would first looke circumspectly about her, least any were present apperelled after the maner of the Christians. She woulde oftentimes play and wrastle vpon the banke with the Kinges chamberlens, and especially with a young man whom the King fauoured well, being also accustomed to feede her. Shee woulde bee sometimes as pleasaut and full of play as it had bene a monkey or marmaset, & was of long tyme a great comfort and solace to the whole Iland: For no small confluence aswel of the Christians as of the inhabitantes, hadde daily concourse to behold so strange a myracle of nature, the contemplation whereof was no lesse pleasaut then wonderfull. They say that the meate of this kinde of fyshe, is of good tast, and that many of them are engendred in the seas thereabout. But at the length, this pleasant play-fellowe was lost, and carryed into the sea by the great ryuer Attibunicus, one of the foure whiche diuide the Ilande: For at that tyme there chaunced so terrible a tempest of wynde and rayne, with such flouds ensuing, that the lyke hath not lightly bene heard of. By reason of this tempest, the ryuer Attibunicus so ouerflowed the banks, that it filled the whole vale, and mixt it selfe with al the other lakes: at which tyme also, this gentle Matum and pleasant companion, folowing the vehement course & fall of the flouds, was thereby restored to his olde mother and natyue waters, and since that tyme neuer seene agayne. Thus hauyng digressed sufficiently, let vs now come to the situation of the vale. It hath collaterally the mountaynes of Cibaua and Caiguam, which bring it to the South sea. There is an other vale beyonde the mountaynes of Cibaua towarde the North, this is called the vale of Guarionexius, because that before the memorie of man, the predecessours & auncestours of king Guarionexius, to whom it is descended by ryght of inheritance, were euer the Lordes of the whole vale. Of this king, wee haue spoken largely in the first naration of the Ilande in the first Decade. This vale is of length from the East to the West, a hundred and fourescore myles, and of breadth from the South to the North, thirtie myles where it is narrowest, and fiftie where it is broadest. It beginneth from the region Canabocoa by the prouinces of Huhabo

A monster of
the sea fedde
with mans
hande.

A fish caryeth
men ouer the
lake.

A marueilous
thing.

The ryuer
Attibunicus.

The great vale
of Guarionexi-
us.

Goldes in all
mountaynes, and
golde and fish in
all ryuers.

Salt bayes.

The ryuers haue
their increse
from the caues
of the moun-
taynes.
No hurtfull or
rauening beast in
the llande.

The authours
excuse.

By what meanes
the people of the
llande are great-
ly consumed.

The pleasures of
Hispaniola.

The region of
Cotobi situate in
the cloudes.
A plaine in the
toppes of moun-
taynes.
The higher the
colder.
Moderate colde
in the moun-
taynes.

Goldes.

Huhabo and Caiabo, and endeth in the prouince of Bainoa, and the region of Mariena : it lyeth in the middest betweene the mountaynes of Cibaua, and the mountaynes of Cahonai & Caxacubuna. There is no prouince nor any region, which is not notable by the maiestie of mountaynes, fruitfulnessse of vales, pleasantnesse of hilles, and delectablenessse of playnes, with abundance of faire ryuers running through the same. There are no sides of mountaynes or hilles, no riuers, which abound not with golde and delicate fishes, except only one riuer, which from the original thereof, with the springes of the same breaking forth of the mountaynes, commeth out salt, and so continueth vntill it perish : This riuer is called Babuan, and runneth through the middle of the region Maguana, in the prouince of Bainoa. They suppose that this ryuer hath made it selfe a way vnder the grounde, by some passages of playster, or salte earth : for there are in the llande many notable salte bayes, whereof wee will speake more heereafter. Wee haue declared howe the llande is diuided by foure ryuers, and fyue prouinces. There is also another partition, whiche is this, the whole llande consisteth of the toppes of foure mountaynes, whiche diuide it by the myddest from the East to the West : in all these is abundance of nourishing moysture, and great plentie of golde, of the caues also of the which, the waters of all the ryuers (into the which the caues emptie themselues) haue their originall and increase. There are lykewise in them horrible dennes, obscure and darke vales, and mightie rockes of stone. There was neuer any noy-some beast founde in it, nor yet any rauening foure footed beast : no Lion, no Beare, no fierce Tygers, no craftie Foxes, nor deuouring Woolues. All thinges are blessed and fortunate, & now more fortunate, for that so many thousandes of men are receiued to bee the sheepe of Christes flocke, all their Zemes and Images of deuilles beeing reiected and vtterly out of memorie. If I chaunce nowe and then in the discourse of this narration to repeate one thing diuers tymes or otherwise to make digression, I must desire your holynesse therewith not to bee offended : For whyle I see, heare, and wryte these thinges, mee seemeth that I am heerewith so affected, that for very ioy I feele my minde stirred as it were with the spirite of Apollo, as were the Sibilles, whereby I am enforced to repeate the same agayne : especially when I consider howe farre the amplitude of our religion spreadeth her wynges. Yet among these so many blessed and fortunate things, this one grieveth mee not a little : that these simple poore men, neuer brought vp in labour, doe dayly perishe with intollerable trauayle in the golde mynes, and are thereby brought to such desperation, that many of them kill themselues, hauing no regarde to the procreation of children : insomuch that women with childe, perceiuing that they shall bring forth suche as shall bee slaues to the Christians, vse medicines to destroy their conception. And albeit that by the Kinges letters patentes it was decreed that they shoulde be set at libertie : yet are they constraigned to serue more then seemeth conuenient for free men. The number of the poore wretches is wonderfully extenuate, they were once reckened to bee about twelue hundred thousand heades : but what they are now, I abhorre to rehearse. We will therefore let this passe, and returne to the pleasures of Hispaniola. In the mountaynes of Cibaua, which are in manner in the middest of the llande, in the prouince of Caiabo (where we sayd to bee the greatest plentie of natyue gold) there is a region named Cotobi, situate in the cloudes, enuironed with the toppes of high mountaynes, and well inhabited : it consisteth of a playne of. xxv. miles in length, and. xv. in breadth. This plaine is higher then the toppes of other mountaynes : so that these mountaynes may seeme to bee the chiefe progenitours of the other. This playne suffereth alterations of the foure times of the yere, as the Spring, Sommer, Autumne, and winter. Heere the hearbes waxe withered, the trees loose their leaues, and the medowes become hoare : the whiche thinges (as wee haue saide) chaunce not in other places of the llande, where they haue only the Spring and Autumne. The soile of this plaine bringeth forth fearne and bramble bushes, bearing blacke berries, or wilde raspes, which two are tokens of colde regions : Yet is it a faire region, for the colde thereof is not very sharpe, neither doeth it afflict the inhabitants with frost or snowe. They argue the fruitfulnessse of the region by the fearne, whose stalkes or stemmes are bigger then a speare or lauelin. The sides of those mountaynes are riche in golde, yet is there none appointed

appointed to digge for the same, because it shalbe needefull to haue apparelled miners, and such as are vsed to labour: For thinhabitants liuing contented with little, are but tender, and can not therefore away with labour, or abide any colde. There are two riuers which runne through this region, and fall from the toppes of the present mountaines: One of these is named Comoiaxxa, whose course is towarde the West, and falleth into the chanell of Nainba: the other is called Tirecotus, which running towarde the East, ioineth with the riuier of Iunna. In the llande of Creta (now called Candie) as I passed by in my legacie to the Soldane of Alcair or Babilon in Egypt, the Venetians tolde mee, that there lay such a region in the toppes of the mountaines of Ida, whiche they affirme to be more fruitfull of wheate corne then any other region of the llande: But forasmuch as once the Cretences rebelled against the Venetians, and by reason of the streight and narrow way to the toppes thereof, long defended the region with armes against thauthoritie of the Senate, and at the length, being foreweried with warres, rendred the same, the Senate commaunded that it should be left desarte, and the streightes of thentraunces to be stopped, least any should ascend to the region without their permission. Yet in the yere of Christ M. D. ii. licence was graunted to the husbände men to till and manure the region, on such condition, that no such as were apte to the warres might enter into the same. There is also an other region in Hispaniola, named Cotoby, after the same name: this diuideth the boundes of the prouinces of Vbabo and Caiabo. It hath mountaines, vales, and plaines: but because it is barren, it is not much inhabited: Yet is it richest in golde, for the originall of the abundaunce of golde be- ginneth herein, in somuch that it is not geathered in small graines and sparkes, as in other places: but is founde whole, massie, and pure, mong certaine softe stones, and in the vaines of rockes, by breaking the stones whereof, they folowe the vaines of golde. They haue founde by experience, that the vaine of golde is a liuing tree, and that the same by all waies that it spreadeth and springeth from the roote by the softe pores and passages of the earth, putteth forth branches, euen vnto the vppermost parte of the earth, and ceaseth not vntill it discover it selfe vnto the open aire: at which time, it sheweth forth certaine beautifull colours in the steede of floures, rounde stones of golden earth in the steede of fruites: and thinne plates in steede of leaues. These are they which are disparcelled throughout the whole llande by the course of the riuers, eruptions of the springes out of the mountaines, and violent falles of the flooddes: For they thinke that such graines are not engendred where they are geathered, especially on the drie land, but otherwise in the riuers. They say that the roote of the golden tree extendeth to the center of the earth, and there taketh norish- mēt of increase: For the deeper that they dig, they finde the trunkes thereof to be so much the greater, as farre as they may folowe it for abundaunce of water springing in the moun- taines. Of the branches of this tree, they finde some as small as a thread, & other as bigge as a mans finger, according to the largenesse or straightnesse of the riftes and cliftes. They haue sometimes chaunced vpon whole caues, sustained & borne vp as it were with golden pillers, and this in the waies by the which the branches ascende: the which being filled with the substaunce of the trunkes creeping from beneath, the branche maketh it selfe waie by whiche it maie passe out. It is oftentimes diuided by encountering with some kinde of harde stone: Yet is it in other cliftes nourished by the exhalations and vertue of the roote. But nowe perhappes you will aske me what plenty of golde is brought from thence. You shall therefore vnderstand, that onely out of Hispaniola, the summe of foure hundred, and sometimes fife hundred thousande ducates of golde is brought yeerely into Spayne: as may bee gathered by the fyfth portion due to the Kings Exchequer, which amounteth to the summe of a hundred and fourescore, or fourescore & tenne thousande Castellanes of golde, and sometymes more. What is to be thought of the llande of Cuba and Sancti Iohannis (otherwise called Burichena) being both very rich in golde, we will declare further hereaf- ter: to haue sayde thus much of golde, it shall suffice. We will now therefore speake some- what of salt, wherewith wee may season and reserue such thinges as are bought with golde. In a region of the prouince of Bainoa, in the mountaynes of Daiaguo, about twelue myles distant from the salt lake, called Caspius, there are salte bayes in the mountaynes, in a

Thinhabitantes
of Hispaniola
can abide no la-
bour nor colde.

The llande of
Creta or Candie,
vnder the domi-
nion of the Ve-
netians.

Pure and massie
golde in the re-
gion of Cotoby.
The vaine of
golde is a liuing
tree.
These colours of
floures are called
Marchasites.

The roote of the
golden tree.

The branches of
the golden tree.
Caues susteyned
with pillers of
golde.

The stones of
the golde mines.

What golde is
brought, yeerely
from Hispaniola,
into Spayne.

Salt of the
mountaynes
very hard and
cleare.

Salt as hard as
stones.

Springs of salt,
freshe and sower
water.

Hollow caues in
the ground.

Certaine wild
men living in
caues and
dennes.

Men without a
certaine lan-
guage.

Men as swift as
Grehounds.

A wilde man
runneth away
with a childe.

Pitch of the
rocke.

Pitch of two
kinds of trees.
The Pyne tree.
The tree Copeia.

The leafe of a
tree in the stead
of paper.

They beleue
that leaues do
speake.
A pretie story.

maner as harde as stones, also clearer and whiter then crystal. There are likewise such salt bayes, which growe wonderfully in Laletania (nowe called Catalonia) in the territorie of the duke of Cadona, the chiefe ruler in that region: but such as knowe them both, affirme that these of Bainou are most notable. They say also, that this cannot bee cleft without wedges and beetelles of Iron: But that of Laletania may easily bee broken, as I my selfe haue prooued. They therefore compare this to suche stones as may easily be broken, and the other to marble. In the prouince of Caizimu, in the regions of Iguanama, Caiacoa, and Guaragua, there are springs whose waters are of marueylous nature, beeing in the superficiall or vppermost parte freshe, in the midst, myxte of salte and freshe, and in the lowest parte salte and sower. They thinke that the salt water of the sea issueth out softly, and the freshe to spring out of the mountaynes: The one falleth downe, and the other ryseth, and are not therefore so vniuersally myxte, whereby the one may vtterly corrupt the other. If any manne lay his eare to the grounde neere to any of these springs, hee shall perceiue the grounde there to bee so hollow, that the rebounding noyse of a horseman comming, may bee hearde for the space of three myles, and a footeman one myle. In the last region toward the South, named Guacciarima, in the lordship of Zauana, they say there are certayne wild men, which liue in the caues and dennes of the mountaynes, contented only with wyld fruities: These men neuer vse the company of any other, nor will by any meanes become tame. They lyue without any certayne dwelling places, and without tyllage or culturyng of the grounde, as wee reade of them whiche in olde tyme lyued in the golden age. They say also that these men are without any certayne language: They are sometymes seene, but our menne haue yet layde handes on none of them. If at any tyme they come to the sight of men, and perceiue any making towarde them, they flee swifter then a Harte: Yea, they affirme them to bee swifter then Grehounds. What one of these solitarie wanderers dyd, it is worth the hearing. So it is, that our men hauing granges adioyning neere vnto the thicke woods, certayne of them repayred thither in the moneth of September, in the yeere M.D.xliii. in the meane time, one of these wyld men came leaping out of the woode, & approaching somewhat towarde them with amylng countenance, suddenly snatched vppe a childe of theirs, being the sonne of the owner of the grange, which he begot of a woman of the llande: He ranne away with the childe, and made signes to our men to follow him: Many followed, aswell of our men, as of the naked inhabitantes, but all in vayne. Thus when the pleasant wanderer perceiued that the Christians ceased to pursue him, hee left the chyld in a crosse way by the which the swyneheardes were accustomed to dryue the swyne to their pasture. Shortly after, a swynehearde founde the childe, and brought him home to his father, yet tormenting himselfe for sorrowe, supposing that wyld man to haue beene one of the kinde of the Canibales, and that his sonne was nowe deuoured. In the same llande they gather pytch, whiche sweateth out of the rockes, beeing much harder and sower then the pytch of the tree, and is therefore more commodious to calke or defende shyppes agaynst the woormes called Bromas, whereof wee haue spoken largely beefore. This llande also bringeth forth pytch in two kyndes of trees, as in the Pyne tree, and another named Copeia. I neede not speake of the Pyne tree, because it is engendred and knowne in manner euery where. Let vs therefore speake somewhat of the other tree called Copeia. Pitche is likewise gathered of it, as of the Pyne tree, although some say that it is gathered by distilling or dropping of the woode when it is burnt. It is a strange thing to heare of the leafe thereof, and howe necessarie prouision of nature is shewed in the same. It is to bee thought that it is the tree, in the leaues whereof the Chaldeans (beeing the first finders of letters) expressed their mynde beefore the vse of paper was knowne. This leafe is a spanne in breadth, and almost rounde. Our men write in them with pynnes or needles, or any such instrumentes made of metall or wood, in maner as well as on paper. It is to bee laughed at, what our men haue perswaded the people of the llande as touching this leafe. The symple soules beleue, that at the commaundement of our men, leaues doe speake and disclose secretes. They were brought to this credulitie by this meanes. One of our menne dwelling in the cite of Dominica, the chiefe of the llande, deliuered to his seruant (being a man borne

borne in the Ilande) certayne roasted Conies (whiche they call Vtiar, beeing no bygger then myse) willing him to carie the same to his friende, whiche dwelt further within the Ilande. This messenger, whether it were that he was thereto constraigned through hunger, or entysed by appetite, deuoured three of the Conies by the way. Hee to whom they were sent, wrote to his friende in a leafe how many he receiued. When the maister hadde looked a while on the leafe in the presence of the seruant, hee sayde thus vnto him, Ah sonne, where is thy fayth? Could thy greedie appetite preuayle so much with thee, as to cause thee to eate the Conies committed to thy fidelitie? The poore wretche trembling and greatly amased, confessed his fault, and therewith desired his maister to tell him howe he knewe the trueth thereof. This leafe (quoth he) which thou broughtest mee, hath tolde me all. Then he further rehearsed vnto him the houre of his comming to his friende, and lykewise of his departing when hee returned. And thus they merily deceiue these seely-soules, and keepe them vnder obedience: insomuche that they take our men for gods, at whose commaundement leaues do disclose such thinges as they thinke most hid and secrete. Both the sides of the leafe receiue the fourmes of letters, euen as dooth our paper. It is thicker then double parchment, and maruelous tough. While it is yet florishyng and newe, it sheweth the letters white in greene, and when it is drie, it becommeth white and harde, like a table of woode, but the letters waxe yelowe: It dooth not corrupt or putrifie, nor yet looseth the letters though it bee wet, nor by any other meanes, except it bee burnt. There is another tree named Xagua, the iuyce of whose soure apple, being of a darke redde coloure, stayneth and coloureth whatsoeuer is touched therewith, and that so firmly, that no washing can take it away for the space of twentie dayes. When the apple is full ripe, the iuyce looseth that strength. The apple is eaten, and of good tast. There is an hearbe also, whose smoke (as wee haue rehearsed the like beefore of a certayne wood) is deadly poyson. On a tyme when the Kinges assembled together, and conspired the destruction of our men, where as they durst not attempt the interprise by open warre, their deuise was, priuily to lay many bundels of those hearbes in a certayne house, which shortly after they intended to set on fire, to the intent that our men, making hast to quench the same, might take their death with the smoke thereof: But, their purposed practyse being bewrayed, the authours of the deuise were punished accordingly. Nowe (most holy father) forasmuche as your holinesse wryteth, that whatsoeuer we haue written of the newe worlde, doth please you right well, wee will rehearse certaine thinges out of order, but not greatly from our purpose. Of the setting the rootes of Maizium, Ages, Iucca, Battatas, and such other, being their common food, and of the vse of the same, we haue spoken sufficiently before: But by what meanes they were first applied to the comodity of men, we haue not yet declared. Wee nowe therefore entende to entreate somewhat heereof.

Ignorance causeth admiration.

The leafe where-
in they write.

A stronge colour of the
iuyce of an
apple.

An hearbe whose
smoke is poyson.

The ninth Chapter of the thirde Decade.

They say that the first inhabitours liued contented with the rootes of Dates, and Magueans, whiche is an hearbe, much like vnto that whiche is comonly called Sengrene or Orpin: also the rootes of Guaiegans, which are round and great, muche like vnto puffes of the earth or mushrooms. They did likewise eate Guaieros, like vnto Persnips, Cibaos like Nuttes, Cibaioes and Macoanes, like vnto Onions, with diuerse other such rootes. They say that after many yeeres, a certaine Boition, that is, a wise olde man, sawe vppon the bankes syde a bush like vnto fenell, & transplanting the root thereof, brought it from wilderness to a better kinde, by nourishing it in gardens. This was the beginning of Iucca, which at the first was deadly poyson to all such as did eate thereof rawe. But for as much as they perceived it to be of pleasant taste, they determined many wayes to proue the vse thereof, and at the length found by experience, that being sodde, or fryed, it was lesse hurtfull: by whiche meanes also, they came to the knowledge of the venome lying hyd in the iuyce of the roote. Thus by drying, salting, seasoning, and otherwise temperyng it, they brought it to their syne bread, which they cal Cazabbi, more delectable and holosome to the stomacke of man then bread made of wheate, because it is of easier digestion. The same is to be vnderstoode of

The Kindes of
fruites where-
with the inha-
bitantes lyued
first.

Necessitie the
mother of all
artes.

The fyne breed
Cazabbi, made
of the rootes of
Iucca.

Howe Ceres
first founde the
wheate & barley
in Egypt.

The roots of
Ages.

The authors
excuse.

Plinie.

By what names
they salute the
kings childre
when they are
borne.

The names and
tytles of the Ro-
mans kinge-
rours.

other roots, and the grayne of Maizium, whiche they haue chosen for their chiefe meate among the seedes of nature, as we reade howe Ceres the daughter of Saturnus, gathered wheate and barley (with such other corne as are now most in vse among men) in Egypt, of certayne graynes taken out of the mudde dryuen from the mountains of Ethiopia by the increase of the ryuer Nilus, & left in the playne at such time as Nilus resorted agayne to his chanell. For the which fact, we reade that the antiquitie gaue diuine honour to Ceres, who first nourished and increased suche chosen seeds. There are innumerable kindes of Ages, the varietie whereof, is knowne by their leaues and flowers. One kinde of these, is called Guanaguax, this is white both within and without. An other named Guaraguei, is of violet colour without, and white within. The other kindes of Ages, they call Zazaueios, these are redde without and white within. Squietes, are white within, redde without. Tunna, is altogether of violet coloure. Hobas is yelow both of skinned and inner substance. There is another named Atibunieix, the skinned of this is of violet colour, and the substance white. Aniguamar, hath his skinned also of violet coloure, and is white within. Guaccaracca, hath a white skinned, and the substance of violet colour. There are many other which are not yet brought to vs. But I feare me least in the rehearsal of these, I shall prouoke the spurres of malicious persons against me, which wil scorne these our doinges, for that wee haue written of many such small thinges, to a Prince occupied in such weyghtie affayres, as vnto your holinesse, vpon whose shoulders resteth the burden of the whole Christian worlde. But I woulde aske of these malicious enuyers of other mens traualles, whether Plinie and such other famous writers, when they directed and dedicated such thinges to kinges and Princes, entended onely to profit them to whom they consecrated the fruit of their knowledge. They sometymes intermyxt famous thinges with obscure thinges, light with heauie, and great with small, that by the furtherance of Princes, their vniuersall posteritie might enioye the fruition of the knowledge of thinges. At other times also being entent about particular thinges, and desirous of new thinges, they occupied themselues in searching of particular tractes and coastes, with such thinges as nature brought forth in the same, by this meanes to come the better to more absolute and vniuersall knowledge. Let them therefore contemne our doing, and we will laugh to scorne not their ignorance and slouthfulnesse, but pernicious curiosnesse: and therewith hauing pytie of their frowarde dispositions, will committe them to the venomous Serpentes of whome enuie tooke his first originall. It shall in the meane tyme abundantly content vs, that these thynges doe please your holynesse, and that you doe not despyse our simple vestures, wherewith wee haue only weaued together, and not adourned, gathered, and not described, such marueilous thynges, in the garnysing whereof, nature hath sufficiently shewed her cunning. Our desire is none other herein, but for your sake to doe our endeour that these thinges may not peryshe: let euery man take heereof what lyketh him best. Of the sheepe or bullocke solde in the market, nothing remayneth in the euening, beecause the shoullder pleaseth one, the legge another, and the necke another: yea some haue most phantasie to the bowelles, and some to the fecte. Thus hauing enough wandered, lette vs returne to our purpose, and declare with what woords they salute the Kinges children when they are first borne, and how they apply the beginning of their liues to the end, and why their kinges are called by many names. Therefore when the King hath a sonne borne, suche as dwell neere about his pallace or village, repayre to the queenes chamber, where one saluteth the newe borne childe with one name, and another with another name. God saue thee thou shining lampe, sayth one: Another calleth him, bright and cleare. Some name him the victourer of his enemies: and other some, the puissaunt conquerour descended of bloud royall, and brighter then golde: with diuers other suche vayne names. Therefore like as euery of the Romane emperours was called Adiabenicus, Parthicus, Armenicus, Dacicus, Gothicus, and Germanicus, according to the titles of their parents and auncesters: euen so by the imposition of names inuented by other kinges, Bechicus Anacacoa the lord of the region of Xaragua (of whom and of the wise woman Anachaona his sister, we haue spoken largely in the first Decade) was called by all these names following, Tureigua Hobin, which is as much to saye as, a king shining as bright as laton, Starei, that is, bright, Huibo, highnesse,

efe meate
gathered
Egypt, of
by the in-
yne to his
eres, who
of Ages,
is called
s of violet
these are
nna, is al-
e. There
ce white.
acca, hath
re not yet
spurs of
ne written
vnto your
le. But I
and such
d Princes,
ge. They
great with
ne fruition
inges, and
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come the
our doing,
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em to the
eane tyme
u doe not
adournd,
of, nature
ur sake to
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e evening,
yea some
wandered,
s children
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God saue
me name
tended of
Therefore
us, Daci-
rs: euen
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n, which
bo, high-
nesse,

nesse, Duiheynequen, a rich floud. With all these names, and more then fourtie other such, doth king Beuchius magnifie himselfe as often as hee commaundeth any thing to bee done, or causeth any proclamation to be made in his name. If the cryer by negligence leaue out any of these names, the king thinketh it to sounde greatly to his contumely and reproche: The like is also of other. Howe fondly they vse themselves in making their testaments, wee will now declare. They leaue the inheritance of their kingdomes to the eldest sonnes of their eldest sisters. If shee fayle, to the eldest of the seconde syster, and so of the thirde if the seconde also fayle: For they are out of doubt that those children come of their bloude, but the children of their owne wyues, they counte to bee not legitimate. If there remayne none of their sisters children, they leaue the inheritaunce to their brothers: and if they fayle, it descendeth to their owne sonnes. Last of all, if all these fayle, they assigne it to the worthiest, as to him that is of greatest power in all the Ilande, that hee may defende their subiectes from their ancient enemies. They take as many wyues as them lysteth. They suffer the best beloued of the kinges wyues and concubines to be buried with him. Anachaona the sister of Beuchius the king of Xaragua, being a woman of such wisdomedome and cunning, that in making of rymes and ballettes shee was counted a prophetisse among the best, commanded, that among all the wiues and concubines of the King her brother, the fayrest (whose name was Guanahattabenechina) shoulde bee buried aliue with him, and two of her wayting maydes with her: Shee would surely haue appointed diuers other to that office, if shee had not beene otherwise perswaded by the prayers of certayne fryers of saint Fraunces order, which chaunced then to bee present. They say that this Guanahattabenechina had none in all the Ilande comparable to her in beautie. She buried with her all her iewels, and twentie of her best ornaments. Their custome is, to place beside euery of them in their sepultures, a cuppe full of water, & a portion of the fyne bread of Cazabbi. In Xaragua, the region of this king Beuchius, and in Hazua, part of the region of Caiabo, also in the fayre vale of salte and freshe lakes, and lykwise in the region of Yaquino in the prouince of Bainoa, it rayneth but seldome: In all these regions are fosses or trenches made of olde time, whereby they conuey the water in order to water their fieldes, with no lesse art then doe the inhabitours of newe Carthage, and of the kingdome of Murcien in Spartaria for the seldome fall of rayne. The region of Maguena, diuideth the prouince of Bainoa from Baiabo, and Zauana from Guaccaiarima. In the deepe vales, they are troubled with rayne more often then needeth. Also the confines of the chiefe citie, named S. Dominike, are moister then is necessarie. In other places, it raineth moderately. There are therefore in the Iland of Hispaniola, diuers and variable motions of the elementes, as we reade the like of many other regions. Of their colonies or mansions which the Spaniardes haue erected in this Iland, we haue spoken sufficiently before. They haue since that time builded these villages, Portus Platea, Portus Regalis, Lares, Villanota, Aznam, and Salua Terra. Hauing saide thus much of the Iland of Hispaniola, the mother and lady of the other Ilandes, and as it were Tethys the most beautifull wife of Neptunus the God of the sea, let vs now entreate somewhat of her Nimphes and fayre Nereides, which waite vpon her, and adourne her on euery side. We will therefore begin at the nearest, called the newe Arethusa, so named of the fountaine Arethusa in the Iland of Sicilie. This is famous by reason of a spring, but otherwise vnprofitable. Our men named it of late Duas Arbores, because it hath onely two trees growing in it: neere vnto the which is a fountaine that cometh from the Iland of Hispaniola through the secrete passages of the earth vnder the sea, and breaketh forth in this Ilande, as the riuier Alpheus in Achaia runneth vnder the sea from the citie of Elde, and breaketh forth in the Iland of Sicilie in the fountaine Arethusa. That the fountaine of this newe Arethusa, hath his originall from the Ilande of Hispaniola, it is manifest heereby, that the water issuing out of the fountaine bringeth with it the leaues of many trees whiche growe in Hispaniola, and not in this Ilande. They saie that the fountaine hath his originall from the riuier Yamiroa, in the region of Guaccaiarima, confining with the lande of Zauana. This Ilande is not past a mile in circuite, and commodious for fishermen. Directly towards the East (as it were the porter keeping the entrie to Tethys) lieth the Ilande of

Howe they make
their testaments.

So did great
Alexander.

The kinges
wyues & concu-
bines are buried
with him.

They burie their
jewels with
them.
A dreame of
another life after
this.

Where it rayn-
eth but seldome.

Where it rayn-
eth much

Variable mo-
tions of the
Elementes.

The colonies and
villages which
the Spaniardes
haue builded.
The other
Ilandes about
Hispaniola.
The Ilande of
Arethusa.

A spring run-
ning vnder the
sea from His-
paniola to Are-
thusa.

of Sancti Iohannis (otherwise called Burichena) whereof we haue spoken largely before : this aboundeth with gold, and in fruitfull soile is equall with her mother Hispaniola : in this are many colonies or mansions of Spaniards, which apply them selues to geathering of golde. Towards the West on the North side, great Cuba (for the longnesse thereof, long supposed to be continent or firme lande) wardeth our Tethis on the backe halfe. This is much longer then Hispaniola, and from the East to the West is diuided in the middest with the circle called Tropicus Cancri. Hispaniola and the other lying on the South side of this, are included almost in the mydde space betweene the saide Tropike and the Equinoctiall line, which many of the olde writers supposed to be vnhabitable and desart, by reason of the feruent heate of the Sunne in that clime, as they coniectured : but they were deceiued in their opinion. They affirme that richer golde mynes are founde in Cuba, then in Hispaniola. They say also that euen now while I write these thinges, there is golde geathered together ready to the melting, amounting to the quantitie of a hundred and fourescore thousand Castellans of gold, an argument surely of great riches. Iamaica is more towarde the South then these, and is a pleasaunt and fruitful Ilande, of soyle apt for corne, graffes and settes, it consisteth of onely one mountaine : the inhabitantes are warrelike men, and of good wit. Colonus compared it to Sicilie in bignesse. They which of late searched it more exactly, say that it is somewhat lesse, but not much. It is thought to be without golde and precious stones, as the like was supposed of Cuba at the beginning. The Ilande of Guadalupea (first named Caraqueira) lying on the South side of Hispaniola is foure degrees nearer the Equinoctiall. It is eaten and indented with two gulfes (as we reade of great Britanie, now called England, and Calidonia, now called Scotland) being in maner two Ilandes. It hath famous Portes. In this they founde that gumme whiche the Apothecaries call Animæ Album, whose fume is holsome against reumes and heauinesse of the head. The tree whiche engendereth this gumme, beareth a fruite much like vnto a Date, being a spanne in length. When it is opened, it seemeth to containe a certaine sweete meale. As our husbandmen are accustomed to reserue Chestnuts, and such other harde fruites, all the winter, so do they the Dates of this tree, being much like vnto a Figge tree. They founde also in this Ilande, Pine trees, of the best kinde, and such other daintie dishes of nature, whereof we haue spoken largelie before : Yea they thinke that the inhabitauntes of other Ilandes, had their seedes of so many pleasaunt fruites from hence. For the Canibales, being a wilde and wandering people, and ouerrunning all the countreie about them, to hunte for mans fleshe were accustomed to bring home with them whatsoever they founde strange or profitable in anye place : They are intractable, and will admit no straungers. It shall therefore be needefull to overcome them with great power : For as well the women as men, are experte archers, and vse to inuenome their arrowes. When the men go forth of the lande a man hunting, the women manfully defend their coastes against such as attempt to inuade the same. And hereby I suppose it was thought, that there were Ilandes in the Ocean, inhabited onely with women, as Colonus the Admiral him selfe perswaded mee, as I haue saide in the first Decade. This Ilande hath also fruitfull mountaines and plaines, and notable riuers. It nourisheth hony in trees, and in the caues of rockes, as in Palma one of the Ilandes of Canaria, hony is geathered among the briers and bramble bushes. About. xviii. miles Eastward from this Ilande, lieth an Ilande which our men named Desiderata, being. xx. miles in circuite, and verie faire. Also about tenne miles from Guadalupea towarde the South, lieth the Ilande of Galanta, being thirtie miles in circuite, and plaine : It was so named for the neatnesse and beautifulnesse thereof. Nine miles distant from Guadalupea towarde the East there are sixe small Ilandes, named Todos Sanctos, or Barbata : these are full of rockes, & barren, yet necessary to be knowne to such as vse to trauaile the seas of these coastes. Againe, from Guadalupea. xxxv. miles towarde the North, there is an Ilande named Monserratus, containing in circuite fourtie miles, hauing also in it a mountaine of notable height. The Ilande named Antiqua, distante from Guadalupea thirtie miles, is about fourtie miles in circuite. Diegus Colonus the sonne and heire of Christophorus Colonus, tolde me that his wife (whom he left in the Ilande of Hispaniola at his comming into Spaine to the courte) did write vnto him, that of late

The Iland of
Sancti Iohannis

The Ilande of
Cuba.

Habitable re-
gions vnder the
Equinoctiall.

The riche golde
mines of Cuba.

The Iland of
Iamaica.

The Iland of
Guadalupea.

The gum called
Anime album,

Dates.

Pine trees.

The Canibales.

Whereby it was
thought that
there were
Ilandes of
women.
Hony in trees
and rockes.

The Ilande De-
siderata.
The Ilande Ga-
lanta.

The Ilandes of
Todos Sanctos,
or Barbata.
The Ilande
Monserratus.
The Ilande
Antiqua.

ly before :
 aniola : in
 attering of
 ereof, long
 e. This is
 ddest with
 de of this,
 octall line,
 of the fer-
 ed in their
 Hispaniola.
 d together
 usand Cas-
 the South
 and settes,
 f good wit.
 re exactly,
 d precious
 lupea (first
 r the Equi-
 anie, nowe
 s. It hath
 æ Album,
 che engen-
 yth. When
 en are ac-
 o they the
 ande, Pine
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 n, that of
 late

late among the Ilandes of the Canibales, there is one founde which aboundeth with golde. On the left side of Hispaniola toward the South, neere vnto the hauen Beata, there lieth an Ilande named Portus Bellus: they tell marueilous thinges of the monsters of the sea about this Ilande, and especially of the Tortoises, for they say that they are bigger then great rounde targettes. At suche time as the heate of nature moueth them to generation, they come forth of the sea, and making a deepe pit in the sande, they lay three or foure hundred egges therein. When they haue thus emptied their bagges of conception, they put as much of the sande againe into the pit, as may suffice to couer the egges, and so resort againe to the sea, nothing carefull of their succession. At the day appointed of nature to the procreation of these beastes, there creepeth out a multitude of Tortoises, as it were pissemyres swarming out of an ant hill: and these onely by the heate of the Sunne, without any helpe of their parentes. They say that these egges are in maner as bigge as Geese egges. They also compare the fleshe of these Tortoises, to be equall with veale in taste. There are beside these, innumerable Ilandes, the which they haue not yet searched, nor yet is it greatly necessary to sift this meale so finely. It may suffice to vnderstande that there are large landes, and many regions, which shall heereafter receiue our nations, tounes, and maners, and therewith embrace our religion. The Troians did not sodeinly replenish Asia, the Tirians Libia, nor the Greekes and Phenices Spaine. As touching the Ilandes whiche lie on the North side of Hispaniol, I haue let passe to speake: For albeit they are commodious for tillage and fishing, yet are they left of the Spaniardes as poore and of small value. We will nowe therefore take our leaue of this old Tethis, with her moist and watery Nymphes, and receiue to our new acquaintance the beautifull lady of the South sea, richly crowned with great pearles, the Ilande of Dites being riche both in name and in treasure. In my Epistle booke which I sent vnto your holinesse this last yeere, I declared howe Vaschus Nunnez Balboa, the Captaine of them which passed ouer the daungerous mountaines toward the South sea, learned by reporte, that in the prospect of those coastes there lay an Ilande abounding with pearles of the greatest sort, and that the king thereof was riche, and of great power, infesting with warres the other kinges his borderers, and especially Chiapes and Tumacchus: Wee declared further, howe at that time it was left vntouched by reason of the raging tempestes which troubled that South sea three monethes in the yeere. But it is now better knowne to our men, who haue now also brought that fierce king to humanitie, and conuerted him from a cruell Tyger, to one of the meeke sheepe of Christes flocke, sanctified with the water of baptisme, with all his familie and kingdome. It shall not therefore be from our purpose to declare, by the gouernance of what capitaines, or by what meanes these thinges were so happily atchieued.

The tenth Chapter of the thirde Decade.

AT the arryual of Petrus Arias the new gouernour of Dariena, he gaue commandement that one Gaspar Moralis should take in hand the expedition to the Ilande of Dites. Hee therefore tooke his voyage first to Chiapes & Tumacchus kinges of the South, whom Vaschus before had conciled & left friends to the Christians. They friendly & magnifically entertained our men, who prepared the a navy of 5 kings boats to passe ouer into this Iland, which they cal Dites, and not Margarita or Margaritea, although it abound with pearls, which in the Latin tong are called Margaritæ. For they first called another by this name, which lyeth next to the mouth of Os Draconis in the regiõ of Paria, in the which also is found great plenty of pearles. Caspar brought with him only xl. armed men to the Iland, for that he could couey ouer no greater number, by reaso of the smalnes & narrownes of their boates or barks, which they cal Culchas made of one whole peece of timber, as we haue sayd before. The king of the Iland came forth against them fiersly, with cruel and threatning countenance, & with a great band of armed men, crying in maner of a larome, & in token of the battayle, Guazzauara Guazzauara, which is asmuch to say as, battaille against the enemy, & is (as it were) a watch word to giue the onset: wherewith also they threw their darts, for they haue not the vse of bows. They were so obstinate & desperate, that they assailed our men w foure Guazzauaras,

The Ilande
 Portus Bellus.
 Great Tortoyes.
 The generation
 of Tortoyes.

The Egges of
 Tortoises.

Innumerable
 Ilandes.

Troians.
 Tirians.
 Greekes.
 Phenitians.
 The North
 Ilandes.

The Ilandes of
 the South sea.

The Ilande of
 pearles.

Wilde beastes
 must be tamed
 with the rod.

An expedition to
 the Ilande of
 Dites in the
 South sea.

The Ilande of
 Margarita.

Os Draconis.
 Paria.

A conflict.

that

that is, battailes. At the length our men with certaine of Chiapes and Tumacchus men (beeing olde enemies to this king of the Ilande) got the vpper hande, by reason they assailed the king sodenly and vnawares. Yet was hee determined to assemble a greater power, and once againe to attempt the fortune of warre, but that he was otherwise perswaded by the kinges his borderers, which counselled him to giue ouer, and submit himselfe, somtime by the example of themselues & other, threatening the destruction of his flourishing kingdome, and otherwhiles declaring vnto him the humanitie and gentleness of our men, by whose friendship hee might obteyne honour and quietnesse to him and his: willing him furthermore to cōsider, what chaunced vnto them which the yeere before resisted and aduentured the hasarde of the battaile, as did these kings Poncha, Pocchorrosa, Quarequa, Chiapes, and Tumacchus, with such other. By these perswasions, the king submitted himselfe, and came friendly to our men, whom he conducted to his palace, which they say to bee marueilously adourned and prince like. As soone as they entred into the pallace, hee brought soorth a basket of curious workmanship, and full of pearles, which hee gaue them. The summe of these pearles amounted to the weight of a hundred & ten pounds, after. viii. ounces to the pounce: being againe rewarded of our men, with such tryfles as they brought with them of purpose, as garlandes of Christall, and glasse, and other counterfeit stones of diuers colours, with looking glasses also, and laton belles, and especially two or three Iron hatchets (which they more esteeme then great heapes of golde) he thought himselfe abundantly recompenced. They laugh our men to scorne, that they will depart with so great and necessarie a thing for anie summe of golde: affirming an axe or hatchet to be profitable for many vses of men, and that golde serueth onely for wanton pleasures, and not to be greatly necessarie. Being therefore ioyfull and glad of the friendship of our men, he tooke the captaine by the hande, and brought him with certaine of his familiars to the highest towre of his palace, from whence they might prospecte the mayne sea: then casting his eyes about him on euery side, and looking toward the East, hee saide vnto them, Beholde, heere lyeth open before you the infinite sea, extended beyonde the sunne beames: then turning him toward the South and West, he signified vnto them that the lande whiche laie before their eyes, the toppes of whose great mountaines they might see, was exceeding large: then comming somewhat neerer, hee sayde, Beeholde these llandes on the right hande and on the left, which all obey vnto our empyre, and are ryche, happie, and blessed, if you call those llandes blessed whiche abounde with golde and pearle. We haue in this Iland little plentie of golde: but the deepe places of all the seas about these llandes are full of pearles, whereof you shall receyue of mee as many as you will require, so that yee persist in the bonde of friendshippe which you haue begunne. I greatly desire your friendshippe, and woulde gladly haue the fruition of your thinges, whiche I sette muche more by then millions of pearles: You shall therefore haue no cause to doubt of any vnfaithfulnesse or breach of friendshippe on my behalfe. Our menne gaue him lyke friendly wordes, and encouraged him with many fayre promises to doe as he hade sayde. When our menne were nowe in a readinesse to departe, they couenanted with him to pay yeerely to the great king of Castyle a hundred pounce weight of pearles. He gladly agreed to their request, and tooke it for no great thing, nor yet thought himselfe any whit the more to beecome tributarie. With this king they founde such plentie of Harts and Conies, that our men, standing in their houses, might kill as many as them list with their arrowes. They liue heere very pleasauntly, hauing great plentie of all thinges necessarie. This Iland is scarcely sixe degrees distant from the Equinoctiall lyne. They haue the same maner of breade, made of rootes and the grayne of Maizium, and wine made of seedes and fruites, euen as they haue in the region of Comogra, and in other places, aswell in the llandes, as in the firme lande. This king is nowe baptised, with all his familie and subiectes. His desire was, at his baptisme, to bee named Petrus Arias, after the name of the gouernour. When our men departed, hee accompanied them to the sea side, & furnished them with boates to returne to the continēt. Our menne diuided the pearles among them, reseruing the fift portion to be deliuered to the officers of the kinges Exchequer in those partes. They say that these pearles were marueilous precious, faire, orient,

The king of the
Ilande of Dites
submitth him-
selfe.

The kinges
pallace.

A hundredth and
ten pound weight
of pearles.

Axes and hatch-
ets more es-
teemed then
golde.

The kinges
wordes.

Ilandes ryche in
golde and pearles.

C. pounce
weight of pearles
yeerely for a
tribute.
Plentie of
Hartes and
Conies.

Wine of fruites
and seedes.
The king is
baptised.

The fift parte of
pearles due to
the king.

ccchus men
they assailed
power, and
ided by the
somtime by
kingdome,
by whose
m further-
aduentured
hiapes, and
, and came
maruicously
ht forth a
The summe
. ounces to
rought with
es of diuers
on hatchets
abundantly
eat and ne-
rofitable for
o be greatly
ke the cap-
est towre of
eyes about
solde, heere
nen turning
laie before
large: then
nde and on
if you call
land little
l of pearles,
ersist in the
shippe, and
hen millions
or breach of
encouraged
e nowe in a
t of Castyle
ooke it for
arie. With
their houses,
ntly, hauing
nt from the
e grayne of
of Comogra,
we baptised,
med Petrus
anied them
ne diuided
f the kinges
cious, faire,
orient,

orient, & exceeding big: insomuch that they brought many with them bigger then hasell nuttes. Of what pryse, & value they might bee, I consider by one pearle the whiche Paulus, predecessour to your holines, bought at the secōd hand of a marchant of Venice for foure & fourtie thousand ducates. Yet amōg those which were brought from this Iland, there was one bought euen in Dariena, for a thousand & two hundred Castellās of gold this was almost as big as a meane walnut, & came at the length to the handes of Petrus Arias the gouernour, who gaue it to that noble and faithfull woman his wife, of whose manner of departure with her husband, we haue made mention before. We must then needes thinke that this was very precious, whiche was bought so deare among such a multitude of pearles, where they were not bought by one at once, but by poundes, and at the least by ounce. It is also to bee thought that the Venetian marchant bought his for no great summe of money in the East parts: But he solde it the dearer, for that he chaunced to liue in those lasciuious and wanton dayes, when men were giuen to such nice and superfluous pleasures, and met with a marchant for his purpose. But let vs nowe speake somewhat of the shellfishes, in the which pearles are engendred. It is not vnkowne to your holynesse, that Aristotle, and Plinie his follower, were of diuers opinions as concerning the generation of pearles. But these Indians, and our men, rest onely in one assertion, not assenting to them in any other: as, eyther that they wander in the sea, or that they mooue at any tyme after they are borne. They will therefore that there be certayne greene places, as it were meddowes, in the bottome of the sea, bringing forth an hearbe much like vnto Tyme, and affirme that they haue seene the same, and that they are engendred, nourished, and growe therein, as we see the increase, and succession of Oysters to grow about themselves. Also that these fishes delight not in the conuersation or companie of the sea dogges, nor yet to bee contented with onely one, two, or three, or at the most foure pearles, affirming that in the fyshing places of the King of this Ilande, there was founde a hundred pearles in one fyshe, the whiche Gaspar Moralis the Captaine himselfe, and his companions, diligently numbered: For it pleased the King at their beeing there, and in their presence, to commaunde his dyuers to goe a fyshing for those kinde of fyshes. They compare the matrices of these fyshes, to the places of conception in Hennes, in the whiche their egges are engendred in great multitudes and clusters, and beleue that these fyshes bring forth their birth in like manner. For the better prooffe whereof, they say that they founde certayne pearles comming soorth of their matrices, as beeing nowe come to the tyme of their full ripenesse, and mooued by nature to come out of their mothers wombe, openyng it selfe in time conuenient: lykewise, that within a while after, they sawe other succede in like manner. So that to conclude, they sawe some coming forth, and othersome yet abiding the tyme of their perfection: which being complete, they also became loose, and opened the matrice. They perceyued the pearles to bee inclosed in the myddest of their bellies, there to bee nourished and increase, as an infant sucking his mothers pappes within her wombe, beefore hee mooue to come soorth of her priuie places. And if it chaunce any of these shellfishes to bee founde scattered in the sande of the sea (as I my selfe haue seene Oysters disparced on the shores in dyuers places of the Ocean) they affirme that they haue beene violently driuen thither from the bottom of the sea by force of tempestes, & not to haue wandered thither of themselves: But, that they become white by the cleannesse of the morning dewe, or waxe yelow in troubled weather, or otherwise that they seeme to reioyce in fayre weather and cleare ayre, or contrarywise, to be as it were astonysed and dymme in thunder and tempestes, with such other: the perfect knowledge hereof, is not to be looked for at the handes of these vnlearned men, which handle the matter but grossely, and enquire no further then occasion serueth. Yet do they affirme by the experience and industrie of the dyuers, that the greatest pearles lie in the deepest places, they of the meane sort hygher, and the least highest of all, and neerer to the brimme of the water: And say therefore, that the greatest doe not wander, but that they are created, nourished, and increase in the deepest places of the sea, whether fewe dyuers (and that but seldome) dare aduenture to dyue so deepe to gather them, aswell for feare of the sea crabbes, which wander among these pearle fyshes to feede of them, and for feare of

Big pearles.
A pearle for a
pope.

An other pearle
of great price.

Nice and super-
sticious
pleasures.
Diuers opinions
of the generation
of pearles.

Herbes in the
bottome of the
sea.

A hundred
pearles in one
shell fyshe.

The matrice of
the pearle fyshe.

The birth of
pearles.

Where the
biggest meane &
least pearles are
engendred.

Sea crabbes.
other

The sea muscles
wherein pearles
are engendred.

other monsters of the sea, as also least their breath should fayle them in too lōg remayning in the water: And this they say to be the cause why the oldest (& therefore biggest) sea muscles inhabite the deepest places, from whence they are not lightly moued by tēpesta. Furthermore, how much the bigger & older these fishes are, they say that in their larger matrices, the greater number & bigger pearles are found, and that for this cause there are fewer found of the biggest sort. They thinke also, that when they first fal from their fishes in the deepe places, they are deuoured of other fishes, because they are not yet heard. Againe, the smallest differ from the biggest in a certaine swelling or impostumation, which the Spanyards call a tympany: For they denie that to be a pearle which in olde muscles cleaueth fast to the shell, but that it is a wart, which being rased from the shell with a fyle, is round & bright but only of one side, and not precious, being rather of the nature of the fish it selfe, then of a pearle. They confesse that they haue seene certaine of these muscles cleauing on rockes, yet these but fewe, and nothing woorth. It is also to bee thought, that the pearle fishes or sea muscles whiche are founde in India, Arabia, the redde sea, or Taprohana, are ruled in such order as the aforementioned famous authours haue written: For their opinion herein is not vtterly to be reiected, forasmuche as they were learned men, and trauallyed long in the searching of these thinges. But wee haue nowe spoken sufficiently of these sea fyshes, and of their egges, which the fond nicenesse and wantonnesse of menne haue made dearer then the egges of hennes or geese. Let vs therefore intreate somewhat of other particular thinges, which are come to our knowledge of late. Wee haue elsewhere largely described the mouthes of the gulfes of Vraba, with sundry and variable regions diuided with the manifolde gulfes of that sea: But as concerning the West coastes, in the which our men haue builded houses, and planted their habitations on the bankes of Dariena, I haue no newe matter to write. Yet as touching the East partes of the gulfes, I haue learned

The regions of
the East side of
the gulfes of
Vraba.

The region of
Caribana.

The originall of
the Canibales.

The villages of
Caribana.

Manhunters.

Bookes:
Looke in the
beginning of the
booke of the
lands lately
founde.

as followeth. They say that the vniuersall lande of the East region of the gulfes, from the corner thereof farre reaching into the sea, and from the extreame or vttermost mouth of the same, receiuing the waters of the sea whiche fall into it, euen vnto Os Draconis and Paria, is by one generall name called Caribana, of the Caribes or Canibales whiche are founde in euery region in this tracte: But from whence they hadde their particular originall, and howe, leauing their natyue soyle, they haue spreade their generation so farre, lyke a pestiferous contagion, wee will nowe declare. Therefore from the firste front reaching forth into the sea (in whose tracte we sayd that Fogeda fastened his foote) towarde the corner, about nine myles distant, there lyeth a village of Caribana, named Futcraca: three myles distaunt from this, is the village of Vraba, of the whiche it is thought that the whole gulfes tooke his name, beecause this village was once the heade of the kingdome. About sixe myles from this, is Feti: Nine myles from Feti, is Zerema: And about twelue myles from this, Sorache. Our men founde all these villages full of people, all the which giue themselues onely to man hunting: Insomuche that if they lacke enemies agaynst whome they may keepe warre, they exercise crueltie agaynst themselues, and eyther slay the one the other, or els dryue the vanquished to flight. Whereby it is apparant, that by these their continuall warres, and dryuing the one the other out of their countreys, this infection hath gone so farre, not onely on the firme lande, but also into the llandes. I was also aduertised of another thing, the whiche to my iudgement seemeth woorthie to bee put in memorie. One Coruales, a iudge in causes of lawe among the Spanyardes of Dariena, sayth that on a tyme walking abroad with his booke in his hande, hee met by the way with a fugityue, which hadde fledde from the great landes lying farre towarde the West, and remayned here with a King with whome hee was entertayned. When this man perceiued the lawyer looking on his booke, marueyling thereat, hee came running vnto him, and by interpretours of the king whom hee serued, spake thus vnto him. Haue you also bookes, wherein you may reserue thinges in perpetuall memorie; and letters, whereby you may declare your mynde to suche as are absent? And herewith desired that the booke might bee opened vnto him, supposing that he shoulde therein haue founde the letters of his owne countrey: But when hee sawe them vnlyke, he sayde further, that in his countrey there were cities fortified with walles, and gouerned by lawes, and that the

the people also vsed apparell: but of what religion they were, I did not learne. Yet hadde our menne knowledge both by the woordes and signes of this fugitiue, that they were circumsised. What nowe thinke you hereby (most holy father) Or what doe you diuine may come hereof, when time shall subdue all these vnder your throne? Let vs nowe entermingle certaine small thinges among these great matters. I haue not thought good to pretermitt that which chaunced to Iohannes Solisius, who to searche the South side of the supposed continent, departed with three shippes from the port oppa (not farre distant from the Ilandes of Gades or Cales in the Ocean) the fourth day of the Ides of September, in the yeere M. D. xv. or what successe Iohannes Pontius hadde, whom the newe gouernour Petrus Arias appoynted to vanquish and destroy the Caribes or Canibales, deuourers of mans fleshe: also to what ende the voiaiges of the other captaynes came, which were sent foorth diuers waies at the same tyme, as Gonzalus Badaicius, Franciscus Bezarra, and Valleijs, Iohannes Solisius tooke the matter in hande in an euill houre. He sayled beyonde the poynnt of saint Augustine (whiche they cal Cabo. S. Augustini) toward the South side of the supposed continent beyond the Equinoctial line. For (as we haue said before) that point reacheth Southwarde to the seuenth degree of the South pole, called the pole Antartike. He proceeded in that voiage sixe hundred leagues, and found the land from the point to extende so farre towarde the South beyond the Equinoctiall, that he came to the thirtieth degree of the South pole. As he sayled thus forwarde, hauing nowe on his backe halfe the starres named Caput Draconis, (that is, the Dragons head) and the regions of Paria lying northwarde from him, & prospecting toward the pole Artyke, he chaunced to fall into the hands of the filthy Canibales: For these craftie foxes seemed to make signes of peace, when in their mindes they conceiued a hope of a daintie banquet, & espying their enemies a farre of, began to swallow their spettle, as their mouth watered for greedines of their pray. As vnhappy Solisius descended, with as many of his company as coulde enter into the boate of the byggest shyppe, sodenly a great multitude of the inhabitantes brust forth vpon them, and slue them euery man with clubbes, euen in the sight of their fellows. They caried away the boate, and in a moment broke it all to fytters, not one escaping. Their furie not thus satisfied they cut the slayne men in peeces, euen vpon the shore, where their fellows might behold this horrible spectacle from the sea. But they being stricken with feare through this example, durst not come foorth of their shippes, or deuise howe to reuenge the death of their Captayne and companions. They departed therefore from these vnfortunate coastes, and by the way lading their shyppe with Brasell, returned home agayne with losse, and heauie cheare. Of these thynges I was aduertised of late, by their owne letters. What they haue els doone, I shall haue more particular knowledge hereafter. Iohannes Pontius was also repulsed by the Canibales in the Ilande of Guadalupea, being one of the chiefe Ilandes of their habitation. For when they sawe our men a farre of on the sea, they lay in ambushe, sodenly to inuade them when they shoulde come a lande. Our men sent foorth a fewe foote men, and with them their Laundresses to washe their shirtes and sheetes: For from the Ilande of Ferrea, beeing one of the Ilandes of Canarie (euen vnto this Ilande, for the space of foure thousand & two hundred myles) they had seene no lande, where they might finde any fresh water, forasmuche as in all this large space the Ocean is without Ilandes. At their comming therefore to lande, the Canibales assailed them, caryed away the women, and putte the menne to suche distresse, that fewe of them escaped. By reason whereof, Pontius being greatly discomfited, durst not inuade the Canibales, fearing their venomd arrowes, which these naked manhunters can direct most certainly. Thus good Pontius sayling of his purpose, was fayne to giue ouer the Canibales, whome (being safe & vnder the house rooffe) he threatned to vanquish & destroy. Whither he went from thence, or what new thinges hee founde, I haue as yet no further knowledge. By these mysfortunes, Solisius lost his lyfe, and Pontius his honour. Let vs nowe speake of another, whose enterpryse came to lyke purpose the same yeere. Iohannes Aiora, borne in the citie of Corduba, a man of noble parentage, sent in steade of the Lieutenaunt (as we haue saide) more couetous of gold, then carefull of his charge, or desirous of prayse for well seruing, sought

Circumsised people.

What chaunced to the Captaynes whiche the gouernour sent dyuers waies. Lookke decade iii. liber. vi.

The voiage of Iohannes Solisius. Cab S. Augustini.

Iohn Solisius is slaine of the Canibales.

The fiercenes of the Canibales

Brasyle.

Iohannes Pontius is repulsed by the Canibales.

The voiage of Iohannes Aiora. Lookke Deca. iii. liber. vi.

The lewd behauiour of John Aiora.

occasions of quarrelling agaynst the kinges, and spoyled many, violently extortyng gold of them against right & equitie: and further, handled them so extremely, that of friendes they became most cruell enemies, insomuche that they ceased not with desperate myndes, by all meanes they could, to slay our men openly or priuily. By reaso whereof it is come to passe, that where beefore they bartered quietly, exchanging ware for ware, they are nowe fayne to doe all thynges by force of armes. When hee had thus exacted a great quantitie of golde of them (as it is sayde) hee fled priuily and tooke away a shippe with him by stealth, as the common rumour goeth, nor yet hitherto haue we heard whither he went, or where hee arriued. Some suspect that Petrus Arias the gouernour shoulde consent to his departure, because this Iohannes Aiora, is brother to Gonsalus Aiora, the kinges hystoriographer, a man both learned, and expert in the discipline of warre, and so much the gouernours friend, that these two among a fewe, may be counted examples of rare amitie. I my selfe also am greatly bounde vnto them both, and haue long enioyed their friendship yet shall I desire them both to pardon me in declaring my phantasie heerein; that in all turmoyles and tragicall affayres of the Ocean, nothing hath so muche displeased me, as the couetousnesse of this man, who hath so disturbed the pacified minds of the Kinges. Nowe among these troublous chaunces, let vs rehearse the variable fortune of Gonsalus Badaocius, and his felowes, whose prosperous beginninges, ended with vnfortunate successe. Gonsalus therefore in the moneth of May, in the yeere of Christ 1515, departed from Dariena with fourescore armed men directing his voyage towarde the South, and resting in no place vntill he came to the region of Cerabaro, which our men named Gratia Dei, distant from Dariena about a hundred and fourescore myles: for they call it threescore leagues. He spent certaine daies heere in idlenesse: for he coulde neither by fayre meanes, nor by foule, allure the king of the region to come to him. While he lay thus idly, there came to him other fyftie men, sent from Dariena vnder the gouernance of captayne Lodouicus Mercado, who departed from Dariena in the Calendes of May, to the intent to searche the inner partes of those regions. When they mette together, they determined, after consultation to passe ouer the mountaynes lying toward the South, euen vnto the South sea lately founde. Beholde nowe a wonderfull thing, that in a lande of suche marueilous longitude in other places, they founde it heere to bee onely about fyftie myles, distaunt to the South sea: for they count it xvii. leagues, as the manner of the Spaniardes is to reckon, and not by myles: Yet say they that a league consisteth of three myles by lande, and foure by sea, as wee haue noted before. In the toppes of the mountaynes and turning of the waters, they founde a king named Iuana, whose kingdome is also named Coiba, as is the region of king Careta, of whom we haue made mention elswhere. But for as much as the region of this Iuana, is rycher in golde: they named it Coiba Dites, that is, Coiba the rich: For wheresoeuer they dygged the grounde, whether it were on the drie lande, or in the wet chanelles of the ryuers, they founde the sande, whiche they cast forth, myxt with golde. Iuana fledde at the comming of our men, and could neuer be brought agayne. They spoyled all the countrey neare about his palace: yet had they but litle golde, for he had caryed all his stuffe with him. Here they founde certayne slaues, marked in the faces after a straunge sorte: For with a sharpe pricke made eyther of bone, or els with a thorne, they make holes in their faces, and forthwith sprinkling a powder thereon, they moiste the pounced place with a certaine blacke or ready iuyce whose substaunce is of such tenacitie and clamminesse, that it will neuer weare away: They brought these slaues away with them. They say that this iuyce is of suche sharpenesse, and putteth them to suche payne, that for extreme doloure they haue no stomacke to their meate certaine dayes after. The kinges which take these slaues in their warres, vse their helpe in seeking for golde, and in tyllage of the grounde, euen as doe our men. From the pallace of Iuana, following the course of the water about tenne myles towarde the South, they entred into the dominion of another king, whom our menne named the olde man, because hee was olde, not passing of his other name. In the region of this king also, they founde golde in all places, both on the lande, and in the ryuers. This region is very fayre, and fruitfull, and hath in it many famous ryuers. Departyng from hence, in fyue dayes

The variable fortune of Gonsalus Badaocius.

Cerabaro. Decade iii. li. liii.

The South sea.

A league containeth foure myles by sea and but three by lande.

The golden region Coiba Dites. Sande myxt with golde.

Howe their slaues are marked in the face.

Golde.

daves iourney they came to a lande lefte desolate: They suppose that this was destroyed by
 ciuile discorde, forasmuche as it is for the most parte fruitfull, and yet not inhabited. The
 fyfth day, they sawe two men comming a farre off: these were laden with breade of Maiz-
 ium, whiche they caryed on their shoulders in sackes. Our men tooke them, and vnder-
 stode by them that there were two kinges in that tracte, the one was named Periquete, who
 dwelt neere vnto the sea, the others name was Totonoga. This Totonoga was blinde, and
 dwelt in the continent. The two men whiche they mette, were the fishers of Totonoga,
 whom hee hadde sent with certayne fardelles of fyshe to Periquete, and had againe receiued
 bread of him for exchange: For thus doe they communicate their commodities one with
 another by exchange, without the vse of wicked money. By the conducting of these two
 menne, they came to king Totonoga, dwelling on the West side of saint Michaels gulfe, in the
 South sea. They hadde of this king the summe of sixe thousande Castellans of golde, both rude,
 and artificially wrought. Among those grumes of rude or natyue golde, there was one
 founde of the weight of two Castellans, whiche argued the plentifull rychnesse of the
 grounde. Following the same coast by the sea syde towarde the West, they came to a king,
 whose name was Taracuru, of whom they had golde, amounting to the weight of eyght
 thousande Pesos. Wee haue sayde before that Pesos is the weight of a Castelane, not coyned.
 From hence they went to the dominion of this kinges brother, named Pananome, who fledde
 at their comming, and appeared no more afterwarde. They say that his kingdome is ryche in
 golde. They spoyled his pallace in his absence. Sixe leagues from hence, they came to
 another king, named Tabor. From hence they came to the king of Cheru. He friendly en-
 tertained our men, and gaue them foure thousand Pesos of golde. He hath in his dominion
 many goodly salt bayes: the region also aboundeth with golde. About twelue myles from
 hence, they came to another king called Anata, of whō they had xv. thousande Pesos of
 golde, whiche he had gotten of the kings his borderers, whom he had vanquished by warre.
 A great part of this gold was in rude fourme, because it was molten when hee set the kinges
 houses on fire whome he spoyled. For they robbe and slay the one the other, sacking &
 firing their villages, and wasting their countreies. They keepe warre barbarously, and to
 vitter destruction, executing extreame crueltie against them that haue the ouerthrowe. Gon-
 salus Badaicius, with his felowes, wandred at libertie, vntill they came to this king, and had
 geathered great heapes of golde of other kinges. For what in bracettes, collers, earringes,
 brest plates, helmettes, and certayne barres wherewith women beare vp their brestes, they
 had geathered together in gold the summe of fourscore thousand Castellans, which they had
 obtained partly by exchang for our thinges where they founde the kinges their friendes, &
 otherwise by forcible meanes where they found the contrary. They had gotten also fourtie
 slaues, whose helpe they vsed both for cariage of their victualles and baggages, in the steede
 of Moiles or other beastes of burden, & also to relieue such as were sicke and forweared by
 reason of their long iourneies and hunger. After these prosperous voiajes, they came by the
 dominion of king Scoria, to the palace of a king named Pariza, where (fearing no suche
 thing) Pariza enclosed them with a great armie, and assailed them straggeling and vnwares,
 in such sort that they had no leasure to put on their armour. He slue and wounded about
 fiftie, and put the residue to flight. They made such hast, that they had no respect either to
 the golde they had gathered, or to their slaues, but left all behinde them. Those fewe that
 escaped, came to Dariena. The opinion of all wise men, as concerning the variable & in-
 constant chaunces of fortune in humane thinges were false, if all thinges shoulde haue hap-
 pened vnto them prosperously. For such is the nature of this blinde goddess, that she
 oftentimes delighteth in the ouerthrowe of them whom she hath exalted, and taketh pleasure
 in confounding high thinges with lowe, and the contrary. Wee see this order to be impermu-
 table, that who so wil apply him selfe to geather rootes, shal somtimes meet with sweete
 Liquerresse, and other whiles with sowre Cockle. Yet woe vnto Pariza: for he shall not long
 sleepe in rest. The gouernour him selfe was of late determined with three hundred & fiftie
 choise souldiers to reuenge the death of ourmen: but where as he by chaunce fell sicke, his power
 went forward vnder the conducting of his Lieuetenaunt Gaspar Spinosa, a Iudge in cases of lawe
 in

A fruitfull re-
 gion left deso-
 late by ciuile
 discorde.

Sixe thousand
 Castellans
 of golde.

King Tara-
 curu.

Foure thou-
 sand Pesos of
 golde.
 Salte.

Their maner
 of warre.

Gonsalus Ba-
 daicius hath
 the ouerthrow
 and is spoiled
 of great riches
 of gold.

The inconstan-
 cie of fortune.

The expedition
of Fraunces
Bezerra against
the Canibales.

Gunnes.

Valleius repul-
ed of his ene-
mies.

The llandes of
the South sea.

In this sea lie
the llandes of
Mollucca,
most fruitfull
of spices.

Collacutæ.
Cochinus and
Camemorus,
from whence
the Portingals
haue their spy-
ces.

He meaneth
by the streight
of Magellanus.

How they take
Hartes and
wilde Bores.

Stocke doues.

Their maner
of fouling.

Popingayes
are easily taken.

A straunge
kinde of fouling.

in Dariena. At the same time other were sent forth to the lland of Dites, to exact the portion of pearles limited to the King for his tribute. What shall succede, time will bring to our knowledge. The other two attempted thinhabitautes beyonde the gulfe. Franciscus Bezerra, passing ouer the corner of the gulfe, and the mouthes of the riuier of Dabaiba, with two other captaines, and a hundred and fiftie souldiers well appoynted, went to make warre vpon the Cabniales, euen in Caribana their owne chiefest dominion, towards the village of Turufy, whereof wee haue made mention beefore in the comming of Fogeda. They brought also with them diuers engins of warre, as three peeces of ordinaunce, whose shot were bygger then egges: likewise fourtie archers, and xxv. hagbutters, to the entent to reach the Canibales a farre off, & to preuent their venomd arrowes: But what became of him & his companie, or where they arriued, wee haue yet no perfect knowledge. Certaine which came of late from Dariena to Spaine reported, that at their departure they of Dariena stoode in great feare least they also were tossed with some misfortune. The other captaine Valleius obtayned the fore part of the gulfe, but hee passed ouer by an other way then did Bezerra, for he tooke the beginning of Caribana, & Bezerra the end: Valleius returned againe. But of the threescore and ten men which he conueighed ouer with him, hee left fourtie and eight slaine among the Canibales. These are the newes which they bring that came last from Dariena. This came to mee the day beefore the Ides of October in this yeere 1516. Rodericus Colmenares (of whom we haue made mention beefore) & one Franciscus Delapuente. This Franciscus was one of the vnder captaines of this band, whose cheife captaine was Gonsalus Badaicius, who hardly escaped the handes of King Pariza. These two captaines therfore, Rodericus & Franciscus, who departed from Dariena immediately after the misfortune which befel to Badaicius & his companie doe both affirme, the one, that he hath heard, & the other that he hath seene, that in the South sea there are diuers llandes lying westward from the lland of Dites, and Saint Michaels gulfe, in many of the which are trees engendred and nourished, which bring forth the same aromaticall fruites as doth the region of Collacutæ. This lande of Collacutæ, with the regions of Cochinus and Camemorus, are the chiefe marte places from whence the Portugales haue their spices: And hereby doe they coniecture, that the land where the fruitfulness of spice beginneth, should not be farre frō thence, insomuch, that many of them which haue ouerrunne those coastes, do only desire that leaue may be graunted them to search further, and that they will of their owne charges frame and furnish shippes, and aduenture the voyage to seeke those llandes and regions. They thinke it best that these shippes should be made and prepared, euen in saint Michaels gulfe, and not to attempt this voyage by saint Augustines point, which way were both long and difficult, and full of a thousand daungers, and is saide to reach beyonde the fourtieth degree of the pole Antartike. The same Franciscus, being partener of the traualles and daungers of Gonsalus, saith, that in ouerrunning those landes, he founde great heardes of Hartes and wyld Bores, and that he tooke many of them by an art which thinhabitantes taught him: which was, to make pittes or trenches in their walkes, and to couer the same with boughes; By this meanes also they deceyue all other kindes of wilde & foure footed beastes. But they take foules after the same maner that we do: As stocke doues, & an other tame stocke doue brought vp in their houses. These they tie by a string and suffer them to flie a little among the trees: to the which as other birdes of that kinde resort, they kill them with their arrowes. Otherwise they take them with nettes, in a bare place purged from bryers & bushes, & scattering certayne seedes round about the place, in the midst wherof they tie a tame foule or bird, of the kinde of them which they desire to take: In like maner doe they take Popingayes & other foules. But they say that Popingayes are so simple, that a great multitude of them will flie euen into the tree in whose boughes the fouler sitteth, and swarme about the tame chattering Popingay, sufferyng themselves to bee easily taken: For they are so without feare of the sight of the fouler, that they tary while he cast the snare about their neckes, the other beyng nothing feared hereby, though they see him drawe them to him with the snare, and put them in the bagge which hee hath about him for the same purpose. There is another kinde of fouling, heretofore neuer heard of, and pleasant to consider. Wee haue declared beefore

before howe that in certayne of the Ilandes, and especially in Hispaniola, there are diuers lakes or standing pooles: In some of these (being no deeper then men may wade ouer them) are seene great multitudes of water foules: as well for that in the bottome of these lakes there growe many hearbes and weedes, as also that by reason of the heate of the Sunne, pearsing to the naturall place of generation and conception, where being double in force by reflection, & preserued by moysture there, are engendred of the sliminesse of the earth and water, and by the prouidence of the vniuersall creator, innumerable little fishes, with a thousand sundry kindes of frogges, wormes, gnattes, flies, and such other. The foules which vse these lakes, are of diuers kyndes: as Duckes, Geese, Swannes, sea Mewes, Gullies, and such other. Wee haue sayde also, that in their Orchards they noryshe a tree which beareth a kinde of great Gourdes. Of these Gourdes therefore, well stopped least any water should enter in at their rifes, and cause them to sinke, they cast many in the shalowe pooles, where, by their continuall wandering and waueryng with the motions of the wynde and water, they put the foules out of suspicion & feare: the fouler in the meane time, disguising himselfe as it were with a visour, putteth a great gourde on his head, much like to a helmet, with two holes neere about his eyes, his face and whole head beside being couered therewith: and thus entereth hee into the poole euen vnto the chynne. For being from their infancie exercised in swimmyng, and accustomed to the waters, they refuse not to continue therein along space: the fouls thinking this Gourde to bee one of the other that swymme vpon the water, the fouler goeth softly to the place where hee seeth the greatest flocke of foules, and with waggyng his head, counterfeiting the mouing of the wauering Gourdes draweth neere to the foules, where softly putting forth his right hande, hee sodainly snatcheth one by the legges, and plungeth her into the water, where hee putteth her into a bagge which hee hath with him of purpose: The other foules supposing that this dyed into the water of her owne motion to seeke for foode (as is their maner) are nothing moued heereby, but go forward on their way before, vntill they also fall into the same snare. I haue heere for this cause entred into the declaration of theyr manner of huntyng and fouling, that by these more pleasaunt narrations, I may somewhat mitigate and asswage the horroure conceyued in your stomake by the former rehearsall of their bloody actes and cruell manner. Let vs now therefore speake somewhat againe of the newe and later opinions, as concerning the swyft course of the sea towards the West about the coastes of Paria, also of the manner of gathering of golde in the golde myne of Dariena, as I was aduertised of late: and with these two quiet and peaceable thinges, we will make an ende of the tragicall affayres of the Ocean, and therewith byd your holynesse farewell. So it is therefore, that Andreas Moralis the pilot and Ouiedus (of whome wee haue made mention before) repayed to mee, at my house in the towne of Matrite. As wee met thus together, there arose a contention betwene them two, as concerning this course of the Ocean. They both agree, that these landes and regions perteyning to the dominion of Castile, doe with one cōtinuall tract & perpetual bond, embrace as on whole firme land or continent, all the mayne land lying on the North side of Cuba, & the other Ilands, being also Northwest both frō Cuba & Hispaniola: Yet as touching the course of the water, they vary in opinion. For Andreas will that this violent course of water be receiued in the lappe of the supposed continent, which bendeth so much, and extendeth so farre toward the North, as wee haue sayde: and that by the obiect or resistance of the lande, so bending and crooking, the water shoulde as it were rebounde in compasse, and by force thereof bee driuen about the North side of Cuba, and the other Ilands, excluded without the circle called Tropicus Cancrī, where the largenes of the sea may receiue the waters falling frō the narrow streames, & therby represseth that inordinate course, by reason that the sea is there very large and great. I can compare his meanyng to nothing more aptely, then to the swift streame comyng forth of a myll, and falling into the myll poole: For in all such places where waters runne with a violent fall through narrowe channells, and are then receyued in large pooles, they are sodainly disparcelled, and their violence broken: So that where as before they seemed of suche force as to ouerthrowe all thinges beeing in their way, it cannot there be perceiued which way they runn. The Admirall himselfe Diegus Colonius, sonne and heyre to Christo-

Fishes and
wormes engendred
of slime.
Foules.

Gourdes of
the tree.

Later opinions
of the swyft
course of the
Ocean toward
the West.

The continent
or firme land.

The voyages
of Diegus
Colonius.

The voyage
from the new
land to Spaine.

The contrary
course of waters.

The point of
the pole starre.

The golde
mynes of Da-
riena, and the
manner of gea-
thering golde.

Our inclosers
wold leaue no
such commons.

Auri sacra
Famés.

The dropie of
couetousnesse.

phorus Colonus, the first finder of these landes (who had nowe in coming and going, foure times passed through these seas) being demaunded of me what he founde or perceiued in sayling too and fro: answered that there was muche difficultie in returning the same way by the which they goe. But whereas they fyrst take the way by the mayne sea towarde the North, before they directe their course to Spayne, hee sayth that in that tract hee felt the shyppe sometymes a little dryuen backe by the contrary course of the water: Yet supposed that this chaunceth onely by the ordinary flowing and reflowing of the sea, and the same not to be enforced by the circumflection or course of the water, rebounding in compasse as wee haue sayde. But thinketh rather, that this mayne land or supposed Continent, should somewhere bee open, and that the sayde open place, should bee as it were a gate entrie, or streyght, diuiding the North partes of that lande from the South, by the which also the Ocean runnyng towarde the West, may by the rotation or impulsion of the heauens, bee dryuen about the whole earth. Ouiedus agreeth with Andreas Moralis as touching the continuall adherence and closenesse of the sayde continent: Yet neither that the waters should so beate against the bending backe of the West lande, or bee in such sort repulsed and dryuen into the mayne sea: But sayth, that he hath diligently considered, that the waters runne from the deepest & myddest of the maine sea towarde the West: Also, that sayling neere vnto the shore with small vessels hee founde the same waters to returne againe towarde the East, so that in the same place they runne together with contrary course, as we oftentimes see the like to chaunce in ryuers, where, by the object of the bankes diuers whirle pooles and turnings arise in the water. By reason whereof, if any chaffe, strawe, wood, or any other thing of light substance be cast in any such places in ryuers, it followeth, that all such as runne with the water in the middest of the chanell, proceede well forwarde, but such as fall into the bending gulfes and indented margences of the crooked bandes, are caryed ouerthwart the chanell, and so wander about vntill they meete with the full and directe course of the ryuer. Thus haue wee made you partner of suche thinges as they haue giuen vs, and written their dyuers opinions: Wee will then giue more certayne reason, when more certayne trueth shall be knowne. We must in the meane time leane to opinions, vntill the day come appointed of God to reueale this secreete of nature, with the perfect knowledge of the pointe of the pole starre. Hauing sayde thus muche of the course of the Ocean, a brieue declaration of the gold mynes of Dariena, shall close vp our Decades, and make an ende of our trauailes. Wee haue saide, that niene myles distant from Dariena, are the sides of the hilles and the drye plaines in the which golde is geathered, both on the dry lande, and also on the bankes, and in the chanells of ryuers. Therefore to all suche as are willing to geather golde, there is of ordinarie custome appointed to euery man by the surueyers of the mynes, a square plotte of grounde, containing twelue pases, at the arbitrement of the chooser, so that it be not ground already occupied, or left of other. The portion of grounde being thus chosen (as it were assigned of the stugures to buylde a temple) they inclose their slaues within the same, whose helpe the Christians vse in tylling of their grounde, and geathering of golde, as we haue sayd. These places appoynted vnto them they keepe as long as them list: and if they perceyue tokens of little golde, they require an other plot of grounde of twelue pases to be assigned them, leauing the first in common: And this is thorder which the Spaniardes inhabiting Dariena obserue in geathering of golde. I suppose also, that they vse the like order in other places: Howbeit, I haue not yet enquired so farre. It hath been proued, that these twelue pases of grounde, haue yielded to their choosers the summe of fourescore Castellanes of golde. And thus leade they their lyues in fulfilling the holy hunger of golde. But the more they fill their handes with finding, the more increaseth their couetous desire. The more woodde is layde to the fire, the more furiously rageth the flame. Vnsaciablenesse is no more diminished with increase of rychesse, then is the drinesse of the dropie satisfied with drynke. I let passe many thinges whereof I intende to wryte more largely in time conuenient, if I shall in the meane season vnderstande these to be acceptable vnto your holynesse: my duetie and obseruance to whose authoritie, hath caused mee the gladlier to take

this labour in hande. The prouidence of the eternall creatour of all thinges, graunt your holynesse many prosperous yeeres.

The 4. Decade of Peter Martyr a Millanoise of Angleria written to Pope Leo
the 10 now first set forth, and examined.

MOST blessed Father, Ægidius Viterbiensis that bright example of the Heremites of Augustines profession, and of the sacred order of Cardinals hauing executed his Legation a Latere whē he departed out of Spaine, left mee this charge in your Holinesse name, and his owne, that after my 3. Decades long since sent vnto your Holynes, I shoulde set downe also in writing, what the pregnant Ocean brought forth, beginning from the yeare 1492. and concluding with the yeare 1516. of all which I deferred to write, because many idle things were reported, and very little worth the memorie. In our royall Senate of Indian affaires, Epistles full of circumstances sent from euery vaine fellowe, were daily read, out of the which wee gathered little substance. One boasted that hee had found a finger of the hande discovered, another, a ioynt of the finger, and they who were the first Authors of discovering that world vaunted much more proudly and with full mouth, that they had discovered great matters, and writt newe and strange things. Imitating the Ante, which thinketh shee is waightly loden, when shee carrieth a graine of corne to her Anthill, stolne out of the floore from a greate heape, sowed by anothers labour. I call a finger of the hand found out graines of corne whatsoever Ilandes, the Ocean maintaineth, lyinge neere to Hispaniola and Cuba, and so to the Continent. For they are compassed about, both before, and behinde, and also on both sides with innumerable Ilandes, as hennes inuironed with chickens, yet euery one is to haue the reward of his labour. Let vs therefore omittinge circumstances present to the handes of your Holines, to delight your longinge eares, whatsoever is reported of the Ilandes Iucatan, and Cozumella, and the huge country of Hacolucana, as yet not well knowne whether it bee an Iland, or annexed to the Continent, seeming woorthy of my remembrance. After this I will breifly declare in the ensuing story what succeeded in the supposed Continent: And Hispaniola shall finish the whole worke.

The first Chapter.

BY my former Decade, published by meanes of the Printers, your Holines may gather that certaine fugitiues arriuing vpon the borders of Dariena, wondering at our bookes, said, they sometimes dwelt in such countries, whose inhabitants vsed such instruments, and liued politickly vnder lawes, & Pallaces & had stately Temples built of stone, & also streets, and paued wayes orderly composed, where they traded and vsed to resort. Those lands our men haue now found out. Who therefore were the Authors, and how matters proceeded, let your Holynes lend your attentiu care, seeing all these are published, to be subiected to your Throne. Of the Iland Cuba (which Diecus Velasquez Lieutenant gouernor by the name of Colonus the Admirall, called Ferdinandine, neere Hispaniola on the West, yet so toward the North, that the Tropick of Cancer diuideth Cuba in the midst, but Hispaniola is distant certaine degrees from thee Tropick to the Equator) we haue spokē somewhat before. In this Iland of Cuba there are now 6. towns erected. The cheife whereof taketh his name from Saint Iames the Patrone of the Spaniardes. Heere, there is natue gold both in the mountaine, and riuers: so that they are dayly occupied in gathering and digginge thereof. The same yeare that I finished my bookes, three Spaniards of the most auncient citizens of Cuba, Franciscus Fernandes of Corduba, Lupus Ochoa Caizedus, and Christophorus Morantes, determined to seeke out new countries: but, for the kinge, Bernardinus Ignignez Calciatensis of the office of Accompts, and Captaine of one of the shippes. The Spaniards mind is euer restlesse, and alwayes buyssing it selfe about great attempts. These men (at their owne proper costs and charge) furnished three shippes, such as they call Carauelles, and from the West angle of Cuba called Saint Antonie, they take sea with their Pilott Anthonius Alaminus and 110. soldiers: for this angle is most commodious, and fit for relieuinge of shippes, and for prouision of wood and water. Betweene the West and South, which winde the Spaniards

Franciscus Fernandes Lupus Ochoa. Christophorus Morantes their voyage. The Spaniards returne.

S. Antony. Anthonius Alaminus.

Lucatan and
why so called.

Cayrus a great
City.

The apparrell
of the Lucatans.

The Lucatans
superstitious
Idolaters, and
some of them
circumcised.
Crossee and a
fabulous Tradition
thereof
amongst them
howbeit ob-
servable.

The province
of Campechium.

A strange arti-
ficiall specta-
cle.

call South, West, they see lande for six dayes space. In which time (they say) they ran onely 66. leagues, for they anchored wheresoeuer sunnset came vpon them, least wandringe through an vnknown sea, they might strike vpon the rockes or lightinge amonge the sandy shelves, might so be drowned and sunke. At length they fell vpon a very greate lande, where they goe a shoare and are curteously intertained and receiued by the Inhabitants. Our men (by signes, and beckning to them) demaunde of them what they call the name of the whole Prouince? They answered Lucatan, which signifieth in their language, I vnderstand you not. Our men thought Lucatan had bin the name of the Prouince. So from this vnpremeditated euent this name of Lucatan remained, and shall continue for euer: yet the beginning thereof thinhabitants call Encampi. Our men goe vnto the city seated on the shore, which for the hugenesse thereof they call Cayrus, of Cayrus the Metropolis of Ægypt: where they find turreted houses, stately temples, wel paved wayes & streets where marts and faires for trade of marchandise were kept. The houses are either of stone or bricke, and lime maruelous artificially built. To the square courts or first habitations of their houses they ascend by 10. or 12. steps or staires. Yet they are not tiled but couered with reedes, or great stalkes of herbes. They gratifie each other with mutuall presents. The Barbarians gaue our men brooches, & Jeweles of gold very faire, & cunningly wrought, and our men requited them with vesturs of silke & woll, & gaue them also counterfet stones of glasse and little laton or copper belles acceptable presentes to them beecause of the strangenesse thereof. But they made slight account of our counterfeits, because themselves (out of certaine stones in their Mines) might get those that were much brighter. This nation is not apparreled with wooll, because they haue no sheepe, but with Cotton after a thousand fashions, and diuersly coloured. The women are clad from the wast to the ancle, and couer their heade and breasts with diuers vayles, and are very carefull that their leggs, and feete bee not seene. They frequent their Temples often, to the which the better sort paue the wayes with stone from their houses. They are great Idolaters: and are Circumcised, but not all. They liue vnder lawes, and trafficke together with greate fidelitie, by exchaunginge commodities without money. They sawe Crosses: and beeing demaunded by Interpreters whence they hadde them, some say, that a certaine man of excellent beauty passinge by that coast, left them that notable token to remember him. Others report a certaine manne brighter then the Sunne dyed in the workinge thereof. But concerninge the truth, there is no certainty knowne.

The seconde Chapter.

HAuing stayed there some fewe dayes they now beegan to seeme troublesome to the inhabitants: for the long stay of a guest is not well pleasinge vnto any. Taking therefore provision of victuals, they bēd their course directly to the West: and passing the prouinces Coma, and Maia (so called of the borderers) they tooke only woodd and water for their voyage. The Barbarians on the shore wondered to see our great vessels floatinge on the sea, to the beholdinge wherof menne, and women, children came struiing and thronginge from all places. Our menne also (not without great astonishment and admiration) beheld farre of from sea, their goodly buildinges, but chiefly their Temples next the Seaside, aduanced like Castelles. At length hauing sayled 110. leagues, they determined to anchor in a prouince called Campechium, whose towne consisteth of 3000. houses, where after they hadde landed, and friendly imbraced each other, the Barbarians with great astonishment wondered at our mens art of sayling, the greatnesse of the vesselles, the sayles, the flagges, and other thinges. But as soone as they hearde the thunder of our ordinance discharged, and perceiued a smoaky, and sulphury fierie sent, and smell, they thought lightning had come from Heauen. The pettie king of this prouince curteously and royally entertayned our men in his Pallace, when they had feasted them after their manner, (where they haue both Peacocks and crammed foule both of the Mountaynes, Woods, and Water, as Patryches, Quayles, Turtles, Duckes, Geese, and fourefooted wilde beastes, as Boores, Hartes, and Hares: beside Wolfes, Lyons, Tygers, and Foxes) our menne were conducted with a princely Trayne to a broad crosse way, standing on the side of the towne. Here they shew our menne a square stage or pulpit foure steppes

steppes high, partly of clammy Bitumen, and partly of small stones, whereto the Image of a manne cutte in marble was ioyned, two fourefooted vnknowne beastes fastening vpon him, which (like madde dogges) seemed, they would teare the marble mans guttes out of his belly. And by the Image stood a Serpent, besmeared all with goare bloud deuouring a marble Lyon, which Serpent compacted of Bitumen, and small stones incorporated together, was seuen and fourtie feete in length, and as thicke as a great Oxe. Next vnto it were three rafters or stakes fastened to the grounde, which three others crossed, vnderpropped with stones. In which place they punish malefactors condemned, for prooffe whereof, they sawe innumerable broken arrowes, all bloudie, scattered on the grounde, and the bones of the deade, cast into an inclosed courte neere vnto it. The houses also heere, are built of lime and stone. This king they called Lazarus because they landed vpon S. Lazarus day. They depart from thence, alwayes to the West 15. leagues: and take the prouince called Aguanil. The towne thereof is called Moscob, and their king Chiapoton, accenting the last sillable with a sharpe accent. This king sternly beholdeth our men like anemie, and seekes to intrappe them with a Stratagem. For demanding water, they signifie vnto them that there is a fountayne on the other side of the next hill, where they were to passe through a narrowe path: but by the chaunging of their countenances, and carying of their bowes and arrowes; they perceiued the deceite. Our men refuse to goe any further. The Barbarians therefore charge them, and set vpon them, straggling & vnprovidd, and ouerthrowe aboute a thousande of our menne. Suche as fledde, sticke fast in the myre on the shore, for the Sea was very muddy there, by means whereof they shot 22. of our men through with their arrowes, and so slewe them, and for the most parte wounded the rest. They report that Franciscus Fernandez himselfe Admirall of the Fleete, receiued 33. woundes almost none escaped scotfree: if they hadde marched forward to the hilles they shewed them, they hadde beene slayne euery man. They therefore that remayned aliue, returned sad and sorrowfull, to the Ilande Fernandina from whence they came, and are receiued by their companions with teares, and sighes, for those they hadde left behinde them, and those that were present, being wounded.

The prouince
of Aguanil.

1000. Spany-
ards slayne by
the Barbarians.

The Admirall
wounded in 33
places of his
body by the
Barbarians.

The thirde Chapter.

Díeçus Velasquez Lieutenant Gouvernour of Cuba Fernandina vnderstanding this, furnished a fleete of foure Carauelles, with 300. menne or thereabouts. And appoynteth his Nephewe Iohn Grisalua Admirall of this litle Fleete, ioyning vnder officers with him, Alphonsus Auila Franciscus Montegria, and Petrus Aluaradus, but for Pilotte the selfe same Anthonius Alaminus, who hadde the direction and regiment of the former Fleete. Who vnderooke the same voiage agayne, but sometimes more to the South. And hauing sayled some 70. leagues they discryed a tower spiring aboute the Sea, but sawe no land. By direction of which tower, they made towarde an Ilande called Cosumel, three leagues distaunt from whence (they say) they smelt the sweete sauour of fresh water the winde blowing from thence. They finde this Iland to be 45. leagues about, a playne lande, and a most fortunate and fertile soyle. It hath golde, not naturally growing there, but brought vnto it from forreine partes. It aboundeth with hony fruites, and hearbes, and hath great plentie of foule and fourefooted beastes. That I may briefly conclude, the Oeconomically, and Politically gouernment of these inhabitantes, agreeth with theirs of Iucatan. Their houses, temples, streetes, and trade of marchandise are all one, and the apparell both of men and women is of Cotton, which the common people of Italic cal Bombase, and the Spanyards, Algodon, not cloth of woll, or silke. Their houses of bricke or stone, are couered with reedes, where there is scarcitie of stones, but where Quarries are, they are couered with shindle or slate. Many houses haue marble pillers, as they haue with vs. They founde auncient towers there, and the ruines of such as hadde beene broken downe and destroyed, seeming very auncient: but one aboute the rest, whereto they ascended by 18. steppes or staires, as they ascende to famous, and renowned temples. These people woondered at our ships, and art of sayling. At the first encounter they were vnwilling to entertaine guesstes, but afterward they courteously admitted them. The Gouvernour (whome they suppose to bee a Priest) conducted them

The Ilande
Cosumel.

Their houses.

Auncient Tow-
ers.

Santa Cruce.

Idolles.

Circumcision.
The Kinges ap-
parell.The Barbarians
encamp & make
warre against the
Spaniards.The haven of
Desire.

Collua or Oloa.

The ryuer Gri-
salua.
Golden targets.

them vnto a tower, in the toppes whereof they erect a banner, and adiudging the Dominion thereof to the king of Castile. They call the Ilande Santa Cruce, because they entred into the same the Nones of May, being then the feast of the holy crosse. But they say, it was called Cozumella, of a certaine king Cozumellaus, whose auncesters (as he vaunteth) were the first inhabitauntes of this Ilande. In the tower they founde chambers, wherein were marble Idolles, or Statues, and Images of earth in the similitude of Beares, these they call vpon with loud singing all in one tune, and sacrifice vnto them with fumes, and sweete odors, worshipping them as their housholde goddes. There they performe their diuine ceremonies, and adoration: they are also circumcised. This king was apparelled with a garment of gossampine cotton, curiously wrought, and had the toes of one of his feete cut of. For a deuouring fish called Tubero, violently snapped his toes of at a bit, while he was swimming. He honorably feasted our men, and bountifully entertained them. After three daies they depart, sayling directly to the West, and espie great mountaines a farre of. Which they perceiued to bee Iucatan, a land which they had alreadie discovered, being but five leagues distant from Cozumella. They take the South side of Iucatan (to witte) next the continent. They compasse it, but not all, by reason of the multitude of rockes, and sandie shelves. Then Alaminus the Pilot bringes backe the ships to the North side of the Ilande, already knowne vnto him. And at length came to the same towne Campechium and king Lazarus, to whom the former ships went the yeere before: of whom beeing gently receiued, they are inuited to the towne. But they soone repented, that they had inuited them. For within a stones cast from the towne, the borderers will our men to stand, and command them to begon, our men desire leaue to water before they depart. They shewe them a well behinde them, from whence (they say) they might drawe water, but not elsewhere. They lodge at night in a field neere vnto the well. The Barbarians mistrust, and about 3000. armed men incampe themselves not farre from our men neither partie slept that night, they fearing our menne woulde breake into the towne, and our men suspecting some sudden assault of the Barbarians, wakened the sleepe, with the sound of the trumpet, and drumme. As soone as day began to peepe, the Barbarians come vnto them, and call for our Cuba Interpretours, whose speach (though not the same) is notwithstanding somewhat like vnto it: and lighting a Torch of Frankincense, between both armies, they threaten to kill them, vnlesse they quickly depart, before the torch bee extinguished, and plainly tell them, that they will haue no guests. The torch is put out, or consumed they encounter hand to hand, and kill one of our men, whome they shot through his shield with an arrow, and wounded many: so that our men retired to the ordinance placed by the wel, to discharge them vpon the Barbarians. The borderers retire vnto the towne, the souldiers with eger courage desired to pursue the. The Admiral Grimalua forbiddeth them: from thence they proceed to the furthest end of Iucatan, & found it more then 200. leagues in length from East to West. They go to an excellent harbor which they called the haven of Desire. Afterwardes they passe ouer sea to other landes, and lande on the West neere to Iucatan: and doubt whether it be any Ilande or not. They suppose it to be annexed to the Continent, there they find a Bay, which they imagin to be compassed on both sides with lande: but knewe no certaintie thereof. This lande is called Collua, or otherwise Oloa, of the borderers. A mightie great riuier founde there, through the rage and violent current thereof into the Sea, yeeldeth potable waters for the space of two leagues. They called the riuier (by the Admirals name) Grimalua, the bordering Barbarians wondering at the sayling of their shippes, beset both side of the riuier, to the number of 6000. warriours, armed with golden targets, bowes, and arrowes, and broade wdden swords, and speares hardened in the fire, to resist their landing, and to defend the shore. Both parties that night stode in armes. At the first dawning of the day, beholde, about an hundred Canoes full of armed men. Wee haue elsewhere sayde, that the Canowes are litle barks, made of one tree. Here the Interpreters of Cuba, and they, agreed well inough in language. Peace offered by the Interpreters, is admitted. One Canoa commeth vnto them, the rest stande still. The Maister of the Canow, demandeth what our men seeke in strang countries: they answer they desire gold, but onely by exchange,

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change, not of gift or violently. The Canow returneth to the king and the mariners report what they had done: the king being sent for, willingly commeth vnto them. O admirable thing (most holy father) & worthy to be reported. The king calles his chamberlane vnto him, willethe the furniture of his chamber to be brought, & commandeth to arme our Generall Grisalua therewithall: first therfore he beginneth to put him on golden shoes, bootes, brestplate, and whatsoever armour usually made of Iron, or steele, a man of armes armed from top to toe vseth to weare when he cometh into the field, all that made of gold, wrought with wonderfull art, the king besoweth on Grisalua. Grisalua requiteth him with vestures of silke, linnen, woollen, and other things, of our country. In the beginning of this Iucatana, when they passed ouer from Cozumella, they light on a Canow of fishermē, wherein were 9. borderers, fishing with golden hookes: they take them al vnarmed, misdoubting nothing. The king knew one of the, & promised to send Grisalua as much gold the next day for his rāsone as the man should weigh. Grisalua denied to release him without the consent of his felowes, and therefore kept him still, and departed desirous to know further what lay beyond them.

The Generall
by a Barbarian
King armed from
toppe to the toe
in complate
gold.

The fourth Chapter.

SAYling about 100. leagues thence; alwayes to the West, they found a great gulfe, in the which 3. small Ilands stood: they went vnto the greatest of them. But oh cruell impiety (most holy father) oh terrible & blouddie minds of men, let your holines close the mouth of your stomacke, least it be disturbed. There they offer vp their children, boyes and girles, vnto their Idols, they are circumcised. The Images which they worship, are some of marble, & some of earth. Amög the marble Images, standeth a Liö, with an hole through the necke, into the which they poure the bloud of those miserable wretches, that from thence it may run into a marble trough, let vs now declare with what ceremonies they sacrifice the bloud of those miserable creatures. They cut not their throats, but ripping vp their brestes, they plucke out the heart of the vnhappy sacrifice, with whose warme bloud they annoint the lips of their Idolles, and let the rest runne through into the trough, & then burne the heart vnopened, and the bowels, supposing it to be an acceptable fume vnto their gods. One of their Idolles hath the shape of a man, which bowing downe his head, looketh into the blouddie trenche, as it were accepting the oblation of the slayne sacrifices: they eate the brawnes of the armes, and fleshie partes of the thighes, and calves of the legges, especially if they sacrifice an enemie conquered in the warres. They founde a riuer of congealed and clotted bloud, as though it had runne out of a butchery. For this wicked purpose, they trāsport poore soules from the bordering Ilandes: there they sawe innumerable heades and dead carkases mangled and cut in peeces, and very many whole, couered with mats. All those coasts abounde with golde & precious stones, one of our men wandering in the Iland, light vpon two hollow alabaster pitchers (cunningly wrought) ful of stones of diuers colours. They say also that they foud a stone of the value of 2000. Castellanes of gold, which they sent vnto f̃gouernor. This Ilande they called the Ilande of Sacrifice, there are also other Ilandes situate on the sides of this Coluacana, which women onely inhabite, without the societie of men. Some thinke they liue after the maner of the Amazonas. But they that consider the matter more wisely, thinke them to be virgins liuing in common together, delighting in solitarines, as with vs, and in many places in auncient tyme, the virgins vestales, or such as were consecrated to Bona Dea vsed to doe. At certaine times of the yeere, men from the bordering Ilandes passe ouer vnto them, not for the cause of generation, but moued with pittie, to till their fields and dresse their gardens, through which manuring of the ground they might the better liue. Yet report goeth, that there are other Ilandes, but of corrupt women, who cutte of the pappes of their young children, that they may the better practise the art of shooting, and that men resorte vnto them for the intent of generation, and that they keepe not the male children, but I thinke it a fable. Our men therfore at the shore of Coluacana, drew neere vnto the lande, and quietly trafficke there. The king gaue our men a Cawdron, bracelets, chaynes, brooches, and manie other Iewelless of diuers kindes, and all

An Ilande
wherein they sa-
crifice their chil-
dren to Idolles.

The maner of
their most abho-
minable sacrifice.

A precious stone
of a great value.
The Iland of Sa-
crifice.
Ilandes of wo-
men.

Quittes.

of

of golde. Our men againe on the other part, gratifie him with our country commodities, and make him very cheerful. Here the cōpanie desired to settle themselves, and plant a Colonie, but the Admirall woulde not permit them. At that time the soldiers (companions in armes) were desperately bent against the Admirall. Their prouince consisteth of turreted houses: & hath also 15. very great townes, & in some places, they affirme, that they sawe townes of 20000. houses. The houses ioyne not euery where together, but are disseuered with gardens, and courts. Many of them are distaunt one from another. They haue streets compassed with walles, where they keepe their markets and sayres, they haue paved streets, ouens & furnaces, lime, & bricke: they haue also potters, & Carpenters, & other artificers, & haue gotten most excellēt workmen of all the mechanicall arts. This king is called Tanuascus: the country Palmaria. They say the towne where he keepeth his courte, called Pontanchianum, consisteth of fiftene thousande houses. When they receiue straungers or newe gwestes, whoe entertayne peace with those countreyes, in token of friendshippe, they drawe a litle blood from themselues (with a rasor, or a litle knife made of stone) either out of the tongue, hand, arme, or any other part of the bodie, and this they doe, euen in the sight of the stranger. Their Priestes liue a single, and vncorrupted life. No man knoweth what the act of generatiō meāeth, vntil he mary. It is a detestable and haynous matter, and punishable with death, if they chaunce to do otherwise. The women are maruelous chast. Euery great man afore he hath maryed a wife, may haue as many Concubines as he pleaseth. But the married wife being takē in adultery, is sold by her husband, yet only to his soueraign Prince, from whom, it shalbe lawfull for her kinsfolke to redeeme her. It is not lawfull for any that is vnmarried to sit at table with such as are married, or to eate of the same dish, or drinke of the same cup and make themselues equall with such as are married. In the monethes of August, and September, they abstaine 35. dayes, not onely from flesh, whereof they haue the best, both of foule, and wilde beastes taken by hunting: but they doe not so muche as eate fish, or any thing which might nourish the blood: so that for those dayes of abstinence, they liue onely vpon hearbes, or pulse. Here our men spent a fewe dayes very pleasantly, afterward they depart, following the same shore, and meete with another king whom they call Ouandus. When the king vnderstoode our men desired golde, he brought them plates of moulten golde. The Admirall signified by the interpreters, that hee desired store of that mettall, the next day he commaunded the golden image of a man of a cubit long to bee brought and a fan of gold, and an Idol of one of their Domesticall gods curiously wrought, and also garlandes of diuers stones. He gaue our men also great store of brest-plates, and brooches and ornaments of diuers kinds, and precious stones of seuerall colours. He also satisfied them with most delicate meates very sauorie and wel seasoned. Inuiting our men a shore, forthwith erecting pauilions or booths by commaundement of the king they speedily couered them with greene boughes. The king smote his domesticall seruants (that were negligent in bringing of boughes) with the scepter he bare in his hand, the seruants with an humble countenāce patiently beare the stripes he gaue them: the king being demanded, where so great plenty of gold was gathered, pointed with his finger to the next mountaines, and riuers runninge from them: these people are so vsed to riuers, and lakes, that it is all one to them to swimme or goe vpō the lande. When they desire to gather gold, they diue into the riuers, & bringe foorth their hands full of sande. And siftinge the sande from hande to hande, they picke out the gold. In the space of two houres, they are report to fill a cane as bigge as a manns finger, with gold. Smooth, and pleasing words might be spoken of the sweete odors, and perfumes of these countries, which we purposely omitt, because they make rather for the effeminatinge of mens mindes, then for the maintenance of good beahauour. The Admirall refused a boy of 12. yeeres of age which the kinge offered him, but receiued a yonge Virgin richly adorned, and reiected the boy, contrary to the mindes of the company. Of the precious stones they had from this king, they write, that one, was woorth 2000. Castelanos of gold. So, at length they depart from this kinge, laden with gold and precious stones. The Admirall Grisalua sendeth one of the Carauels to the Lieutenant Gouvernour of Fernandina his vnclē with messengers, who had the gold and precious

i. e. very great townes in Coluacana & the maner of the.

Palmaria.

A strange ceremony of these Barbarians at the receiuing of strangers. Single life. Chastitie.

Adultery. The honorable estimation the Barbarians haue of marriage.

General fasts.

Rich gifts of diuers sorts bestowed vpon the Admirall.

Swymming & diuing into the bottome of riuers for gold.

Sweete odors.

A stone of a great value.

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precious stones. In the meane space, the rest followe the shoare towards the West. But one ship wherein Franciscus Montegrius the Viceadmiral was, sayled hard by the shoare, and the two other kept a loofe within vewe of the lande. The borderers wondering at them, ascribe the strangenes of the matter to miracle. Thirteen Canoas came vnto Montegrius, by interpreters speake together, and courteously salute each other: The borderers humbly intreat thē to come a shoare and promise them great matters, if they would goe to the king of the country. But Montegrius saith he cannot yeld to their intreatyes, because his companions were to farre of from him, yet he sent them away contented giuinge thē certaine gifts of our country commodities, which pleased them well. From thence they goe vnto another famous towne & the 3. Carauelles together approached neere the shoare, but the borderers with their targets, bowes, quiuers full of arrowes and broad woodden swords & lauelins hardened at the end with fire, came fortharmed to our men, to resist their landinge, & shot at them as farre of, but our menne discharged their ordinance against them. The Barbarians wonderinge at the thundringe of the greate Artillerie, and astonished at the furie thereof, betake them to flight, and desire peace. Here our mens victualles began to faile them, & nowe the shippes were broosed, & shaken, with long voiaiges. Grisalua therefore contented with that which he had done, and found, to returne to the Iland Fernandina, without the good liking of his companions.

The fift Chapter.

WE will now diuert a litle, and handle another navigation, & then returne to these new found landes againe. The same Diecus Velasquez Gouvernour of Fernandina, almost at that time whē he sent forth this navy of 4. Carauels, appointed another voyage for one Carauell onely, with one Brigantine to go in consort with 45. men. These vsed violence against the inhabitantes. The people were Idolaters, and circumcised, & are bordering next vpon the shore of the supposed Continent. There are many fertile Ilandes, of a blessed & fruitfull soyle, Guanaxam, Guitillam, and Guanaguam. From one of these, they violently tooke 300. harmlesse inhabitantes of both sexes. This Ilande they called Sancta Marina. They thrust them into the Carauell, & returned to Fernandina. They leaue the Brigantine with 25. of their companie, to the intent to hunt for more men. The hauen where the Carauell first arriued, is called the hauen of Carenas: this hauen is 200. and 40. leagues distaunt from the towne of S. James, the chiefe towne of the Iland of Cuba, this is a very long Ilande reaching in length to the West, which the Tropicke of Cancer diuideth. Fortune seeking reuenge for these miserable wretches, certaine of the keepers of the captiues go aland, and fewe remained in the Carauell. The Ilanders hauing gotten opportunitie to recouer libertie, suddenly snatching vppe our mens weapons, fel vpon the keepers, & slew sixe of them, the rest leape into the sea. By which meanes the Ilanders possesse the Carauel, which they had learned to rule, so that they returne into their country, they lande not first at the same Iland, but at the next. They burne the Carauell, cary the weapons away with them, and passe ouer to their companions in Canoas, and sette vppon our menne which were left in the Brigantine, ouerthrew them, and slew some of them. They who escaped, fled vnhappyly to the Brigantine: there standeth a great tree, next vnto the shore, in the top whereof they place a Crosse, and engraue this inscription in Spanish vpon the vpper barke thereof: Vamos al Darien. Darien is a ryuer, on the shore whereof the chiefe towne of the supposed Continent is seated, called Sancta Maria Antiqua. The gouernour hauing intelligence thereof, speedily sendeth 2. shippes laden with souldiers, for succour of them that were lefte, but they consulted too long while all was done and past. Yet following the Crosse, they came to the shore, and read the letters ingrauen on the tree: but durst not attempt fortune with those desperate men that fled, well armed, and therefore returne backe againe. These men from the next Ilande, carry away 500. men & women as it had bin so many hares: thinking they might therefore lawfully doe it, because they were circumcised, the like mischance befell them arriuing at Fernandina: Of the 2. ships, they fiercely assault one, and fighting eagerly, kill some of their Spanish keepers, the rest cast themselues into the sea, and swimme

The borderers
seeke to repulse
the landing of
the Spaniards,
& at thastomish-
ment and terror
of the great
artillery are put
to flight.

The fertile
Ilands of Guan-
axam Guitil-
lam and Gua-
naguam.
300. Barbarians
taken Captiues.
The hauen of
Carenas.

The Captiues
escape and slay
sixe of the
Spaniards.

The riuer
Darien.

500. men and
women taken
& the successe
answerable to
the former.

The Barbarians
fight with the
Spaniards.

100. Barbarians
slayne and
wounded.

Archipelagus.

Florida.

26. Ilandes.

Golde.

Idols of golde.

A wonder it is
that ther shuld
be such excel-
lent workman-
ship amongst
the Indians
without the vse
of Steele and
Iron.

swimme to the next Carauell, which went in consort with them, and vniting themselves all together with the Carauell which remained, assayed the other taken from them: the victory was doubtfull for 4. houres space the Barbarians, both men and women, for recouery of their libertie, fought very fiercely, and the Spaniards likewise with no lesse fury and courage encountered them, least they shoulde loose the pray which was taken from them. At length the Spaniards were conquerers, because they were more nimble and readie in handling their weapons. The vanquished Barbarians cast themselves headlong into the sea, but are taken vp againe in boates: so that those that were slaine in fight, and drowned in the water, were about 100. persons. Of the Spaniards but fewe were wanting. The Barbarians that remained aliue, are sent to the towne of S. Iames, and to the mines of gold. Shortly after they goe vnto another of the neighbouring Ilandes: which are more in number there then Simplegades in our Ionian Sea, which multitude of Ilands they commonly call Archipelagus. Here, as many of our mē as went a shore out of the ships, were entertained with hostile armes, and slaine or wounded: they suppose this Iland to be that whereunto Iohannes Pontius the Captain of one ship went and left them much disquieted, being repulsed by the inhabitantes, and called it Florida: because he founde that Ilande, on the day of the resurrection: the Spaniard calleth Easter, the flourishing day of the resurrection. They report, they saw, 26. Ilands, which Colonius had ouerpassed, as it were so many daughters of Hispaniola and Cuba, and guarders of the supposed Continent, to breake the force of the stormes comming from the Ocean. In many of these, they found natieue graynes of gold. These people also weare diners Iewelles, and vse gilded wooden Idols of their household gods, and some of gold very artificially wrought, they are most curious and ingenious workemen euery where. Franciscus Chierigatus your holinesse his Nuncio to our Cæsar in Spaine, brought one of their Idols with him, whereby you may gather how ingenious they are. It is a marueilous thing to see the making of their rasors. They forme them of certaine yelow stones cleere and transparent as chrysell, and with them they shaue, no otherwise, then if they were made of the most excellent Steele. But that which is most admirable, and woorthie the beholding, when they haue a blunt edge through long vse, they sharpen the not with a whet-stone, or other stone, or powder, but temper them onely by putting them into a certaine water. They haue also among them a thousande kindes of instruments and tooles, & other excellent fine things, which were too long to rehearse, & peraduenture tedious to your holines, so much busied with matters of great importance. I returne therefore from whence I digressed, to Cozumella, Iucatana, and Coluacana, or Oloa, riche and pleasant landes as Elisium, lately founde out, from which I diuerted, where it is sufficiently knowne, of how great moment those tractes & countries are.

The sixt Chapter.

THE new inhabitants of the Iland of Cuba, (the Spaniards) with the consent of the gouernor, furnish a new navy of ten Carauels, with 500. men, ioyning three Brigantines with them as light horsemen, whose helpe they might vse to sounde the shallowe shores, and to discover the daungers of many rockes. They shippe 16. horses, fit for warre: and choose Fernandus Cortesius (who then was chiefe Commaunder of the Citie of Cuba) Generall, and Admirall of the navy, and for vnder officers they appoynt Alphonsus Fernandez Portucarrerius, Franciscus Montegius, Alphonsus Auila, Aluaradus the Spatensian Commendatory, Iohn Velasquez, and Diecus Ordassus. They still followe the same winde (from the last angle of Cuba to the West) which first Franciscus Velasquez did, and after him Iohn Grisalua, and so came to the Iland of Sacrifices, whereof I made mention before. Heere a sharpe and boistrous wynde forbadde them to take lande, and a cruell tempest carryed them backe againe to Cozumella, lying on the East side of Iucatana, this Ilande hath onely one hauen, which they called S. Iohns Port. It hath in it sixe townes onely, and hath no other water, then such as is in welles and cisternes. It wanteth riuers and fountaynes because it is a playne lande: and is onely 45. leagues in circuit about. The inhabitantes fled vnto the thicke woodes, and forsake their towns for feare, our men enter their desolate and emptye houses, and feede vpon their country

S. Iohns Port.

country victualles, and found there, furniture for houses of diuers colours, rich and costly hangings, garmentes, and couerlets, which they call Amaccas of gossampine cotton. Besides all this (most holy father) they founde innumerable bookes: of the which, together with other things brought to our newe Emperour, we will hereafter speake at large. Our souldiers viewed the llande diligently throughout, yet still keeping themselves in battayle array, least any violence might assaile them. They finde but few of the inhabitants, and one woman onely in their companie. By the Interpreter of Cuba, and three others, which the former Spanyardes had taken from Iucatan, they perswaded the woman, to sende for the absent kinges. The inhabitantes were the familiar friendes of this woman, the kinges conducted by the woman, came with her, who sent messengers for them, made a league of friendship with our men, and cheerefully returne vnto their country houses, and had much of their stuffe restored vnto them. They founde them Idolaters, & circumcised. They sacrifice children of both sexes to their Zemes which are the Images of their familiar and domestical spirites, which they worship. Alaminus the Pilot, Franciscus Montegius & Portucarrerus, the messengers who brought the presentes to the king, being demanded by me, from whence they had the children they offered in sacrifice: answered, that they were brought to be sold from the collateral llandes, for exchange of gold, & other marchandize. For in so huge and spacious a lande, the cursed care of damnable money hath no where yet possessed the inhabitantes. They report also the same of other lands lately found two of the which llandes they call Bian and Segestian. For want of children they sacrifice dogges: they nourish also dogs to eate, as our nation doth Conies: which dogs cannot barke, & haue snouts like foxes. Such as they purpose to eate, they geld. They reserue store of bitches for increase, and but a small number of dogs, as our shepheards do, of the sheepe. They that are gelded growe marueilous fat. Our men diswaded them from sacrificing men, and told them howe abhominable it was. These Barbarians desire a lawe whiche they might followe. They easily perswaded them that there was one God, who created heauen and earth, and was the giuer of all good things, being one in substance vnder a triple person. They suffer their Zemes to be broken in peeces: & set vp the painted Image of the blessed virgin (which our mē gaue thē) in a sacred place of y^e tēple, they pare, & sweep y^e temple, & the pauemēt therof. They receiued also a Crosse to be worshiped, in remembrance of God himselfe, and that man, who died thereon for y^e saluation of mankind: and on the toppē of the temple they erected a great wooden Crosse. They all assemble themselves together, and with reuerent feare, and trembling, humbly adore the Image of the blessed Virgin in the temple. These Inhabitantes signified by interpreters vnto our men, that there were seuen captiue Christiā in the bordering lland Iucatan, who arryued there being driuen thither by tempest. This lland is onely fīue leagues distant from Iucatan. The Admirall Cortes vnderstanding this presently dispatcheth fītie menne with two Carauelles for that businesse: who carrie with them three Cozumellanes to make inquirie for them, with letters also from the Admirall to the Christians, if they were to bee founde. Ouer these fītie men and two Carauelles hee appoynted Diecus Ordassus chiefe commaunder, who was a warlike and valiant man: and declareth vnto them howe honourable an act they shoulde performe, if they could bring any of them. Hee earnestly commendeth the matter vnto them, for he hopeth to haue some light from them of all those tractes and countries. They fortunately depart; sixe dayes were appoynted them for their returne, they stayed eight. Our men suspected that the Cozumellane messengers, were either slaine or detained, because they stay so long: & therefore returne to the Admirall to Cozumella leauing them behinde. Nowe the Admirall began to thinke of his departure from Cozumella (despayring of the Christians, whom he so much desired, and of the Cozumellanes they had left behinde) but the opposite violence of the sea withheld him. While they stay, behold frō the West, they discry a Canow comming from Iucatan, which brought the Cozumellanes and one of the captiue Christians, called Hieronimus Aquilaris, an Astigitan Vandall who had liued 7. yeers among the Iucatanes with what ioy each embraced other, this casual accident may declare. He reporteth vnto them his owne hard chaunce & the miserable condition of his cōpanions lost together with him and they harken vnto him with attentiuē minds. Here I thinke it not much from the

Rich hangings.

Bookes.

Idolatory,
Circumcision,
Sacrificing of
children.Marchandise of
children for
golde.Heu quis pri-
mus fuit ille,
auri qui pondera
recti gemasque
latere volentes,
pretiosa pericu-
la fudit. Boet.
The llands of
Bian and Se-
gestian.Eating of
dogges.The Barbarian
easily beleue
there is a God.So apte a peo-
ple to receiue
Religion, themore to be
lamented their
miserie thatouer they hap-
pened to be dis-
couered by thecruell Spanyard
that sought not
so much theirprecious soules
as their golde
soiles.Seuen captiue
Christians in
Iucatan.A captiue Chris-
tian liued 7.
yeeres among
the Iucatanes.

Valdiuia and his
miserable for-
tune.

Valdiuia and
certaine of his
companions
slaine, and sa-
crificed to the
Idoll Zemes.

The mother of
Aquilaris fell
mad, and the
occasion.

Aquilaris de-
liuered of the
captiuitie of the
Barbarians.

matter, nor troublesome to your Holinesse, if I rehearse how this mischance befel them. In my former Decads I made mention of a certaine noble man called Valdiuia, sent frō the Spaniards which inhabited Darien in the supposed Continēt of the gulfe of Vrabia, to Hispaniola to the vice roy and Admirall Colonus, & to the Kings counsel (to whom the ordering & redresse of matters touching the supposed Cōtinent appertained) to signifie with what penury they were punished, and what want they had of al thinges. Vnhappy Valdiuia tooke this matter vpō him in an vnlucky houre: for in the view of the Iland Iamaica, on the South side of Hispaniola & Cuba, a suddaine whirlwind droue him vpon the Quicksandes. These blinde and swallowing shoales of sandes the Spanyardes call the Vipers, and that very aptly, because many shypes are there intangled, (as Lysertes with the Vipers tayle) and so drowned. Here the Carauell splitte in peeces, so that Valdiuia with thirtie of his companions could scarce descende into the shyppe boate: where, without oares, and sayles, these miserable wretches were violently caried awaie by the strong current of the Sea. For (as wee sayde beefore in our Decades) the Seas flowe there in a perpetuall course towards the West. Thus they wandered thirteene dayes, not knowing whether they went, nor euer found any thinge to eate. By meanes whereof 7. of them perished through famine, and became foode for the fishes. The rest that remained aliue, now fainting through famine, were driuen to Iucatan: where they fell into the handes of a cruell king, who slew the Captaine Valdiuia, with certaine of his companions, and presently sacrificed them to their Zemes, & then inuiting his friendes, he eate them. These Barbarians eate onely their enemies, or such strangers as come vnto them, otherwise they abstaine from mans flesh. This our Hieronimus Aquilaris, and 6. of his fellowes, were kept till the third day to bee sacrificed: but they brake their bands by night, and so escaped the hands of this cruell and bloody Tyrant. They fle to another king who was his enemy, & humbly submit themselues vnto him, and are receiued, but as bondmen, and slaues. It is a lamentable thing to heare of the mother of this Aquilaris, whē shee vnderstood the matter, shee presently fell mad, though shee had heard it onely but vncertainely reported, that hee fell into the handes of men-eaters: so that when soeuer shee sawe fleshe roasted, or put on the spit, shee would fill the house with her outcries, saying: Behold the members of my sonne. O most miserable and wretched mother, the most vnhappy of all women. Aquilaris therefore hauing receiued the Gouvernours letter, sent by the Cozumellane messengers, declareth before the king his maister called Taxmarus, what newes the Cozumellanes brought: And discourseth at large of the power of their king, who were arriued in those partes, and of the fortitude of the menne and their bountie towards their friendes, and rigor toward those that refused, or denied their requestes. Wherewith hee made Taxmarus tremble, insomuch, that hee intreateth his seruant that hee would so handle the matter that they might not enter his dominions as enemies, but would come peaceably vnto him. Aquilaris promiseth peace, and if neede were to succour and ayde him against his enemies. Whereupon hee dismissed Aquilaris, and giues him three of his familiars for his companions. These thinges thus prosperously succeeding, Cortes ioyfull for the preseruatiō of Aquilaris, whom he might vse as a fit interpreter, departeth from Cozumella. Now therefore let vs declare, whether that flete went, and what happened vnto them.

The seuenth Chapter.

SO then, Alaminus the Pilot directing their course, they fall downe to the riuer which Grisalua had first discovered beefore: and found the mouth thereof stopped with sand, as we read of the riuer Nilus of Egypt, when the wind bloweth Easterly, about the Canicular dayes. They could not therefore proceede against the streame in greater vessels, then Brigantines, although else where it bee apt to receiue such shippes. The Gouvernour landeth 200. men in Brigantines & boates vpon the shoare, offereth peace by Aquilaris. The borderers demanded what they would haue? Hieronimus Aquilaris answered, victuales. There was a large sandie plaine, on the side of the towne, whether the inhabitants will them resorte. The day following our men goe thether, and they bringe them eight of their hennes, as bigge and as sauoury meate as Peacockes some what of a brownishe colour, and brought also as much Maizium,

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ella. Now

Maizium, as woulde scarce haue sufficed tenne hungry menne: and withal protest and plainly tell them, that they speedily depart thence. A greate multitude of armed menne come flocking to our men refusing to departe, and the Barbarians demaunde againe, what they meant to sayle through other mens countries. Our menne (by Aquilaris) answered, they desire peace, and victuales for exchaung of commodities, and gold also if they haue any. They answered, that they will neyther haue peace nor warre with them, and that they shoulde bee gone againe, vnlesse they woulde bee kilde euery manne. Our menne sayde, and repeate it againe, that they woulde not departe, without plentie of victuailes, sufficient to maintayne the souldiers that were presente. The Barbarians appoynte to bring them victuales the nexte day, but they fayled: yet the thirde day, after our menne had incamped on the sandes, and stayde there all night, they brought them as much more victuales as before, and in their kings name commaunded them to depart. Our men sayde, they desired to see the towne, and to haue better victuales yet. They denie their request, and murmuring turne their backs. Our men oppressed with hunger, are compelled to seeke food. The Gouvernour therefore sendeth his vnder Capitaines a lande with 150. men, who goe sundry wayes (diuiding themselves in seuerall companies) vnto the countrie villages. The Barbarians euilly intreated one of the troopes they met: but their companions were not farre from them, who hearing the sound of the alarum, came to rescue them beeing in danger. On the other part, the Gouvernour planteth the Ordinance in the Brigantines, and boates: and draweth neere the shoare with the rest of the souldiers, and 16. horses. The Barbarians prepared to fight, runne speedily to defend the shoare, and withstand their landing, and with their arrowes and darts, hit some of our men a farre off, and wounded about 20. persons vnprepared, whereupon the Gouvernour discharged the great Ordinance against the enemie, who with the slaughter which the bullets made, the thundring of the Artillery, and flashing of the fire, are astonished and discomforted. Our men cast themselves into the water, and runne vp to the knees, to pursue the stragling enemie flying, and together with the affrighted Barbarians enter the Towne. The Barbarians with continued course passe by the Towne, and forsake their houses. On the banke of this riuer, they say, there standeth a wonderfull huge towne, greater then I dare report. Alaminus the Pilot sayth it is a league and an halfe long, and containeth 25000. houses. His companions lessen the greatnes, and number of the houses: yet they confesse, it is a wonderfull great and famous towne. The houses are diuided with gardens, and are built of lime and stone, cunningly wrought by the industrious art of the Architect. Vnto these houses or habitations they ascend by 10. or 12. steppes or stayres. For none may charge his neighbours wall with beames or rafters. All the houses are seperated the distance of 3. paces asunder, and for the most part are couered with reede, thatch, or marish sedge: yet many of them are couered with slate, or shindle stone. The Barbarians themselves openly confessed, that they were 4000. men in battaile that day, yet vanquished of a few by reason of the newe and strange kind of fight, with horses, and shot, for the horsemen assailling the Barbarians in the reere ouerthrew their troupes, slew and wounded them on the right side, and on the left, as disordered flockes of sheepe. These sillie wretches stroken with astonishment at this miraculous & strange sight stooode amased, and had no power to vse their weapons. For they thought the man on horse-backe and the horse to haue beene all one beast, as fables report of the Centaures. Our men held the towne 22. dayes, where they made good cheere vnder the rooffe, while the hungry Barbarians abode in the open ayre, and durst not assaile our men. They chose the strongest parte of the Towne, as it were a Castle of defence, and securing themselves with continuall watch by night, alwayes suspitious, and fearing some violent assault, they gaue themselves to rest and sleepe, vnder the King Tanosco. The Inhabitants call the towne Potanchianum, and by reason of the victorie obtained there, our men called it Victoria. They report also wonderfull and strange things of the magnificence, greatnes, and finenesse of their countrie pallaces built (for their delight) vpon their possessions or farmes, with solars, square courtes to receiue the raine, and excellent boarded roomes, after our fashion. At length by Interpreters, and such as were taken in battaile, they sende for the King, and those that were cheife in authoritie vnder him, and per-

The Barbarians
fight with the
Spaniards & are
discomfited.

A wonderfull
large towne on
the banke of
the riuer.

The conceipt of
the Barbarians
when they saw
men on horse-
backe.

Victoria a
towne.

Covenants for
suppressing of
Idolatrie and
exercising of
Christian re-
ligion, agreed
vpon by the
Barbarians.

S. Iohns Bay.

Vniuersall is the
sicknes of Am-
bition.

Rich gifts, &c.

swade them to come vnarmed, and submit themselues. They obey their commaund, and re-
turne euery man vnto their houses, whereupon they assure them of peace vpon certaine con-
ditions proposed, that they abstaine from the horrible ceremonies of mens bodyes which
they sacrificed to their Zemes, and pernicious deuils, whose image they worshipped, and di-
rect the eyes of their mind to our God Christ, the father of heauen and earth, borne into
the world of a Virgin, and crucified for the redemption of mankind, & that they breake
downe their images, and finally professe themselues to become subiect to the King of Spaine.
All which they promise: and as the shortnesse of time would permit, they were instructed.
Being restored our men giue them content by presenting them with our countrie commodi-
ties. They suppose such men to bee sent from Heauen, who beeing so fewe in number durst
incounter hande to hand, against so huge a multitude. They likewise also gaue our men cer-
tayne presentes of gold, and twenty women slaues. So leauing them, they depart to seeke
out other lands of the same shoare, and goe vnto a gulfe found out by Alaminus vnder the
conduct of Grisaia, which they named S. Iohns Baye, for Bian in the Spanish tongue signi-
fieth a gulfe. The inhabitants come peaceably vnto them. The towne was some mile distant
from the shoare situate vpon an hill, contayning 500. houses, as they reporte. They inuite
them to lodge in the towne, and offer them the halfe parte thereof, if they will dwell with
them for euer. Our menne thought they were eyther terrified with the example of the Inha-
bitantes of Potenchianum, hauing heard the report thereof, or else, hoped (vnder the pro-
tection of such men) to haue fauour & aide against the bordering enemies. For euen these
people also are continually sicke of this naturall disease, as the rest of mankind, miscarried
through raging ambition of soueraingtie and dominion. Our men refuse to seate themselues
there still, but graunt to stay with them for a time. The people follow our men returning
to the shoare, and with greate diligence erect boothes for them, and cottages made of boughes,
and couer them the safest way to shelter them from raine. There they incampe: and least
the rest of the company should growe slouthfull, the Admirall chargeth Alaminus the Pilot
and Franciscus Montegius to indeuour to search the West part of that land: and that in the
meane time hee woulde recreate and refresh the feeble and weary souldiers, and cure those
that were wounded at Potenchianum. The Admirall therefore remaineth with the rest. When
they were readie to go, he giueth them 2. Brigantines and 50. men. To this gulfe, the
course of the water was very smooth: but when they had sayled a little further vnto the West,
the violence of the Sea in short space transported them 50. leagues from their fellowes, as if
they had bene forcibly carried away with a swift streame falling from the high mountaynes.
They light on a place where two waters meete together, discovering it selfe to them to bee
an huge plaine sea, which met with the waters running to the West, as two mighty riuers,
when they meete one against the other. So the waters comming from the South seemed as
if they would resist them as enemies, setting foote in anothers right, against the will of the
true possessors thereof. Opposite to which concourse of waters, they sawe land a farre off,
but on the right hand, and on the left none. Floting betweene these confictes, they were
tossed hether and thether with the whirle pooles, which had almost swallowed them insomuch
that for a long space they doubted of any hope of life. Thus striuing with sayle and oares,
they were scarce able to ouercome the violence thereof, for when they thought, they hadde
one night sayled two leagues forward, they founde that they were driuen backe foure. Yet
at the length, through Gods fauour and helpe, they ouercame this daungerous conflict: they
spent twentie two dayes in that little space of Sea, and returne at length to their fellowes.
They declare the matter vnto them: and adiudged it to be the end of the land of Hacolucana,
& of the supposed Continent. The land which they saw before them, they suppose to be
eyther annexed to our continent, or else to ioine with the North partes to the Baccelaos,
whereof wee haue at large discoursed in our Decades. So that (most holy Father) this matter
remayneth doubtfull yet, but will be discouered in time. These aduertisements they gaue
vs, we deliuer to your Holinesse. While Alaminus, and Franciscus Montegius searched these
secrets, the king of the Prouince, whose name was Mutezuma, by one of his nobles called
Quitabitor, who gouerned the foresayd towne, presented our men with many rich gifts of
gold

gold and silver, and precious stones sette in golde, curiously wrought after a marueilous strang manner, which they determined to send vnto our new Emperour the King. They consult concerning the planting of a Colonie, without the aduise of Diecus Vclasquez Gouvernour of Cuba, and differ in opinion. Some hold it as a fowle error, but the greatest part seduced through the subtilty, and practise of Cortes, gaue him their voyces and consent. Heere many thinges are reported against Cortes, touching his treathery and false dealing, which shall be better knowne heereafter, and therefore now may be omitted. They say, that they were not to respect the Gouvernour of Cuba, seeing the matter should be brought before an higher Iudge, (to wit) the King of Spaine himselfe, so the multitude preuayled. Wherefore they desire victuales of Quitabitor the king, & assign the place for plantatiō of their Colony, 12. leagues frō thence in a most blessed and fertile soyle. And for their General and Commander they chose Cortes himselfe, (as some thinke) against his will. Who createth other Magistrates to gouerne the citie which they purposed to build. They chose Portucarrerius, and Montegius (of whom else where I haue sufficiently spoken) as messengers to carry the presents to the Emperour the King of Spaine, vnder the conduct of the sayd Alaminus the Pilot. Fower of the nobles willingly offer themselves, with two women to attende thē after the fashion of their country, which they likewise brought. The people are somewhat of a brownish colour. Both sexes peirce the flappes of their eares, where they hang pendants of gold beset with precious stones. But the men bore whatsoever space remaineth betwene the vppermost part of the nether lippe, and the rootes of the teeth of the lower chapp: and as we sette precious stones in gold to weare vpon our fingers, so in that hole of the lippes, they weare a broad plate within fastened to another on the outside of the lippe, and the iewell they hang thereat is as great as a siluer Caroline doller and as thicke as a mans finger: I doe not remember that I euer sawe so filthy and ougly a sight: yet they thinke nothing more fine or comely vnder the circle of the Moone. By which example wee are taught, how foolishly mankind runneth headlong, blinded in his owne errors, and how wee are all deceived. The Æthiopian thinketh the blacke colour to be fairer then the white: and the white man thinketh otherwise. Hee that is polled, thinketh himselfe more amiable then hee that weareth long hayre, and the bearded man supposeth hee is more comely then he that wanteth a beard. As appetite therefore moueth, not as reason perswadeth, men run into these vanities, and euery prouince is ruled by their owne sense, as one sayth, we chose vaine thinges, and abhorre thinges certaine and profitable. Whence they haue gold wee haue sufficiently spoken, but our men wondred whence they had their siluer. They shewe them high mountaynes continually couered with snow, which fewe times of the yeere shewe their bare topps, by reason of thicke cloudes and mists. The playne and smooth mountaines therefore seeme to bring forth gold, and the rough craggy hilles and colde vallies ingender siluer. They haue copper also. They found battayle axes, and digging spades among them: but no iron or Steele. Let vs now come to the presents which were brought to the king, and begin first with the bookes.

The eight Chapter.

WE haue sayde before, that these nations haue bookes: and the messengers who were Procurators for the new Colony of Coluacana, (together with other presentes) brought many of them with them into Spayne. The leaues of their books whereon they write, are of the thin inner rinde of a tree growing vnder the vpper barke: I thinke they call it Philyra, not such as is within the barke of Willowes or Elmes, but such as we may see in the woolly and downy partes of dates, which lyeth within the hard outward rinds, as nets interlaced with holes, and narrow spots. Those mashes or little nettings they stampe in a mortar together with Bitumen, and afterwarde being softened binde and extend them to what forme they please, and being made hard againe, they smeere and annoynt them with playster, or some matter or substance like playster. I thinke your Holinesse hath seene table bookes, ouerstrewed with playster beaten and sifted into fine dust, wherein one may write whatsoever he pleaseth, and after with a spunge or a cloath blot it out, and write thereon againe. Bookes also

A Colonie erected.

The people of a browne colour. Eare ringes.

Lippe iewels.

Consuetudine nihil fortius. Senec. all is but opinion.

Siluer.

Copper.

Bookes.

The Characters
which the In-
dians vse.

The subject of
the Indian
bookes.

A moneth a
moone.

Their diuision
of the yeere.
The cost the
Indians bestow
on their temples
very obseruable.
Prayer.

Siuillia.

The superstition
of this people.

are cunningly made of the fig-tree timber, which stewards of great houses carry with them to the market, and with a penne of mettall sette downe the wares which they haue bought, and blot them out againe when they haue entred them in their bookes of accompt. They make not their books square leafe by leafe, but extend the matter and substance thereof into many cubites. They reduce them into square peeces, not loose, but with binding, and flexible Bitumen so conioyned, that being compact of wooden table bookes, they may seeme to haue passed the hands of some curious workman that ioyned them together. Which way soeuer the booke bee opened, two written sides offer themselves to the view, two pages appeare and as many lye vnder, vnlesse you stretch them in length: for there are many leaues ioyned together vnder one leafe. The Characters are very vnlike ours, written after our manner, lyne after lyne, with characters like small dice, fishhookes, snares, files, starres, & other such like formes and shapes. Wherein they immitate almost the Egyptian manner of writing, and betweene the lines, they paint the shapes of mē, & beasts, especially of their kings, & nobles. Wherefore it is to bee supposed that the worthy acts of euery kings auncestors, are there set downe in writing, as we see the like done in our time, that oftentimes the Printers insert the pictures of the authors of the matter deliuered into generall histories, and fabulous bookes also, to allure the mindes of such as are desirous to buy them. They make the former wooden table bookes also with art to content and delight the beholder. Beeing shut, they seeme to differ nothing from our bookes, in these they set downe in writing the rites, and customes of their lawes, sacrifices, ceremonies, their computations, also, & certayne Astronomically annotations, with the manner and time of sowing and planting. They begin the yeere from the going downe of the Starres, Pleiades, or Virgilie, and end it with the moneths of the Moone. For they call a moneth a moone, heereupon when they intend to signifie moneths, they say mooncs. They call the moone in their language Tona: and reckon the dayes by the Sunne: therefore naming so many dayes they say so many sunnes, and in their language they call the Sunne Tonatico: yet somewhere it is otherwise, where yet without shew of reason they diuide the yeere into 20. moneths, and include the moneths also into 20. dayes. The huge Temples they frequent, they adorne with golden tapestry, and other furniture intermixed with precious stones. Euery day as soone as light beginneth to appeare, they perfume their temples, and offer deuout prayers before they take any thinge in hand. The inhabitants also of these countreyes vse horrible impietie in their sacrifices, for as I haue sayd before, they sacrifice children of both sexes to their Idols. At what time they cast their seede into the ground, and when the corne beginneth to shoote out in eares, the people for want of children, sacrifice slaues (bought with money, daintily fed, and richly arrayed) vnto their Zemes. They circumcise them twentie dayes before they offer the to their Idols, who passing through the streetes, are humbly saluted by the townesmen, as though they should shortly be reckoned among the number of the Godds. They honour their Zemes with another sharpe kinde of piety, and deuotion: for they offer their owne blood, one out of the tongue, another out of the lippes, some out of the eares, and many out of the breast, thigh, or legges. This blood they draw from them, by cutting and gashing themselves with a sharpe rasor, which as it droppeth they receiue in their hands and casting it on high towards heauen, besprinkle the pauement of the Church therewith, supposing the godds are thereby pacified. Twelue leagues distant from the new Colonie Villa richa, on the East standeth a towne of 5. thousand houses, by the ancient name of the inhabitantes, called Cempoal, but by a new, Siuillia. The King of this towne had fūe men imprysoned reserued for sacrifices: which our men hauing taken away, hee humbly desired to haue them restored, saying, you bring destruction vpon me, and all this my kingdome, if ye take the slaues away from vs, which we determined to sacrifice. For our Zemes being displeased when our sacrifices cease, will suffer all our corne to be eaten with the weeuell, or to bee beaten downe with hayle, or consumed with droughth, or to be laid flat to the ground with violent showers. Least therefore the inhabitantes of Cempoal should desperately reuolt from them, our men chose the lesse euill for the present, supposing it was no time to forbid them to vse their ancient & accustomed ceremonies, and therefore restored the slaues.

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Although the Priestes promise them eternall glory, and perpetuall delightes, and familiarity with the Godds after the stormy dayes of this world: yet they hearken to these promises with heauie cheere, and had rather bee deliuered, then put to death. They call their Priestes Quines, in the singular number Quin, who liue vnmarried, a pure and chaste life, and are honoured with reuerent feare. They also hang vp the bones of their enemies taken in the wars after they haue eaten the flesh, bound together in bundels, at the feete of their Zemes, as trophes of their victories, with the titles of the conquerours vnder them. They report also another thing worth the noting, which will bee very pleasing to your Holinesse. The Priestes seeme to baptise children both males and females of a yeere olde, with holy ceremonyes in their temples, powring water crosse-wise out of a cruets vpon their heads, and although they vnderstand not their words, yet they obserued their murmurs and actions: neyther do they as the Mahumetanes or Lewes, thinke their temples profaned, if any of another sect be present at their sacrifices, or ceremonies. Wee haue now spoken sufficiently of their bookees, Temples, and rites and ceremonies of their sacrifices, let vs therefore proceede to the rest of the presents brought to the King.

A persuasion of the resurrection.

The bones of their enemies hanged vp for trophies.

A kinde of baptizing with water, used amongst them.

The ninth Chapter.

They brought also two mills, such as may bee turned about with the hand, the one of gold, and the other of siluer, solid and almost of one circumference and compasse: (to wit) twenty eight spannes about. That of golde weighed 3800. Castelanes. I sayd before, that a Castelane is a coyne of golde, weighing a third part more then the Ducate. In the center of this mill, was an Image of a cubite long, representing a King sitting in a throane, cloathed to the knee, like vnto their Zemes, with such a countenance, as we vse to paint hobgoblins or spirites which walke by night. The field or plaine without the center was florished with boughes, flowers, and leaues. The other of siluer was like vnto it, and almost of the same weight: and both were of pure metall. They brought also graines of gold, as they grew, not molten, for prooue of natue gold, which were as big as Lintels, and small pulse. And two chaynes of gold, wherof the one containyd eight linckes, wherein 232. redd stones were set, but not carbuncles, and 183. greene stones, which are of the same estimation there that the best Emerodes are with vs. At the edge of this chaine, hang twenty seuen golden belles, and betweene euery bell foure iewels set in gold, at euery one whereof golden pendants hang. The other chaine had 4. round lincks, beset with 102. red stones, & with 172. greene, garnished with 26. golden belles. In the middle of the chaine, were 10. great precious stones set in gold, at the which 130. golden pendants hung, curiously wrought. They brought also by chaunce 12. payre of leather buskins of diuers colours, some embroydered with gold, and some with siluer, and some with precious stones, both blew, and greene. At euery of these hung golden belles: also certaine myters, and attyres of the head full of diuers blew precious stones sowed in them, like vnto Saphires. I know not what to say of the crests, helmets, and fannes of feathers: if manns witte or inuention euer got any honour in such like artes, these people may woorthily obtayne the cheife soueraingty and commendation. Surely I marueile not at the gold and precious stones, but wonder with astonishment with what industrie and laborious art the curious workemanship exceedeth the matter and substance. I beheld a thousand shapes, and a thousand formes, which I cannot expresse in writing: so that in my iudgement I neuer saw any thing which might more allure the eyes of men with the beauty thereof. The feathers of their foule vnkowne to vs, are most beautifull and shining. As they would admire our peacocks, or phesants traines when they sawe them: so did wee wonder at their feathers, with the which they make their fannes, and crests, and trimly beautifie all their worke. Wee sawe blew, greene, yeallow, redd, white & brownish, to be natue colours in feathers. All those instruments they make of gold. They brought two helmets couered with blew precious stones: one edged with golden belles, and many plates of gold, two golden knobbes sustaining the belles. The other couered with the same stones, but edged with 25. golden belles, crested with a greene foule sitting on the top of the helmet, whose feete, bill, and eyes were all of gold, and seuerall golden knobbes sustained euery

The rich gifts brought to the king.

The Indians excell al other nations in curiouse of workmanship.

euery bell. Also foure trowt-speares three-forked, couered ouer with quilles, and platted and wrought in, of diuers colours, the teeth whereof were full of precious stones, fastened together with golden threedes, and wyars. They brought also a great Scepter beset with precious stones after the same manner, with two golden ringes, and a bracelet of golde: and shooes of an Harts skinne, sowed with golden wyar, with a white sole in the bottom, and a looking glasse of a bright stone, halfe blew and white, set in golde, and by chaunce also they brought a cleere transparent stone called Sphengites. Likewise a Lysert set in gold, and two great shelles, two golden duckes, and the sundry shapes of diuers birdes, and all of golde, foure fishes called Cephalis of massie gold, and a rodd of copper. Besides targets for the warres, and bucklers, 24. shieldes of gold, 5. of siluer, what soeuer they brought was curiously wrought in with feathers. Also a light square target platted and wouen with quilles and feathers of diuers colours, in the front whereof, the middle of the golden plate was ingrauen with the portraiture of the Idoll Zemes. Foure other golden plates in maner of a crosse inclose the Image, wherein were the proportions of diuers beastes, as Lyons, Tygers, and Woolues, hauing their heads framed of twiggess, and little splints of timber, with the skinnes of the beastes sowed vpon them, garnished with copper belles, and the shapes of diuers other beastes exceeding well made of the whole skinne. Likewise great sheetes of gossampine cotton, intermingled with blacke, white, and yeallow colours, checker wise, which is an argument, that they are acquainted with chesse boards. One of these sheets, on the right side was chequered with blacke, white, and red colours, and on the inside, all of one colour, without variety. Another also wouen after the same manner, of other colors, with a blacke wheele in the midst, full of rayes and spots, with bright feathers intermixed. Two other white sheetes also, Tapestry couerlets, rich Arras hangings, a little souldiers cloake or cassocke, such as they vse to weare in their countrie, with certaine wouen coates which they weare vnder the, and diuers thinne light tyres for the head. I omitte many other thinges more beautifull to behold, then precious, which I suppose would be more tedious to your Holinesse, then delightfull to report: as also the innumerable particulars of the discoverers, concerning their labours, wantes, dangers, monsters, and many aduersities, whereof euery one in their anotations largely discourse, which also are read and registred in our Senate of Indian affayres. These fewe obseruations I haue gathered out of many and diuers of their bookes, and priuate letters. Yet the bringers of these presents, and Ferdinandus Cortes the Admirall, and author of erecting the new Colony, in those remote countries, were adiudged by the Kings Councell of India, to haue done against equity and right, for that without the aduise of the Gouvernour of Cuba, who by the Kings authority sent them forth, they tooke the matter vpon them contrary to his commaundement, and that they went (although it were to the King) without his consent. Diecus Velasquez therefore, the Gouvernour by his procurator accuseth them as fugitiue theecues, and traitours to the King: but they alledge, that they had performed much better seruice and obedience to the King, and that they appealed to a greater tribunal and an higher Iudge: and say, that they furnished a nauie at their owne charge, and that the Gouvernour himselfe parted with nothing vpon other termes, then as a marchant that was to receiue gaine and profit by his commodities, which they alledge, he sold at a farre dearer rate. The Gouvernour requireth to haue them punished by death, they desire magistracy and offices of commaund, and reward for the daungers, and labours sustayned. Both the reward, and punishment are deferred: yet was it decreed, that both parties should be heard. Now let vs returne to the Darienenses the inhabitants of the gulfes of Vrabia in the supposed Continent. Wee haue sayd heeretofore that Darien is a riuer falling into the West side of the gulfes of Vrabia. Vpon the banke whereof the Spaniardes erected a Colony, expulsing the King Cemaccus by force of armes: and called the name of the Colony Sancta Maria Antiqua, by occasion of a vow made at the time of the fight. To these (as wee mentioned in the ende of our Decades) the same yeere wee ceased to write, 1200. men were sent vnder the conduct of Petrus Arias Abulensis, at the request of Vasques Nunnes Balboa, who first discovered the South Sea heeretofore vnknowne, and gouerned the Darienenses: Petrus Arias arriuing at Darien with ample authority from the King, we declared, that diuers Centurions were sent forth diuers wayes with
diuers

Sancta Maria
Antiqua.

diuers companies of foote: whereupon what followed I will briefly deliuer, because all was hideous and dreadfull, & nothing pleasing. Since our Decades ceased, no other thing was acted saue to kill, and be killed, to slaughter, and be slaughtered. The Catholique king created Vascus Balboa Atlantado, who could not brooke the soueraignty and commaunde of Petrus Arias, so that the dissention betweene them ouerthrew all. Iohannes Capedus the Bishop, a preaching Fryer of the order of S. Francis mediated the matter betweene them, and promised to giue Vasques the daughter of Petrus Arias to wife. But no meanes might be found to make agreement betweene these two Commanders. They fall out much more cruelly, insomuch that the matter came to that passe, that Petrus Arias taking occasion against Vascus through proces framed by the magistrats of the city, commaunded Vascus to be strangled, and 5. other cheife Commanders with him, saying that Vasques and his confederates went about to rebell in the South Sea, where Vascus built a fleete of 4. shippes, to search the South shoare of the supposed Continent. And affirmeth, that to the 300 souldiers he had with him (his companions in armes) hee should speake these wordes. What, my friendes and fellow souldiers, partakers with me of so many labours, and daungers, shall we alwayes be subiect to anothers commaund? Who can nowe indure the insclency and pride of this Gouvernour? let vs follow these shoares whither Fortune shall conduct vs, and among so many Elisian prouinces of so huge a land, let vs chose one, where at length wee may leade the remnant of our life in freedome and liberty. What manne shall be able to finde vs out, or hauing found vs do vs violence? These wordes being reported to the Gouvernour, Petrus Arias sendeth for Vascus from the South: Vascus obeyeth his commaund, and is cast in pryson, and yet denyeth that he euer imagined any such purpose. Whereupon they sought to produce testimony of the misdemeanours which he had committed: his wordes are repeated from the beginning, and he adiudged worthy of death, and was executed. So poore miserable Vascus (euen when he hoped to obtayne greater titles) ended the labours and dangers which he had vndergon. Petrus Arias, leauing his wife in Dariena, imbarketh himselfe in the fleete, to search the countries lying on the shoare: but whether hee bee returned, we haue yet no certaine intelligence, so that Fortune playes her part also with him. For euen now another whose name was Lupus Sosa, being called home, from the fortunate Ilandes, where he had bene Viceroy a long time, was made Gouvernour of Darien: what stomacke Petrus Arias may haue, if he returne, let good men iudge. There was nothing done vnder his government, woorthy of glory. On the one side he is blamed for being too remisse, and negligent, and on the other, for being too fauourable, and nothing seuere in correcting errors and disorders. But we haue spoken enough of this matter: Now let vs repeate some things remaying yet behinde.

Vasques executed.

Lupus Sosa made Governour of Darien.

The tenth Chapter.

OF the great and deepe riuer Dabaiba, called by our men Grandis, which falleth into the vttermost angle of the gulfes of Vrabia, by 7. ports or mouths as Nilus into the Ægyptian Sea, we haue spoken at large in our Decades. The hilly countries thereof by report of the inhabitauntes are very full of gold. Vascus and other Commanders went foure times vp this riuer armed in battayle aray against the streame, with shippes of diuers kindes: first forty leagues, next fifty, then eighty, and at an other time crossed it, to search the secrets of Dabaiba: but O wonderfull mischeife and mischaunce. A naked people alwaies ouerthrew the clothed nation, the vnarmed the armed, and sometimes kild them euery manne, or wounded them all. They goe to the warres with poysoned arrowes, and where they can see the bare fleshe of their enemies, they will not fayle to strike them there. They haue likewise darts, which in the time of fight, they cast so thicke a farre off, that like a cloude they take the light of the sunne from their enemies: and haue also broad wooden swordes hardened in the fire, wherewith they fiercely fight hande to hande, if they come to handie strokes, and Vascus himselfe sometime receiued many woundes at their handes. So the riuer of Dabaiba, and the kingdome were left vnsearched. It remayneth, that wee speake somewhat of Hispaniola, the mother of the other Ilands. In it, they haue a full Senate, and fiue Iudges added to

The riuer Grandis.

Gold.

Poisoned arrowes.

Dartes.

Wooden swordes hardened in the fire.

Hispaniola.

The roote
Iucca.

Hispaniola de-
creed to be a
free people.

He commendeth
the suger Canes
of Hispaniola.

Plentie of cattle
and wonderful
increase of corne.

Vines.

to them, to giue lawes to the people of all those tractes and Countries, but shortly they will leaue gathering of golde there, although it abound therewith, because they shall want myners, and labourers. The miserable inhabitautes (whose helpe they vsed in gathering golde) are brought to a very small number: consumed from the beeginning with cruell warres, but many more with famine, that yeere they digged vpp the roote Iucca, wherewith they made bread for their nobles, and ceased from sowing that graine Maizium their common bread: the spots and pustels of that foule disease heeretofore vnknowne vnto them, in the former yeere 1518 which like rotten sheep inuaded thē through a contagious breath or vapour, and withall, to speake truely, the greedy desire of gold in digging, sifting, & gathering whereof, they cruelly vexed these poore wretches, who after the sowing of their seede, were wont to giue themselves to idle sportes, dancing, fishing, or hunting of certaine conies, which they call Vtia, consumed the rest. But now it is decreed by all the Kings Councell, that they be reduced to a free people, and giue themselves onely to increase or generation, and to tillage and husbandry: and that slaues else where bought, should be drawne to that labour of the gold mines. We haue spoken sufficiently of the deadly hunger of golde. It is a marueilous thing to heare how all thinges grow & prosper in this lland. There are now twenty eight suger-presses erected in it, wherewith they wring out great plenty of suger. They say, that higher and greater suger canes grow in this lland, then any where else: and that they are as thicke as a mans arme in the fleshy and brawny part, and of a mans stature, and an halfe high. And which is more strange, Valentia in Spayne, where our Auncestors made greate quantity of suger euery yeere, or wheresoeuer they take most care and paines about their suger canes, and when euery roote bringeth forth sixe, or seuen sprouting canes at the most: in Hispaniola, euery roote bringeth twenty and sometimes thirtie. The plentie of foure footed beastes and cattle is exceeding great: yet the raging thirst of gold hath hetherto diuerted the Spanyard from tyllage. Corne increaseth wonderfully there, insomuch (as they say) it hath sometimes yeelded more then an hundred fould, where they are careful to sow it in the hilles, or tops of the mountaynes, especially towards the North. But in playne and open fieldes, it vanisheth to chaffe, by reason of the rancknesse, and excessiue moysture thereof. Vines also grow in those parts: but what shoulde wee speake of the trees which beare Cassia-fistula, brought hether from the bordering llandes of the supposed Continent, mentioned in the bookes of our Decades? Whereof there is so great plentie now, that after fewe yeeres, wee shall buy a pound thereof at the Apothecaries, for the price of one ounce, I haue spoken sufficiently in my Decades of the Brasil woodes and other prerogatiues of this blessed lland, and also of the benefits which nature hath bountifully bestowed vppon it. I thought good also to repeate many things, because I suppose, the waight of your important affayres, might happily diuert your Holinesse mind from the remembrance thereof. And sauoury and pleasing discourses, distort not the lippes by repetition, so that a precious matter be adorned with rich and costly attire. The matter deserued a garment imbroydered with gold, and precious stones: but wee haue couered it with a fryars coole. Let the blame therefore of my fault be imposed vppon the most reuerent Ægidius Viterbiensis that well deseruing Cardinall of your Holinesse sacred Sea Apostolical, who inioyned mee, being an vnskillfull artificer to melt gold in a Smithes shopp, to frame costly jewels and ornamentes therewith.

HA^s Petri Martyris salebras, & spineta qua potuimus cura, & industria, iam tandem percurrimus, in quibus traducendis si temporis mora tibi nimis longa videatur, qui poteras, quod mihi oneris imposuisti facilius subire, qui acuto polles ingenio, & arte meliore: æquo tamen animo, & amica fronte feras, quod in hisce novi argumenti libellis studuerim magis veritati, quam verborum ornameto, aut breuitati,

M. Lock.

The

The 5. Decade of Peter Martyr a Millanoise of Angleria, dedicated to Pope Adrian the sixt.

MOST holy father, and most gracious Prince, I dedicated my fourth Decade of the state of India, to Pope Leo the tenth your most bountifull Cosin germane: wherein we haue related with great fidelity, and integrity what menne, llands, or vnknowne landes haue beene discovered in the Ocean in our time, to the yere from the incarnation 1520. Since which time, other letters came from Fernandus Cortes, Admirall of the Emperours fleete, sent from those countreies, which he had then subiected to the Spanish dominion, wherein newe and straunge matters were containd, such as had neuer beene heard of before, very admirall and wonderfull. All which, as briefly and truly as I could, obseruing the order of the matter and times, I haue pressed in this fift Decade of my Commentaries, which I dedicated to Pope Adrian your predecessour, and seeing he is departed this life before the receipt thereof, as you are heyre of his dignity, so he inheritour of my labours, as heereafter you shall bee of all, if I write any thing worthy the historically reading. I dedicate it therefore by name to your gracious and sacred maiesty, that vnder your happy protection and authority it may be published, & all men may know howe great an addition hath bin made vnto the name of Christ, since your Holinesse came to the Papacy which the Almighty, (as I hope, and desire) for your piety, and clemencies sake, will infinitely increase. Proceede therefore, as you haue begunne, and make perpetuall peace betwene Christian Princes, especially betwene the Emperour, and the most Christian Princes, which are at variance with him, and aduance the standarde of the healthfull Crosse against the impiuous enemy: and so leaue eternall monuments of your name, and fame to al posterity, which no time shal euer be able to deface. In the end therfore of the former booke, (that we may returne to our purpose,) mention was made of the most mighty King Mutezuma, who in an huge city, seated in the middle of a salt lake, called Tenustitane, raigned farre, and wide ouer many citties, and kinges of diuers Prouinces, from whom (as we mentioned before) presentes of wonderfull excellency were sent by the Spanyardes Montegius and Portucarrerius to the Emperour Charles abiding at Vallidolet that most famous towne of Spaine. But in the meane space while Cortes expecteth the returne of the messengers hee sent to the Emperour, least through idleness the souldiers should become dull and sluggish, hee determined to execute his intended voyage. That great and mighty city therefore beeing pacified and quieted, which in the former booke of my Decades, I say was called Potenchianum vnder King Tauasco, was presently after called Victoria by our men, by reason of a victorie obtained there against an huge multitude of Barbarians. From whence Cortes went some 80. leagues to the West, and there planted a Colonie vpon the shoare, some fewe leagues from another city within the lande, named Zempoal, neere the riuer of Grisalua, and aboute halfe a league from the village, vpon a little rising hill, named Chianistan: but hee called his owne Colony Vera Crux, because he landed vpon the Eue before the feast of the Crosse. From thence Cortes determined in persō to vnderstand what was reported of so great a King, as he had heard Mutezuma was, and what rumour went of so huge and vast a city. Cortes thought and purpose being vnderstood, the inhabitants of Zempoall bordering vpon Mutezuma, who by violence yeelded him subiection, yet beeing deadly enemies vnto him, consulting together, went vnto Cortes, as the Hædui, and Sequani, after the Heluetians were vanquished, came humbling themselves and weeping vnto the Emperour, for the insolent and outrageous tyranny of Ariouistus King of the Germanes: so did the Zempoalenses complaine of Mutezuma, & much more greiuously, in that, besides the heauy tributes of other prouinciall reuenues, which they yeerely gaue, they were compelled to giue vnto Mutezuma slaues, and for want of them, to giue him some of their owne children in stead of tribute, to bee sacrificed to their godds. For wee haue sayde, and it is well knowne vnto your Holinesse, that in all those countreies they offer vp mans blood to appease their angry godds, as heereafter shalbe declared more at large. The Zempoalenses therefore promise to giue Cortes pledges for their fidelity, and auxiliary forces (valiant and courageous warriors) against the Tyrant because they hope (that God, creator of

He begins his narration.

The Colony Zempoal.

Vera Crux.

Mutezuma a mighty king.

Slaues (and for want of slaues) free children payd for tribute to Mutezuma to bee sacrificed.

The Conceit
that the Barba-
rians had of the
Christians.

A digression to
answer an objec-
tion.

The great Ar-
tillery and men
on horse back
how terrible to
the Barbarians.

A Pollicie of
Cortes.

Heauen and earth fauoringe them, of whom our men made report, and also safely brake downe their parents Images which they worshipped before) they shall free the city from so cruell a Tyrant, and restore liberty to the whole Prouince, otherwise most fortunate, if Cortes would pittie this their so great calamity, & meete with their cruell iniuries: and they further say, they doubt not but they shal get the victory because they thought Cortes and his consorts were sent from Heauen, seing they were so mild vnto the conquered, and such destroyers of them that refused amity with them, or being fewe in number, that they durst stand, and resist so great a sorte of warriours as the power of the Potenchianensioans was. For our men in that battayle disfranked and ouerthrewe 40000. armed men (as your Holines hath often heard of them who were present thereat, and hath likewise read it in letters sent from the cheife Commaunders) with no more then 500. foote, 16. horse and some great ordinance. Heere we must make a litle digression to another sort of men, who are of so slender and base a courage as they take those things for fables, which they think to be without compasse of their strength. These men will writh the Nose, when they shall vnderstand that so many thousands of the enemye were ouerthrown by so small a number of souldiers. But two things may cutt their cauilles asunder. The one is an example, the other the strangenes of the thing. Haue they not read that the Emperour with lesse force conquered the mighty armies of the Heluetians, then of Ariouistus, and lastly of the Belgæ? Did not Themistocles vanquish Xerxe kinge of the Persians and slew his army at Salamina (who is reported to haue inuaded Grecia with so great a multitude, that his army hauinge pitched their tentes, desirous to dine, drinking riuer water, drew their chanel drye) when he had no greater a power then 12. thousand Grecians so that the Emperour being scarce able to flic, escaped with one shippe onely? Besides, our menne hadd twoe seuerall kindes of fight, neuer seene before to those Barbarians or euer hearde of, which with the onely sight thereof compelled them to runn away, to wit, the thunder of the ordinance, & the flame and sulphury smell issuinge from the great artillery which they supposed to be thunder and lightning, brought by our menn from heauen. Neither were they lesse terrified through the approach of the horses thinkinge the manne on horsebacke and the horse to haue binn but one beast, as fables report of the Centaures: neither did it alwayes succede well and happily with our menne, who had often vndergone the like hazzardes themselues, insomuch, that the Barbarians haue sometimes destroyed whole armyes of our men and haue vtterly refused to intertaine strangers and guesstes. But I must now returne to the intended voyage, from whence I diuerted. The oration of the Zempoalenses being ended, and interpreted by Hieronimus Aquilaris, who tossed to and froe with waues had 7. yeeres together led a seruile life, vnder the power and commande of a certaine King of whom I haue at large made mention in the booke goinge before this Decade Cortes departed from Vera Crux, leauinge 150. men there, for defense of that Colony & so marched forward with 15. horsmen only, 300. foote and 400. auxiliary Zempoalenses to ayde him in the warrs: yet first, he commaunded all the shippes (wherein he had brought his army) to be sunke vpō pretence that they were rotten: but he himselfe confesseth the cause, to be this, to wit, that thereby he might remoue all hope of flight from the souldiers, seeing he had determined to settle himselfe in those countryes & make his perpetuall dwellinge there. Yet the souldiers for the most part seemed to thinke otherwise: for they feared by the example of many of their companions who were often slaughtered by the Barbarians, least the same might happen to them, that being but few in number, they should be brought to infinite nations, and those warlike, and armed people. Moreouer many of the were the familiars, & frendes of Iacobus Velasquez Gouvernour of the Iland of Fernandina, which is Cuba who desired to obey their old comander after they shuld returne from the search and viewe of strange countryes. Many of these (at what time Cortes dispatched a ship with the presents to the Emperour, without acquaintinge Iacobus Velasquez therewith) attēpted to steale away with a Brigantine, to signifie the departure of y ship, y laying al passage both by sea, and lad he might take her wherevpon Cortes apprehended foure and punished them as guiltie of treason. Their names were Iohn Scutifer, Iacobus Zermegnus, Gonsalus Vmbria, all Pilottes, together with

with Alphonsus Pagnatus. The shippes therefore being sunke, and the rest terrified (by the example of these foure) from further thought of any departure, he tooke his iourney vpon the 16. day of August, 1519. to that great citie Tenustitan standing vpon a lake, an hundred leagues distant to the West, from the Castle of Vera Crux: And had with him from the Zempoalenses three principall Commanders, called Teuchius, Manexus, and Tamauius. That citie, and her neighbour towne named Zacacami, gaue him 1300. men, whose helpe our men vsed for caryage of their burdēs, in steede of pack-horses, as the manner is in those countryes. Nowe therefore least matters should slightly bee omitted, I am to declare, what befell Cortes in that iourney. As he was vpon the way, it was told him that an vnknowne Fleete wandred along that shore: & as he vnderstoode, it was Francis Garaius. Garaius Governour of the Ilande Iamaica, who also sought a place to erect a newe Colonie. Wherefore Cortes sendeth messengers to Garaius, and offereth him enter-taynment at his Colonie of Vera Crux, and such supplie as he had there, if hee wanted any thing: but whither he did this politickly or no, we shall hereafter knowe. Garaius refuseth it: & by the Kinges Secretary, and witnesses hee protesteth to Cortes, that he ycelde him halfe part of all those countryes, and assigne limites to diuide their iurisdiction. Cortes denyeth his demaunde, and commanded the Secretarie and witnesses sēt from Garaius to be spoyled, and taking away his owne mens olde raggs gaue them as many new garments for them. Garaius vrged him no further, but departed; being about to goe to other countryes, of the same shore. For from Iamaica, (the gouernment whereof was committed vnto him) he also in three Carauelles, the yeere beefore, ranne along the Sea coastes of that lande which Iohannes Pontius called Florida, (of whom I haue spoken at large in the former Decades) but with ill successe. For hee was ouerthrowne by the inhabitants, who slewe the greatest part of his menne. The like also happened to Iohannes Pontius, the firste finder of Florida. Beeing oftentimes repulsed by the inhabitants, hee was so wounded at the length, that returning to Cuba to cure himselfe, & his wounded men, he presently died there. But Garaius searching those shores after the death of Iohannes Pontius, saith hee founde Florida, to be no Iland, but by huge crooked windings & turnings to bee ioyned to this mayne Continent of Tenustitan. Garaius sayling to those shores, light vpon a riuer, flowing into the Ocean with a broade mouth, and from his ships, discryed many villages couered with reedes. A king whose name is Panuchus possesseth both sides of that riuer, from which the country also is called Panucha. This king is reported to be subiect to the great king Mutezuma, and to paye him tribute. Free libertie of trading was not permitted there, and as wee gather by the Chart or map which Garaius his painters brought, it bendeth like a bow, so that descending from Tenustitan, to the North, it bendeth alwayes more and more to the middle of a bowe. And presently againe it bendeth by litle and litle to the South, so that if a line be stretched from the shore of Tenustitan, to that parte of the lande which Iohannes Pontius first touched, from the North side of Fernandina, it will make the string of the bow. Garaius thinketh that coast to be very litle profitable, because he sawe tokens & signes of small store of golde, and that not pure. Wherefore he wished rather to erect a Colony not farre from Sancta Crux the Colony of Cortes, but he forbad him. For in that place Cortes himselfe planted another, which he called by the name of Almeria, from Almeria a citie of the kingdome of Granado standing on the Sea shore, which not many yeeres since was recouered frō the Moores by warlike prowesse. These things being thus done, Cortes pursueth his entended purpose. And hauing marched foure dayes iourney, forward from Zempoal, came into a Prouince named Sincuchimalarem, whiche is a playne hauing onely one citie or towne, seated on the side of a litle rising hill, exceeding stronge and fortified by nature. There is no other accesse vnto it, but by two scales or greeces, made by mans hande, harde to clime: which is the seate, and house of the King of that small Prouince tributarie to King Mutezuma. It is amost fruitfull Prouince, euery where in the playne full of many townes and villages, euery one of them contayning 300. or 400. houses, but countrey cottages. The Nobilitie (as it falleth out euery where) dwell with their Kinge. This king peaceably entertained our menne in his towne,

Cortes takes his iourney towards the great Citie of Tenustitan.

Franciscus Garaius.

Florida.

The vnhappie successe of Iohannes Pontius.

Panucha.

The Colony Almeria.

Sincuchimalarem a Prouince.

towne, and fed them well, affirming that Mutezcuma charged him so to doe. Cortes sayeth, hee will report it to Mutezcuma and giue him thanks, and further sayth that hee came out of his owne Empire and dominions to see him. Cortes departing from this kinge, went to a most high mountaine inclosing the end or boundes of that prouince. Cortes affirmeth, and they that came from it confesse, that no mountaine in Spayne is higher, and that passing ouer it in the Moneth of August, they indured sharpe and bitter cold, by reason of the congealed snow & continuall Ice. In the descent of these mountaines, they enter another plaine, at the beginnunge and entrance whereof standeth a towne named Texunacum, this also is a most fruitfull plaine, and fortified with many villages and towers, and all of them subiect to Mutezcuma. Being gone out of that valleye two dayes iorney, weakened & spent with hunger and cold they passed ouer barren countries without water, and therefore desolate, and not inhabited. Through that distemper, and a violent storme of winde and raine, with lighteninge and thunder many perished. From thence they came vnto a calmer Mountaine, on the topp whereof stode a Chapell dedicated to their Idolls. Before the Chapell dores, was an exceeding great stacke of wood. At certaine times of the yeere, euery one offer to their godds pyles of woode, together with the oblations which are to be sacrificed: Who thinke thereby they appease the angry gods. The Spaniards call the opening of the mountaine toppes, Portes, so from the same effect, they called that passage the Port of wood. Descendinge from that Mountayne, they enter into another valley fruitfull and inhabited, whose Kinge is called Cacataminus. The Kinges Courte is all of stone, very greate made with halles, and many Chambers, after our fashion, and seated vpon the banke of a pleasant riuer runninge through that valley. This kinge honorably intertained vs, and being demaunded whether he were at Mutezcumas commaund, he answered, & who is not? seeing Mutezcuma is Lorde of the world. But demaunding of him what hee thought of our King, he confessed he was greater, whom Mutezcuma also himselfe would obey. Our men instantly requiring to know whether hee could get any gold, he confessed, that he had gold, but that he would not giue it to any, without Mutezcumas consent. So they durst not compell him to giue them any least they should disquiet Mutezcuma becing farre of. Two other borderinge Kinges perswaded through the fame of our nation, came vnto Cortes and either of them brought him a seuerall chaine of gold, but of smale weight, and no pure mettall, whercof the one had dominion 4. leagues vp the riuer, and the other two leagues downe the streamé. They say that both sides of the riuer are euery where fortified with houses which haue gardens, and country farmes lying betweene them. They report that the Princes court, who hath his house vp the riuer, is not inferior either in greatnes, excellency, or strength, and that there is a Castle here neere vnto his court, inexpugnable, and most exactly built with bulwarkes and turretted walles. The report goeth that this Kinges towne consisteth of 5000. houses, & some say 6000. but they told vs not the name thereof. Our menn were also well entertained by this Prince: who is likewise subiect to Mutezcuma. From this kinges lodginge Cortes sent 4. messengers to the next towne called Tascalteca, to sounde the myndes of the inhabitants, whether they would be pleased, that hee should come vnto them because he had heard that the Tascaltecanes were a warlike people, and deadly enemies to Mutezcuma: Whereupon hee stayde 2. dayes with his king, expecting the messengers. Mutezcuma could neuer perswade the Tascaltecanes to admitt any lawe from him, or that they should obey him, insomuch that they alwayes brought vp their youth in the hatred of Mutezcuma, by meanes whereof for many yeares together they wanted salt and gossampine cotton wherewith to make garments, being inclosed on euery side with Mutezcumas countries, and could not elsewhere procure these necessaries. They say, that they had rather liue with greate want of things necessary, free frō the slavery & seruitude of Mutezcuma, then to become his vassells, & subiects. In this city they say there are many nobles, Lords of villages, whose helpe the cōmon wealth of y Tascaltecanes vseth, making thē captaines & Commanders in the warrs. They will haue no Lords. If it arise in any manns minde, to be desirous to raise an heade, it woulde draw to a worse mischiefe vpon that citizen, then the Heluetianes inflicted vpon Orgentorites,

A high mountaine.

Texunacum a towne.

A Chapell dedicated to Idolls.

The Port of wood. Cacataminus and his Court.

Mutezcuma thought to be lord of the world yet acknowledged to be lesse then Them-pexor.

2. petty kinges bringe presents to Cortes.

Tascalteca a towne.

The menanimitie of this people.

Orgentorites, affecting Empire and soueraigntie, and perswading the Princes and chiefe of the Hedui, and Sequani, to do the like. The Tascaltecanes are iust & vpright in their dealing, as they foud by experiēce afterwards, wherof hereafter we wil speake at large. Cortes therefore expecting the messengers, and none of them returned, departed from that towne, yet spent eight dayes in that valley, and diuers villages thereabout. In the meane space the Zempoalenses goe about to perswade Cortes, to procure the amitie and friendship of the Tascaltecan common wealth, declaring how great helpe he should finde in them against the power of Muteczuma, if at any time hee attempted to doe any thing against them. Whereupon he remoued thence towards Tascalteca. In his journey he founde another valley, which a wall of 20. foote broade, and a mans height and an halfe high, ouercrossed from both the bottomes of high mountaines standing on either side. In the whole wall there was but one gate, ten paces wide, built with diuers crooked turnings, leaſt the sudden inuasion of the enimie might assault them wandering & vnprovided. The wall appertained to the Tascaltecanes, made for that purpose, leaſt the Muteczumans shold passe through that valley, whether they woulde or no; The inhabitantes of the valley behinde them, accompanying Cortes, as Guides to direct him the way, admonished and perswaded him, not to goe through the borders of the Tascaltecanes, saying they were deceitfull, breakers of their fidelity and promise, and enemies to all strangers, and such as receiued intertainment from them, and further that if they tooke any, they were deuourers of their enemies: and therefore they woulde conduct Cortes and his companions al the way through the countreyes of Muteczuma, where by Muteczumas commaundement, they should haue whatsoeuer they could wish or desire. On the contrary parte the Zempoalensian guides, Teuchius, Manexico, and Thamalus, and some of the chiefe of Zacatamini who had a thousand warriours, were most of the same opinion, who aduise him by any meanes not to trust the tributaries of Muteczumans, for our me were to be drawn by Muteczuman guides, through places, full of dangers, and passages fit for ambushment: and that he shoulde beware of the deceit of the Muteczumanes, they earnestly besought him: promising that they woulde be his guides through the open countries of the Tascaltecanes. Resolving therefore to followe the counsell of the Zempoalensians, and Zacatamini, hee taketh his journey through the Tascaltecan fields. Cortes himselfe went beefore the bandes as they marched, with the horse, of the which, he drewe forth two, and sent them beefore as scouts, who if they sawe any imminent danger beefore their eyes, they might take notice thereof, & comming backe, signifie, that they must prepare themselues to fight. The horsemen being sent beefore from the toppe of an high hill some foure miles of, by chaunce discovered certaine armed men lying in ambuscado in the next plaine, nowe in the iurisdiction of the Tascaltecanes. As soone as they sawe the horse, supposing the man and the horse to be but one beast, stricken with feare at such an horrible sight and strange apparition, they fled away or dissembled flight. Our men make signes of peace, and cal them backe againe as they fled, beckening, and wauing to them with their handes. Of many, 15. of the onely make a stande: hauing an ambuscado hard by. The two horsemen that went beefore, cal the rest of the horse, and bidde them make speede. A litle further about 4000. armed men issue forth of the place where they lay hid, and begin the fight with our men, and in the twinkling of an eye kill two horses with their arrowes. Our foote companies goe vnto them, and set vpon the enimie, who being wounded with arrowes and arquebus shot forsake the battaile. They slew many of them, but not a man more of ours either slayne or wounded. The next day following, messengers were sent to Cortes to desire peace: who brought two of the messengers with them whom Cortes expected a long tyme: they intreate pardon for that they had done, and make excuses: saying, that they had forraigne souldiers that day, whiche they could not restraine, and that it was done against the power & abilitie which the Princes of that Prouince hadde to withstande it: and that they were readie to pay for the horses, and if any other dammage were done, they offered recompence. Cortes admitted their excuses. Marching some three myles thence, hee incamped on the side of a certayne ryuer, and appoynted his nightlie watches, shrewdly mistrusting the Barbarians.

A wall beeing
ing to the Tas-
caltecan.

Cortes sendes
scoutes beefore
him.

Many armed
men of the Tas-
caltecanes in am-
bush discovered
fled at the sight
of our horse-
men.

The Tascalte-
canes begin to
fight.

The Tascalte-
canes desire
peace.

As

The Tascalte-
cans make fight
again.

100000 barba-
rians in ambush.
A doubtfull
battayle.

O savage peo-
ple.

400. captiues
taken.

A huge army of
the Tascaltecan
assault the campe.

Greate and ad-
mirable are the
effects of re-
solved minds yf
urged by extre-
mitie.

The Tascalte-
cans craue par-
don and bring
presents.

As soone as day began to appeare, he went to the next village, where (of the foure mes-
sengers he sent to sounde the inhabitantes mynds) he found two of them had bin taken by
the inhabitantes, & bound with cords, but breaking them by night they escaped. It was
determined, that the next day they shoulde bee slaine: this they themselves reported.
While he thus stayde, beholde a thousande armed men vnexpected, filling the ayre with their
horrible clamors, cast their lauelins, and many sortes of dartes at our men a farre of: but
Cortes endeoured with faire speeches to allure them, yet it profited nothing. They signifie
vnto them by interpreters, that they prouoke not our men: but the more gently he dealt
with them, the more insolent, and outrageous was the Barbarians. At length they retyred,
and by litle and litle drewe our men pursuing them, to an hidden ambuscado of armed men,
about some hundred thousande as Cortes himselfe writeth. The Barbarians issue forth,
and compassed our men on euery side, so that they fought with doubtfull successe from an
houre before noone vntill the euening. In that battayle the Zempoalenses, Zacatamini,
Istacmastitani, and the rest of the inhabitantes, who folowed Cortes, behaued themselves
valiantly, compelled through extreme necessitie: for being inclosed within the countries of
the Tascaltecanes, there was no way open for flight. The only hope of their safty was, to
despaire of safty. Yf they had bin vanquished, they had made the Tascaltecanes a daintie
banquet with their flesh. For the conquered become foode to the conquerours. Where-
fore the Tascaltecanes trusting in their multitude began nowe to licke their lippes, through
hope of daintie and delicate cates, when they vnderstoode a forraigne nation had entred the
limits of their borders. But it fell out otherwise with them: for Cortes had sixe fiele peeces,
and as many arquebus shot, fourtie archers, & 13. horsemen intermixed with them, warlike
engines and instruments vnknown to the Barbarians. Wherefore that cloud of Barbarians was
nowe at length dispersed: yet hee passed that night without sleepe (in a certain chappell
in the field consecrated to Idolatry) much troubled & disquieted in mind. But at 7 first
dawning of the day, he came forth into the opē field with all his horse an hundred foote of
his owne and 300 of the Istacmastitan Prouincialles: for that towne Istacmastitan also peace-
ably receiued Cortes, and gaue him 300. men for his supply and ayde against Mutezuma.
He tooke also of the Zempoalenses, and their next neighbours foure hundred men, leauing
the rest to garde the campe and the carriages, and ouerranne al the enemies plaine, burnt
foue villages, made hauocke and spoyle of whatsoever he met with: and brought 400.
captiues to the Campe. But at the first twilight, before the morning began to waxe red,
behold such an infinite number of the enemy, ran violently to the Campe, that they seemed
to couer all the fieldes. They write, that there came 150000. armed men thither, who fought
furiously at the fortifications of the campe. They say they incountered hand to hand for the
space of foure houres with great hazard of our mē: but the Barbarians retyred without
doing any thing, for none there, coulde turne their backs. Of fearefull sheepe, each man
then tooke a Lyons courage with him. The enemy being put to flight, Cortes like a tyger
great with young, marched forth against these traytors, who here and there were nowe
returned to their houses. So wasting, destroying, taking, or killing, all he met he came vnto
a towne of 3000. houses (as they report) and aboue, all which he destroyed with fyre and
sworde. This being thus done, the Prouincialles smitten with exceeding terrour and feare,
sent the Nobility of that country Embassadours vnto Cortes. They craue pardon for that
which is past, and promise that hereafter they woulde bee obedient to his commaunde, and
receiue what Lawes soeuer in the name of that greate King of whome Cortes so muche
gloryeth. For prooffe whereof, they brought presentes such as were honourable and of
esteeme with them, to witte, helmettes and plumes of feathers, (ornamentes for the warres)
curiously wrought with wonderfull art. They brought also necessarie prouision of victuall,
as of corne, and plentie of crammed foule, after their manner. For wee haue sayde before,
and your Holinesse hath heard it reported, that they mayntaine certaine foule among them
(in steede of our hennes) greater then Peacockes, and nothing inferior to them in tast.

The

The second Chapter.

HAuinge heard what the Embassadors would deliuer, he greatly accuseth their Lordes and masters, yet offereth them pardon for the former dammage they had done: & to admitt them into his amity and friendship, so that hereafter they carry themselves faithfully in the obedience of the King of Spaine. The next day after, 50. men of the nobilitie came vnarmed vnto him (vnder color of intertaining amity) to espy the entrance of the campe. When Cortes sawe the view the situation of the campe with fixed eye, & troubled countenance, he began to suspect. Separating one of them therefore from his felowes, hee leadeth him aside, and by a faithful Interpreter exhorteth him to confesse the truth, who being intised through promises, and flattering speeches, openeth the whole matter. He saith that the chiefe man of that prouince Quesitangal by name, lay in ambushment with a great power of armed menne, to assault the campe vnawares the next night: and for that purpose his consorts were sent vnder pretence of peace, that they might vnderstand where to make the assault, or which might be the easiest way to the booths which our menne had erected, (that they might not lodge all night in the open ayer) that so entring them, they might set them on fire, and while our menne were busied in quenching the same they might assault them, and put them all to the sworde: for (saith he) we will tempt fortune with crafty deuises, and stratagemes seeing they were alwayes ouerthrowne so vnghappily through warlike prowesse. Cortes vnderstanding this, desired more fully to knowe the truth of the matter. Wherefore hee brought other 5. of the same company into a secret place a part, and threatened to torture the, & offered the liberall rewardes, in conclusiō all of them (without difference) cōfessed y same y the first man did. But, befor y report of this inquisitiō shuld be spread he tooke those 50. euery man: & cutting of their right hāds sēt the back to their master with this message. Tell your Princes thus, that it is not the part of valiant men, or such as are renowned for warlike prowesse, to bringe their purposes to passe by such treacherous deuises. As for you the instruments of treachery who came enemies vnto vs in steede of negociators, receiue this punishment of your wickednes, that hauing your right handes cutt off, ye returne vnto the who chose you to be authors of so mischieuous and foule a deed. Tell them, we wilbe ready, what houre soeuer they come, whether they assaile vs by night or set vpon vs at noone daye: so that they shall well know what those fewe are, whom they seeke to disquiet. They goe, and report what they sawe, and shew what they had suffered. In the euening, an huge and turbulent multitude of Barbarians, divided into two seuerall cōpanies came vnto them. Cortes thought it much better to meddle with them in the open day, when by the light he might shewe the Barbarians the sterne countenance of his horse, vnknowne to the, & the force of the furious artillery, then to expect night which brings a thousand dangers with it, especially to those that set footing in strang countries, ignorant of the places, if they be cōpelled to change. Seeing the horses and fury of the great ordinance, and stricken with feare at the noyse thereof, at the first incounter the Enimy retires to the stādinge corne, whereof the fields at that time were very ful, so being dispersed, they sought to hid themselves. Their corne (as I haue oftē said) is Maizium. Hereupō they gaue Cortes free liberty to wander: yet for certaine dayes he durst not put his heade out of the Campe. About some league from the Campe they had a city of the enemy which at the sound of a trumpet assembled an innumerable multitude of souldiers. For Cortes himself writeth, and they who came frō thence are bold to say that this city Tascalteca consisteth of 2000. houses. At length being certified by spies, y the inhabitants of that greate city were vnprouided, and secure, he suddenly inuaded it in the second watch of the night, and set vpon them either wandringe or being asleepe: by meanes whereof he possesseth the strongest place therof. At the first dawning of the day, the chiefe men come vnto him & humbly intreat him to doe the no hurt & sweare to obey his command. They bring with the plenty of their countrie victualles, as much as Cortes would desire, where vpon Cortes returned victor to the Campe, where he founde the company much moued against him, because hee brought them, where they might not returne, and therefore

4 B

50. spies sent home to their princes with their right hands cut of.

The enemies about to begin fight are astonished at the noise of the ordinance and die.

Cortes taketh the city by night.

A mutinie in Cortes his company.

sayd they would goe no further, for they could by no meanes escape, but should shortly bee slayne euery man, seeing they sawe themselves compassed on euery side with such fierce warriours, and that they should perish either with famine or colde, after they had escaped the weapons of the Barbarians. Affirming further, that the successe of war was vncertaine, and that the victorie was not alwayes in the hande of menne, and therefore they perswade and intreate him to returne to the shore, where their companions were left. Yf he refused, they protest, that they will forsake him. But Cortes who resolued in his mind, that he woulde goe to Tenustitan, the chiefe citie of all those countreyes, thinking to deale wisely and gently rather then to handle the matter seuerely, thus reasoneth with them. What a strange thing is this my felow souldiers and companions in armes? why doe yee feare? Do you not apparently knowe that God is with you, who hath giuen vs so many happie victories? Doe yee thinke those whom wee are about to seeke, are better, and more valiant and stout? Doe yee not see, that it is in your power, that the faith of Christ should infinitely be amplified? What kingdomes, and of what quality shall ye procure to your King and your selues, so yee be constant? That which remaineth behind is but a small matter. If peraduenture, (which I nothing feare) we must die, what could be more happie? could any man euer finish his life with more glory? Besides, remember ye are Spanyardes, who commonly are of an vndanted spirite, not esteeming their life a farthing, where either the obedience of Almighty God, or the opportunitie of obtaining glory, offer themselves. Againe, whither shall we goe? What shal wee doe growing slothfull through idlenesse on the shores? Take courage, take courage I say, and with me subdue these barbarous nations to the Lawe of Christ, and the obedience of our King. What fame shall be left to posteritie of these worthy actes, which yet neuer came to the eares of any man liuing? We shal be more honourable among our neighbours in our country, then euer was Hercules in Greece, through his comming into Spaine, of whome monumentes are yet extant. Our labours are much more grievous, and our rewardes shall be the greater. Rouse vp yourselves therfore and with a stout courage vndertake with me what ye haue begunne, making no question of the victorie. Hauing ended his oration, the Centurians affirmed that Cortes had spoken well. The multitude (more vnconstant than the waues of the Sea, which goe whither soeuer the winde bloweth) yeeld likewise their consent, and lend their eares and tongues to serue euery turne. The souldiers myndes being pacified, Embassadours came vnto Cortes from Zeutegal, Generall Commander of that country, who craued pardon for that which was past, for taking armes agaynst our men. And that they shoulde not woonder thereat, they say, that they neuer acknowledged any king, or were euer subiect vnto any, and that they alwayes esteemed libertie so much, that they suffered many inconueniencies in former times, least they should obey Mutezumass command. But chiefly they wanted cotton garmentes, and salt to season their meats which they coulde not get, without Mutezumass leaue. Yet if they might now be receiued into his fauour and grace, they promise to doe whatsoeuer he shoulde commande. No man knewe of it, and so they were admitted. That citie Tascalteca was sixe leagues distant from the Campe, the citizens intreate him to come vnto them. Cortes a long time refused it, yet at length ouercome through the intreaties of the Princes, he went. But I must insert another thing before I proceed in the Tascaltecan matters. Sixe of the familiar friendes of Muteczuma came to Cortes, with excellent and costly presentes: who brought diuers Jewels, and sundry vestures of golde, to the value of a thousand Castellanes of golde, and a thousande garmentes of Gosampine cotton dyed of diuers colours. When these men vnderstoode that Cortes determined to visite Muteczuma and his citie, they desired Cortes in the behalfe of Muteczuma, to thinke no more of that matter, beecause that citie Tenustitan was seated in the waters, where naturally was great want and scarcitie of all thinges: so that vnles they were supplied by forrainers, there would be smale store of prouision fit for so great persons. But the Embassadours promise that Muteczuma should send what sūme soeuer Cortes would demand of golde, siluer, precious stones and other things, wheresoeuer he should make his aboad. To this Cortes made answer that he could not by any meanes graunt their request, because he had expresse commandement from his king, both to see that city, and the king thereof, & make diligent inquiry of all

Cortes his braue
oration to the
souldiers.

View here the
mutability of a
multitude.

Zeutegal sūds
Embassadours to
Cortes with
promise of sub-
jection.

Cortes present-
ed by 6. of the
kindred of Mu-
tecuma with
rich giftes.

all things, that he might signifie by messengers to his maiesty what a thing it is. Vnderstanding his minde and purpose, they desire leaue of Cortes to send one of themselves with that answer to Mutezuma. Leauē is graunted, & one of the six, who were ioyned in commission went & returned againe the sixth day: & brōght ten peeces of embossed golden plate from Mutezuma of equall waight and very fairely wrought. He brought also vpo slaues shoulders (because they cann get no beastes for carriage) 1500. garmentes more precious then the former 1000. They that are of a base spirit, will heere woonder, & beleue those things to be fabulous which they neuer heard of before or which are without the compasse of their strength. These men wee will satisfy in their place, when wee shal come to treatē of the œconomicall and howshold affaires of Mutezuma. Let this digression from the Tascaltecanes suffice. Now let vs report the quality, & greatnes of Tascalteca, and this first, which I touched before. It alloweth Noblemen but cannot brooke Lords, as I sayd before, and is gouerned partly Democratically and partely Aristocratically, as somtime the Common wealth of Rome was, before it came to a violent Monarchy. Cortes writeth & they that come from thence say, that it is much greater then the city of Granata, and more populous, and abounding with all things necessary for the life of man. They vse bread made of Maizium: and haue store of foule, wild beastes and fresh water fish, but no sea fish: for it standeth too farre from the Sea, aboue 50. leagues distant, as some say. They haue also diuers kinds of pulse. Within the stone walls, are houses of stone high and well fortified, for they are allwayes suspicious and in feare, by reason of the bordering enemy which ioynes vpo them. They frequent markets, and fayres: and are cloathed, & weare stockings or buskines. They delight much in Jewels of gold & precious stones: & greatly esteeme helmetts, and plumes of feathers of diuers colors, which they vse for ornamēt in the wars: all which they plat & interlace with gold: they sell wood for fuel euery where in the markets brought vpo mens shoulders: & sel also for the vse of building, beames, rafters planckes bricke, stones, & lime, & they haue architects, & excellēt potters. There is no earthen vessels with vs, that exceedeth the workmanship of theirs. They haue also Herbaristes that sell medicinable herbes: and they vse bathes. And it is also certainly knowne that they haue an order and lawes where by they gouerne. The largenesse of that prouince is 90. leagues in circuit about, whereof this city Tascalteca is the heade & cheife: being full of townes, villages, and streets, mountains, and fruitfull valleyes replenished with people, and those men of warre, by reason of the neighbourhood of Mutezuma their perpetual enemy. Heereunto adioineth another prouince, called the country of Guazuzingo: which is gouerned after the same order, in the forme of a common wealth. They are all enemies to theeues, for hauing taken them they lead them bound through the marketts, and beate them to death with cudgelles & are iust & vpright dealers. He aboad 20. dayes with the Tascaltecanes: at what time, the six Embassadors of Mutezuma were alwayes at his side endeavoring to perswade Cortes not to intertaine friendship with the Tascaltecanes, and that hee should not trust faithlesse, & deceitfull men. The Tascaltecanes on the contrary part, affirmed that the Mutezumanes were tyrants, & wold bring Cortes into some dangerous & ineuitable misery, if he gaue credit to thē. Cortes secretly reioyced at this their dissentiō, thinking their mutuall hatred might profit him, & therefore fedd thē both with faire speeches. The Mutezumanes were very earnest with Cortes, to discharge himselfe of the Tascaltecanes and that hee woud goe to the citty Chiurutecal, in the iurisdiction of Mutezuma, not aboue 5. leagues distāt thence. There (say they) he might more easily treatē whatsoeuer he wold concerning the affaires, hee had with Mutezuma. The Tascaltecanes on the contrary, told Cortes, that they had prepared to intrappe him, both in the way & in the citty Chiurutecal. In the waye, because they signified y in many places the citizens thereof had cut trenches wherby y horses might be indangered, and that other wayes were turned from the right course: And that within the city the wayes were stopped and dammed vp in many places, and fensed with heapes of earth, or stones: & that those citizens had gathered together a great heape of stones in their solars, turrets, & windwos which were ouer the streets & publicke wayes, whereby frō aloft they might kill our men cōming vnto thē.

Mutezuma
sends presents of
wonderfull valu:
to Cortes.

Democratically
and Aristocratically
the gouernment of
Tascalteca.

A Politike gouernment.

Guazuzingo, a
Prouince.
Punishment of
Theeues.

Cortes his pol-
licie to mayn-
taine a faction.

Chiurutecal
a city.





The Chiurute-
calenses send
Embassadours to
Cortes.

Cortes (contrary
to the good coun-
sell of the Tas-
caltecanes) is by
practise driuen to
goe to Chiuru-
tecall.

A conspiracie of
Mutezumans
with the citizens
of Chiurute call
against Cortes.

thē. And further the Tascaltecās declare that it was an argument, that the Chiurutecalenses were corruptly affected towards our men, in that they neuer came vnto them, as they of the citie Guazuzingo did, who were further of. Cortes vnderstanding this, sent vnto the Chiurutecalenses, to complayne of their iniurie and negligence. Hauing hearde the message of Cortes, they sent Embassadours, but of the basest of the people, and men of no worth to tell him, that they came not before, because they were to goe through their enemies countreyes, yet they sayde that the Chiurutecalenses were well affected vnto Cortes. But vnderstanding the indignitie they offered him, in that the nobilitie disdayned to come vnto him, hee sent those base companions away with threatning woordes, and with this charge, that vnlesse the chiefe men of that citie came vnto him within three dayes, hee woulde come against them as an enemy, and then (sayth he) they shoulde prooue what hee vseth to doe when he is angry, if they deferred their comming, to yeeld obedience to the King of Spayne, to whom the dominion and Empire of all those countreyes belongeth. So they came, and Cortes sayth, hee woulde admit the excuses they made, so they performed their promise. They promise willingly to doe his command and that he shoulde know, and vnderstande that the Tascaltecans had spoken vntruth, and offered that they would pay tribute according to Cortes his edict, if he woulde come vnto them. So he stood long doubtfully distracted in diuers opinions. At lēgth hee resolved to trie his fortune, and yeelding to the Mutezumans, taketh his iourney towards Chiuruteal. But the Tascaltecans hauing hearde his resolution, perceiuing that good counsel preuailed nothing, say, they woulde by no meanes suffer, that Cortes shoulde freely commit himselfe to the Mutezumans trust so that it might be in their power, to be able to hurt him. That they were thankfull menne, to him who vsed them so kindly, and receiued the Tascaltecans into his friendshippe and fauour after so innumerable errors, when he might vtterly haue destroyed them in due reuenge of their rebellion. Wherefore they instantly affirme that they would giue him an hundred thousand armed mē in steed of a Prætorīa army to gard his persō: but Cortes refused. It booteth not to deny thē. That first night therefore he encāped on the banke of a riuer ouer against him, with that army of almost an hūdred thousand men. Afterwards retaining 2000. for his defence, hee sent away the rest, yeelding them deserued thanks, as was fit. The Chiurutecalensian priests comming forth after their manner with boyes and girles, singing, and with the sounde of drummes, and trumpettes, receiued our menne (comming vnto them) a farre of. Entiring the cittie, they were enterayned, and fedde well enough, but not daintilie, or plentifully. Concerning the damming vp of wayes, and rampires, & stones which were prepared, they perceiued somewhat, as they were admonished by the Tascaltecans. But now, beholde newe messengers from Mutezuma: who spake vnto the citizens of Chiuruteal in the eare, and not to Cortes. The messengers demanded what they had done with our men, the citizens made them no further answer. Wherefore Cortes moued to suspition, beeing mindfull of the counsel of the Tascaltecans, by Hieronimus Aquilaris the Interpreter (who was skilfull in the language of these countreyes, hauing serued long time in the bordering prouinces) questioneth a certayne young man admitted to his presence: & this is the summe of all that he vnderstoode. He saith, that the Chiurutecalenses when our men were to goe vnto them, had sent away all the children, and old men, with their women, and goods what they ment else, he plainly professeth, that he knoweth nothing. The treason is discouered, but in what manner and order, I must declare vnto you. A certaine Zempoalensian mayde was abiding with a woman of Chiuruteal, who peraduenture folowed her husbāde or her friende. The Chiurutecalensian woman spake thus vnto the Zempoalensian stranger. Friende, go with me. Whither saith she? without the citie, and farre of saith shee. For that night she saith innumerable multitude of armed men would cōe from Mutezuma, who will kill as many as they find within these walles. I reueale this vnto you, because I haue compassion on you: stay not heere, vnlesse you desire cruelly to finish these pleasaunt yeeres of your tender age, with the rest. The mayde discouereth the matter to Aquilaris. Cortes desiring to examine it, knoweth the matter, and vnderstoode it to be true. Whereupon he sent to cal the chiefe rulers of the Chiurutecalenses, & cōmādeth his

mē

mē presētly to arme thēselues. He declareth þ matter to þ captales, & willeth þ vpō notice giuē by discharge of a peece they fall vpon the authors of that mischeuous practise, whom hee woulde assemble together in the hall of his lodginge. The cheif men of the city came, and declaringe the matter first vnto them. hee casteth them in prison, taketh horse, and goeth forth. He found the gates of his pallace compassed about with armed menne: so greate was the armed multitude of citizens which expected their comminge. Hee settes vppon them, before the rest could come vnto them, so that they fiercely fought a long time, as he himselfe saith for the space of 5. houres. At length hee vanquished the treacherous Barbarians, and then returneth to the appointed pallace. Hee calleth the citizens (who were bounde) vnto him, who being demaunded why they did so, they aunswered, they were deceived by Mutezuma: and that it was done against their will. But if hee would spare them, they promise, they would bee subiect to him for euer, and neuer obey Mutezuma, any more. The Zempoalenses, and Tascaltecanes who ayded him, behaued themselues manfully that day, for the hatred they conceiued against the tyranny of Mutezuma. Whereupon Cortes spared the cittizens, and commanded them to goe vnto the women, and children, and the rest, & bringe them backe againe. They did so: and the city was replenished with her people. This beinge done, hee did his endeour to reconcile the Tascaltecanes, and the Chiurutecalenses, and to make them agree together, who were at variance before by Mutezumans meanes, and deadly hated one another. That city Chiurutecall standeth in a fruitfull plaine, consisting (as they write) of 20000. houses built of lime and stone, within the wall, and as many in the suburbes. It was sometimes a common wealth: but Mutezuma made it tributary and subiect to his comaunde. Both citties will now willingly obey vs. These people are richer, and haue better garments then the Tascaltecanes their neighbours. The Chiurutecalenses water a great part of their plaine by trenches which they haue cut: and that prouince is well fortified with turreted walles. Cortes himselfe writeth that frō one high Church, he numbered 400. towers belonging to þ prouince, besides those which were erected in the streets of þ city which al were in steed of Churches. This country hath land fit for pasture, which (he saith) he yet found no where else in those countreys because other prouinces were so ful of people that they haue scarce grounde enough for their seede. These things succeeding thus, he calleth Mutezumans Embassadors vnto him, and blameth the vnjust and deceitfull dealing of their maister, affirming that it was not the part of a noble Prince, such as he supposed Mutezuma had bene, to deale craftily, and to make others instrumentes of his cunning practises and deuises. Wherefore Cortes sayth, that he woulde no longer keepe fidelitie and promise of amitie, giuen him by messengers betweene them, seeing Mutezuma had so trecherously contrary to his oath attempted these things against him. But the Embassadors halfe dead, and out of hart, sayd, their master, neuer imagined, or knewe of any such matter, and that time shoulde discover what they sayd, to be true. They say, that Mutezuma was alwayes a religious obseruer of his promise: and that the Chiurutecalenses diuised that of their owne heade, to preserue them from the displeasure of Cortes. Hauing thus spoken, the Embassadors desire Cortes that with his good leaue they might send one of their cōpany to Mutezuma, to signifie what might be treated. Prouision of victuall is giuen him: who within fewe dayes returning brought presentes with him for a King, to witte, tenne golden chargers, as he writeth and 1500. garments of Gossampine cotton, such as they vse to weare. I sayd elsewhere, I woulde deliuer these things more plainly to satisfie base spirites of meane capacitie, from whence this King hath so many garments in his wardrope: besides many things for foode, but specially wine, which Kinges and noble men delight in, differing from that which the people vse. For they make many sorts of drinke, the ordinarie and common sort of Maizium, but the better of diuers fruites. But of certaine almondes, which they vse in steed of mony, they make wonderfull drinke, of this almonde we will speake hereafter. By that familiar friend therfore of Mutezuma, and by these other new Embassadors, he affirmed that he knewe nothing of that, whiche the Chiurutecalenses spake of him, who spake vntruly to excuse themselues, and that it shoulde so fall out hereafter that hee shoulde vnderstande there

Cortes bindeth
the chiefe men
of the city
authors of the con-
spiracy.
The Buttyle
loyned.

Cortes van-
quisheth.

Cortes pardon-
eth the Conspi-
rators and they
become his sub-
iectes forsaking
Mutezuma.

The description
of the City of
Chiurutecall.

Pasture.

The Embassa-
dours excuse
Mutezuma.

Kingly presents
again sent from
Mutezuma to
Cortes.

Wine.
Drinke.
Almondes in
steede of money.

was

Muteczuma dis-
wadeth Cortes
from comming
to his citie.

A strange and
admirable report
of a smoky
mountaine called
Popocatepeque.

The bouldnes of
a Spaniards.

The opinion the
inhabitants haue
of this moun-
taine.

2 Lakes.

The Guasuzing.

was true friendship betweene them, and, that Muteczuma vsed not to attempt anie thing by fraudulent meanes. Yet among these discourses, hee intreateth him agayne, to desist from his intended purpose of comming to his city, for want of thinges necessary, because that city being seated in the waters, was naturally destitute of all thinges: yet sufficiently provided for her inhabitants by the auncient tradinge of the neighbouring townes: but if straungers came vnto it, it would bee poore and beggerly. Cortes denyed that he could graunt that because he was so commaunded by his kinge. Vnderstanding Cortes his resolution, hee signifieth vnto him by the Embassadors, that hee would expect him in the city, and that hee would provide accordinge to his power, that nothing might be wantinge. And for that purpose they sent many of his cheife rulers to accompany him vnto him. He therefore setteth forward towards the city Tenustitan, being desirous to see it. About some 8. leagues from thence hee founde a mountaine couered with ashes in the sommer, hauing two toppes, large and spacious on euery side, called Popocatepeque which is as much to say as a smoaky mountaine, because in their language Popoca signifieth smoake, and tepeque a mountaine. From whose toppes a stronge smoake continually issueth, ascendinge vpright vnto the cloudes, as an obscure cloude ariseth with a thicke vapour, so that the smoke equaleth the quantity of a greate house and is carried vp into the ayer with such fury, that though the ayer bee shaken with violent windes, yet the smoake is not at all dispersed. Cortes wondering at the matter, sent ten valiant Spaniardes with guides of the inhabitants, to search out the cause of so strange a thinge, if it were possible. They obey his command, and ascend the mountaine as neere as they might goe: but could not come vnto the very topp, by reason of the thicke ashes, yet they came so neere, that they perceiued the roaringe of the flame, and the furious & fearefull noyse of the smoake that issued forth, with perpetuall whirle-winds which blustered about the mountaine, so y the mountaine trembled, & seemed as though it would haue fallē. But two messēgers of y Spāiards more bold then y rest determined to get vnto the toppe, the inhabitants dissuading them, who ascended to the view of that huge gaping mouth and say it is a league & an halfe broade: yet in the end much terified through the noise of y raging flame, they returned, happy in their chance. They escaped y violence of the flame more & more increasing, which issued forth somewhat more mildly at y time, but in a very short space became most furious, castinge out stones after an incredible & strange manner so that vnlesse by chance they had found a place in the way which was somewhat holowe, which gaue thē shelter, while the shower of stones was ouerpast (for that mountaine doth not alwayes cast forth stones) they had vitterly perished, and lost their liues. The inhabitants so woondred at this matter, that they came flocking from euery place, with presents, to see them, as if they had bin halfe Goddes. But this (most holy father) is not to be omitted: The inhabitants suppose kinges (who while they liued, gouerned amisse) to haue a temporary abode there being companions with diuels amonge those flames, where they may purge the foule spots of their wickednesse. These things being thoroughly sought out, the Muteczuman Embassadors led Cortes, whether the Tascaltecanes dissuaded him to goe. For that way hath troublesom passages, trenches, and diches full of narrow bridges, where an army might easiely be ouerthrowne, because they could not passe ouer those places in troopes. He therefore tooke his journey another way, somewhat further about, & more difficult, by the lowe valleyes of high smoakinge mountaines, from whence, when they were past, and looked downe before them, from the litle hilles vnder the mountaine they sawe a mighty greate valley called Colua where that greate city Tenustitan lieth in the lake. This greate valley is famous for two lakes, the one salt, where the city is seated, which (as they say) containeth 60. leagues in circuit: the other fresh, whereof wee shall speake more at large heereafter. The Muteczuman Embassadors, who accompanied our menn, beeing demaunded why they went about to leade the army another way, answered, that they denyed not but that this way was better and more commodious: but because they were to march a dayes journey through the Enemyes cuntryes of the Guazuzingi, and because peraduenture they might want prouision of victuall y way, therefore they perswaded thē therevnto. Here we are to note and obserue y the Guazazingi, and the Tascaltecani (two cōmonwealthes) were

were vnited in league & heart against Mutezcuma: & therefore they found the but poore because being compassed with so mighty an enemy, they enjoyed no free liberty of trafficke with any other nation. Wherefore vsing & contenting themselves with their provinciall reuenues, they liued in greater misery, rather than they would submit their necke vnto the yoke of any kinge. Yet vnto Cortes, because by his meanes they hoped in time to come to wander freely, they performed couenantes of friendship, and in token thereof, they gaue him certaine slaues, and garments after their manner, but very meane, and bestowed vpon him things necessary for his reliefe, plentifully inough, for one day. August was now ended when being scarce gone past the narrow passages of those mountaines, he was brought to a pallace in a plaine, built for Summer delights, which was so exceeding great, that the whole army was intainted there that night. For making a muster of them, he found with him of the Zempoalensians, Tascaltecanes, and Guazuzingi, more then foure thousand armed men, but of his Spaniards scarce 300. But as I haue now sayd, to stopp the mouthes of base & meane spirites, the matter was performed with gunnes, and horses, strange and vknown kindes of fight, rather then with the multitude of armed men: And they had prouision of maintenance enough. For Mutezcumas stewards whether soeuer our men went, prouided plentifully enough for them. Here they quaked for cold, by reason of the high mountaines neere adioyning, therefore they had neede of great fires. The brother of Mutezcuma with many nobles came to Cortes that day, and brought presents in Mutezcumas name, 3000. Castellanes of golde, and excellent iewelless, and withall besought them to returne, and stay wheresoeuer they pleased. And that Mutezcuma would giue what tribute soeuer Cortes should set downe, so hee would desist from comming to the citty compassed with waters where, of necessity, especially with so great a multitude, hee must suffer penury and want, because naturally it yeeldeth nothinge, and that hee would neuer, or by any meanes revolt from the obedience of that kinge, from whom hee sayd he was sent. Cortes as mildly as he could, answered that hee would willingly yeeld to Mutezcumas request to gratify so great a king, if he might safely do it without breach of his kings commandement. And that they should not thinke his comming to be vnprofitable, but rather beneficiall and honorable. And that hee purposed to come thither, seeinge hee could not otherwise chuse. But if hereafter his abode should be troublesome to Mutezcuma, he would presently returne, after a league made and matters composed betweene them, which might more apparantly and commodiously be performed in presence, then by intercourse of messengers, on either side. While they were busie about these thinges, Cortes saith, that the inhabitants ceased not to prepare to intrapp him, and that the woods in the mountaines neere vnto the pallace, were that night full of armed men. But hee glorieth that hee was alwayes so wary, that hee easily freed himselfe from their practises and deceits. Remouinge thence toward the citty in the lake, hee founde another lande citty, of 20000. houses, as they say, called Amaquemeca, the name of whose prouince is Chialco. The king of that place is subiect to the dominion of Mutezcuma. Here hee feasted our men daintily, and plentifully and gaue his guests 3000. Castellanes of gold, & iewelless, & 40 slaues, as another had giuen him alittle before. Foure leagues from thence, he came to a fresh lake, much lesse then the salt: on the shoare whereof standeth a citty, halfe in the water & halfe on drye land. An high mountaine lyeth neere vnto the citty. There twelue men came vnto Cortes, the cheife whereof was carred in a horse litter vpon mennes shoulders: he was 25. yeeres old. When he alighted from the horselitter, & rest rann speedily, and clenched the way of all filth, and stones, and if any strawe or dust lay there they made the way cleane as hee went to salute Cortes. After hee had saluted Cortes in the behalfe of Mutezcuma, hee intreated that hee would blame the King as carelesse and negligent, because hee came not forth to meete him, affirminge hee was sicke, and that they were sent to accompany him. Yet if he would alter his purpose of goinge thither, it should be most pleasinge and acceptable vnto them. He courteously intainted them with faire words, & gaue them certaine pleasing presents of our country comodities: so they cheerefully departed. Cortes followinge them, found another towne of 1500. houses seated in a lake of fresh water: whereto they passed & returne by boat. Their boates are made of one tree as I haue oft

The Guazuzingi submit to Cortes and giue presents such as they had.

A great palace.

Cortes in all 4000. stronge.

Presents a-gayne from Mutezcuma. Mutezcuma offers tribute.

Ambushes prepared and presented.

Amaquemeca in the prouince of Chialco. Gifts.

A Citty.

A great embassador sent to meete Cortes on the way.

said

A towne.

Iztapalapa a towne.

Coluacum a City.

Gifts.
The palace of Iztapalapa.

said of the Canowes of the Ilāds & they call those boates Acates. Marching through the middle of the lake, he found a causey of the heighth of a speare, which brought him to another famous towne of 2000. houses. Heere, he was honorably intertained, and the townsmen desired Cortes to stay with them all night, but the Mutezumans Princes accompanying him denyed their request. Wherefore the Mutezumans conducted him that eueninge to a farr greater citty, called Iztapalapa, which touched the shoare of a salt lake. This citty was in the iurisdiction of Mutezumans brother, whose name was Tacatepla, three leagues distant from the former towne. Another citty called Coluacum is three leagues distant from Iztapalapa, from whence the prouince also is called Collua, whereupon our menn from the begininge called the whole country by that name, because they vnder stood thereof being farre from thence. Iztapalapa (as they say) consisteth of eyght thousand goodly houses for the most part: and Coluacana is not much lesse. The king of Coluacana was with Mutezumans brother, who also presented Cortes with precious gifts. They report that the pallace of the king of Iztapalapa is very curiously built with lime and stone: and they say that the workmanships of the tymber thereof is very artificiall: and they highly commend the princely pauements, inner roomes, and chambers, thereof, together with the huge and greate halles. That house also hath orchardes, finely planted with diuers trees, and herbes, and flourishing flowers, of a sweete smell. There are also in the same, great standing pooles of water with many kindes of fish, in the which diuers kindes of all sortes of waterfoule are swimminge. To the bottome of these lakes, a man may descend by marble steppes brought farr of. They report strange thinges of a walke inclosed with nettinges of Canes, least any one should freely come within the voyde plattes of grounde, or to the fruite of the trees. Those hedges are made with a thousande pleasant deuises, as it falleth out in those delicate purple crosse alleyes, of mirtle, rosemary, or boxe, al very delighfull to behold. He reporteth many ordinary & meane things touching these matters which haue almost veried me with their prolixity. Now therefore omittinge other thinges, let vs cast forth this manne Cortes into the citie Tenustitan, and to the desired embracements of Muteczuma, on the one part.

The 3. Chapter.

A wall of stone
built in the
water.
2 Citties founded
in the water.
Mesiqualingo
a citty.The vse of
salt.Obey not
Muteczuma and
eate no salt.

A Castle.

Drawe bridges.

They goe from Iztapalapa to Tenustitan, the seate of that great king Muteczuma, vpon a wall of stone, made by the hande of man & with incredible charge, built in the waters, two speares length in bredth. That wall is in steed of a bridge for Iztapalapa also itselfe, some part of it standeth in a salt lake, but the rest is built vpon the land. Two citties founded partly in the water, ioyned to one side of that bridge. On the other side standeth one, whereof the first they meete with who goe that way, is called Mesiqualingo: the second is Coluacana, whereof I spoake a litle before: and the third is called Vuichilabasco. They say the first, consisteth of more then 3000. houses the second, of 6000. and the third of 4000. all of them furnished with turretted and sumptuous Idole temples. These citties adioynninge to the bridge, make salt, which all the nations of those countries vse. Of the salt water of the lake, they make it harde, conueyinge it by trenches into the earth apt to thicken it. And beinge hardened and congealed they boyle it, and after make it into rounde lumpes or balles, to be carryed to marketts, or fayres, for exchange of foraine commodities. The tributaries only of Muteczuma were made partakers of the benefit of that salt: but not such as refused to obey his commande. The Tascaltecanes therefore and Guazuzingi, and many others, season their meate without salt, because, as wee haue sayd, they resisted the gouernment of Muteczuma. There are many such walles, which serue in steede of bridges from places on the land, to citties on the water which sometimes, as diuers wayes, ioyned and meete together. With this wall descending from Iztapalapa, another wall meeteth, from another side of the citty. In the place where they meete is a Castle erected of two inexpugnable towers, from thence by one way they goe to the citty. In these walles, or bridges, within a certaine space, there are little moueable bridges of tymber, which, when any suspicion of warre is imminent are drawne vp. I thinke those partitions or cliftes also are made for portes, that they might not be deceiued, as in many places, which inioy quiet peace wee see the gates of citties shut by night for no other cause.

The

The bridges being drawne vp, the pooles of flotinge waters remaine. They make a way for the waters, for the waters (as they say) ebb and flowe there. This is a wonder (most holy father) in nature, in my iudgement and theirs, who say they cannot beleue by any meane that it can be so, because themselves haue else where neuer read it. This cittie standing in the lake, or the situation of the salt lake itselfe, is more then seuentie leagues distant from the Sea. And betwene that and the sea lye two long ridges of high mountaines, and two mighty valleyes betwene both mountaines. Yet the lake receiue the flowinge and ebbing of the Sea, vnlesse they speake vntruth. But noe man knoweth where the Sea commeth in, or goeth out. The flood comminge, by the narrow streights of two hilles, the salt water is emptied in the channell of the fresh lake, but the force thereof returninge, it returneth from the fresh to the salt, neither is the fresh thereby so corrupted but it may bee drunke, nor doth the salt lake become fresh. We haue spoken sufficiently of lakes, walles, bridges & Castles: let vs now at length returne to that pleasing spectacle to the Spaniards, because it was longe desired, yet happily to the wise Tenustitans it may seeme otherwise, because they feare it would so fall out, that these guesstes came to disturbe the Elisian quietnesse and peace, though the common people were of another opinion, who suppose nothinge so delectable, as to haue present inuouations before their eyes, not carefull of that which is to come. To this crosse way, a thousand menne, attired after their country fashion, came from the cittie to meete Cortes: who all vsing their seuerall ceremonyes, salute him. The ceremony or manner of salutation is this, to touch the earth with their right hand, & presently to kisse that part of the right hand where with they touched the earth, in token of reuerence. All these were Noblemen of the Court: behind the king himselfe so much desired, cometh now at length. That way (as I haue already sayd) is a league and an halfe long, others say, it is two leagues, yet is it so straight, that layinge a line vnto it nothinge can be drawne more straight. If the quicknes of mans eyesight beholding it wold serue him, he shal easily perceiue the entrace of Mutezumaz cittie from the very Castle, from whence Cortes remoued. The King went in the middle of the bridge, and the rest of the people on the sides orderly followinge in equall distances one from another, and all bare footed. Two Princes (whereof the one was his brother, the other, one of the peeres, Lord of Iztapalapa) taking the Kinge Muteczuma drew him by the armes, not that he needed such helpe, but it is their manner so to reuerence their kinges, that they may seeme to be vpheld and supported by the strength of the nobilitie. Muteczuma approachinge, Cortes dismounted from the horse whereon he roade, and goeth to the kinge being about to embrace him: but the Princes which stood on either side would not suffer him for with them it is an hainous matter to touch the kinge. They that came on the sides in ordered troopes, left their appointed places, that they might all salute Cortes with the accustomed ceremony of salutation. And then presently every one went backe to his place againe, least the ranks should be disordered. After cheereful salutations ended, Cortes turninge to the Kinge, tooke a chaine from his owne necke (which he wore) of smale value, and put it about the Kings necke. For they were counterfeites of glasse, of diuers colours, partly diamondes, partly pearle, & partly Carbuncles & all of glasse, yet the present liked Muteczuma well. Muteczuma requited him with two other chaines of gold and precious stones with shelles of golde, and golden Crevises hanginge at them. Hauinge intertained all, they who came out to meete them, turned their faces to that huge and miraculous cittie: and march backe againe in the same order that they came, by the sides of that admirable bridge, leauing the middle alley of the bridge, onely for the Kinge Muteczuma, and our menne. But oh abhominable impiety to behould, and horrible to beespoken. On either side of that bridge, on the outside, were many stately towers erected in the lake, all which were in steede of Churches. In these either the bodies of slaues bought for money or the children of tributaries appointed for that purpose instead of tribute, were offered or sacrificed, with a certaine horror that cannot be conceiued. Many vnderstanding y matter as they passed by confessed y their bowells earned within the. At length they came to an exceeding great Palace, the auncient seate of Mutezumaz auncestors, finely decked with Princely ornaments. There Muteczuma placed Cortes on a throne of golde, in the Kings hal and returned to another Pallace. He commanded all Cortes his followers and companions to be

The ebbing & flowing of a lake 70. leagues distant from the sea.

A Ceremonious and reuerent kinde of salutation.

The Kinge drawne by the armes & what that may signifie. Cortes dismounting to embrace the king was interrupted by the nobles.

Cortes giueth the king a counterfeit chaine a proper reward for so many rich presents.

The abhominable Sacrifice of slaues and Children, the Christians first entertainment.

Cortes placed in a throne of golde.

Cortes his royall
entertainment.

The oration of
Mutezuma
with Cortes &
his companions.

Mutezuma
resigneth vp
his kingdom
to Cortes.

fed with delicate and Princely meates, & to bee all commodiously and well entertayned in their lodgings. After a few houres Mutezuma hauing dined, returneth to Cortes, and brought with him Chamberlaines, & others of his domesticall seruantes, laden with garmentes, intermixed with golde, and most liuely colours of Gossampine cotton. It is incredible to be spoken, but how credible it is, wee shall hereafter speake: They (who sawe them) say, they were 6000. garments and Cortes himself writeth the same. They brought also with them, many presentes of golde and siluer. At the tribunall of Cortes there was another bourded floure layde, decked with the like ornamentes. Vpon that scaffold Mutezuma assembling al the nobilitie of his kingdomes vnto him, made this oration vnto them, as they perceiued by the Interpreters which Hieronimus Aquilaris vnderstood. Most worthy & renowned men for warlike prowesse, & gracious towardes the suppliant, I wish that this your meetinge may be prosperous, and I hope it shall be so: and let your comming to these countreyes bee fortunate and happie. After, turning to his nobilitie he speaketh thus. We haue heard by our auncestors, that we are strangers. A certaine great prince transported in shippes, beefore the memorie of all men liuing, brought our auncestors vnto these coasts, whither voluntarily, or driuen by tempest, it is not manifest, who leauing his companions, departed into his country, & at length returning, would haue had them gone backe againe. But they had now built them houses, & ioyning themselves with the women of the Prouinces had begotten children, and had most peaceable settled houses. Wherefore our auncestors refused to returne, and harkened no further to his perswasion. For they hadde nowe chosen among themselves both a Senate, and Princes of the people, by whose counsell and direction they would be gouerned, so that they report he departed with threatening speeches. Neuer any appeared vnto this time, who demanded the right of that captaine & Commaunder. I therefore exhort and admonish you the Nobles of my kingdomes, that you doe the same reuerence to so great a Commander of so great a king, that ye doe to me, and at his pleasure, giue him the tributes, due vnto me. After turning his face vnto Cortes, he spake further. We thinke therefore by that which we haue spoken, that king who (you say) sent you, deriued his discent from him, wherefore yee are luckily come, repose your mindes after the exceeding great labours, which I vnderstande yee haue indured since ye came into these countries, and now refresh and cōfort your faint and weary bodies. Al the kingdomes which wee possesse are yours. What Nobleman soeuer thou art, being sent a Captaine for this purpose thou mayst lawfully commande all the kingdomes, which were subiect vnto me. But as touching the reports of the Zempoalensians, Tascaltèques, and Guazuzingi, concerning me, they may iustly bee taken, for such, as proceeded from the affection of an enemy: but the experience of matters shall proue them liars. They babbled that my houses were of golde, and my mattes golde, and my householde stuffe was all of gold, and that I was a god, and not a man. You yourselfe see, that my houses are of stone, my mattes made of ryuer weedes, and the furniture of my house of cotton. I confesse I haue lewels of golde, layde vp in my Treasury. Those are yours: which in the behalfe of that great king of ours, vse at your pleasure. But as touching that, that they said I was no man, but immortall, beholde mine armes, and my legges, looke whether they be not flesh and bone. Speaking this, he discovereth his armes, and legges, halfe weeping. When hee hadde made an end of speaking, Cortes comforteth him, and putte him in good hope that matters should be well caryed. With these wordes Mutezuma departed, somewhat with a cheerefull countenance, but whither quieted in minde, to suffer a Competitor, let him iudge who euer tasted the sweete of Soueraignty, and whether any man would euer entertaine guests willingly, who violently intrude, lette such speake as haue hadde experience thereof. In the faces of the Princes assembled, who hearde it, casting downe their eyes vppon the ground, you might apparantly vnderstande, how quiet that assembly was. For beeing readie to weepe, they receiued whatsoever was acted, with sobbes and sighes, and remayned long silent in a dumpe: and at length promise to perfourme Mutezumas commaunde: yet, that they coule not but be troubled in their mindes, for so great and suddaine an alteration of their state. The assembly being dismissed, euery one went to their owne kindred or familie. Of these thinges we haue sufficiently spoken: now let vs declare what succeeded after that

that meeting. All things fell out very ill and vnluckily to Mutezuma his Tributaries, and his friendes, as we shall hereafter speake: but for the enlargement of our religion, exceeding well. For wee hope, it shall shortly come to passe that those blouddie sacrifices shall bee taken away from among them, through the imbracing of the commandements of Christ. So they passed sixe dayes quietly, but all the dayes following, ful of sorrow, and calamitie, so that nothing coulede euer haue fallen out more vnghappily to any people, not onely to a King. For after those seuen dayes, whether that it so fell out, or that Cortes woulde thereby take occasion, hee sayd, he receiued letters a litle before from that Gouvernour whom he left in the garrison of the Colonie of Vera Crux, wherby that Gouvernour signified, that Coalcopoca the King of that prouince, where Cortes erected a Colonie, called Almeria, had committed a foule matter, not by anie meanes to be indured. That Gouvernour reported that Coalcopoca sent messengers vnto him, to tell him that the King Coalcopoca came not yet vnto him to salute him, and doe him that reuerence, due to so great a King, as he was, whome Cortes and his companions acknowledge, because he was to passe through the enemies countryes, from whom they feared some inconuenience woulde ensue, and therefore desireth, that the Gouvernour woulde sende some of his Spanyardes vnto him, to accompanie him in the way for his defence. For, he sayde, hee was in good hope, that the enemye durst not attempt any thing against him, while the Spanyardes were in his companie. The Gouvernour gaue credite to the messengers, and sent foure Spanyardes to Coalcopoca, to accompany him vnto him, through countries, friends to him but enemies to Coalcopoca. The messengers going vnto him, were assaulted within the borders of Coalcopoca, two of them the robbers on the high way side slew presently, the other two being grievously wounded, escaped. The Gouvernour supposing it was doone by the practise of Coalcopoca, in reuenge of the matter, goeth agaynst Coalcopoca. Hee hadde onely two horses, & with those, certayne shot, and some peeces of ordinace, and footemen. He bringeth 50. of his companie with him, yet sendeth for the bordering enemies of Coalcopoca to come to aide him, and so they assault the citie of Coalcopoca. The Coalcopocans fiercely resisted. In the assault they slew seuen Spanyardes, and many of those that came to ayde them. At length the seat of Coalcopoca was vanquished, and made a pray, many citizens being slayne and taken: But Coalcopoca escaped by flight. Cortes hauing gotten this occasion determined to destroy and ouerthrow Mutezuma fearing least peraduenture fortune might chang, or lest at any time becöming loathsome vnto the, through insolēcy of the Spanyards, whom specially when they were idle and full fed he coulede hardly restraine, fearing also least through the long & continuall trouble of entertainment, he might make them desperate who entertained them, he goeth to Mutezuma: and affirmeth that it was written, and tolde him, that Coalcopoca his Tributary did those things against the Gouvernour of Vera Crux, not onely not without the priuitie of Mutezuma, but by his commandement. Cortes sayde he woulde not haue beleueed it. Yet to take all suspicion out of the minde of the great King, to whose eares as he sayd, the report of the matter came, Mutezuma must come to the Pallace where Cortes himselfe dwelt, that hee might write that he had him in his power, although his purpose were not to alter any thing concerning the gouernment of the citie or the kingdomes. But Mutezuma, although he vnderstood his authoritie beganne now to bee weakened, yet graunted his request. He commandeth his horselitter to be brought, wherein hee might come vnto him. Whereupon through so great an alteration of thinges, a murmuring arose among the people, and they beganne to make a tumult. Mutezuma commanded them to lay downe their armes, and bee quiet: and perswaded them all, that hee did it of his owne accorde. His Nobles and familiar friendes followed their maister with teares. After a few dayes, he desireth, that hee woulde sende for Coalcopoca, and the partakers of that wicked practise to punish them, that so hee might acquitte his innocencie with the great King. Mutezuma obeyeth: and callinge for certayne of his faithfull friendes, giueth them his pryue seale, in token of his last will, adding this also in charge, that calling the next tributary people vnto them, they endeouour to bring him by force, if hee denyed to come. Coalcopoca, and one of his sonnes, and 15 Noblemen come. He denyed at the first, that he did it by the consent of Mutezuma. Whereupon Cortes making a great fire in a large and

Letters to Cortes from the Gouvernour of Vera Crux.

A wile used by Cortes to drawe Mutezuma into his power.

Coalcopoca sent for commeth to Cortes.

Muteczuma
ap-
peached of con-
spiracie is bound
with fetters.

Cortes to Mu-
tecuma.

The golden
mines of Zu-
zulla.

Stately townes.
Tamacuap-
pa.

Malinaltepech.

Tenis.
Coatelimaccus
king of Tenis.

8. riuers in Tenis
yeelding gold.

spacious streete, commaunded Coalcopoca with his sonne, and the rest to be burned, Muteczuma and all his huge princely citty looking on, the sentence of treason was pronounced against them. But when they saw they should be brought to receiue punishment they confessed that Muteczuma commaunded them. Whereupon Cortes who by seeking occasion, went about to challenge the Empire of Muteczuma vnto himselfe, bindeth Muteczuma (whom he had with him) with fetters, and reuiled him besides with threatening speeches. Vnhappy Muteczuma then, astonished at so strang a matter, was full of feare, and his courage began to faile, so that he durst not now lift vpp his head, nor intreate ayde of his subiectes and friendes, yet he presently loosed him, and greatly blamed him for the deede. But he confessed hee had deserued punishment, who like a meeke lambe with patient minde seemed to suffer these rules harder then those which are inioyned grammer schollers, being but beardless boyes, and quietly beareth all things, least any sedition of the Cittizens and Nobilitie might arise. Any yooke whatsoeuer seemed to bee more easie vnto him, then the stirring vp of his people, as if he had beene guided by the example of Dioclesian, who rather determined to drinke poyson, then to take the Empire vpon him againe, which he had once reiected. After that Cortes speaketh to Muteczuma, saying, that he hoped, hee would keepe the promise he had made, concerning his obedience, and other couenants concluded in the behalfe of that great King of Spayne, wherefore to fulfill his desire, if hee would, hee might returne backe vnto his palace, where he liued before in princely manner. Cortes offereth him this fauour, but he refused it, saying, it was not possible, but he should be prouoked by his nobility, and tormented with a thousand troubles, and saith further, that their mindes were prepared to rayse tumults, who (as he vnderstood) gnashed their teeth for anger, because he entertained Cortes, and his companions, especially with such a multitude of hatefull officials. He confessed, that he liued more quietly and safely with with our menne, then to conuerse with such an vnruely and tempestuous multitude of his subiectes. Yet sometimes he went to his pallaces to walke, which hee had built with wonderful curiosity and art for his delight, whereof wee shall speake more at large hereafter. So, they liued both together vnder one roofoe a long time, Cortes the guest entertained, and Muteczuma the intertayner, but now contrary. When soeuer he returned in the euening, he went not to the ancient pallace of his auncestors, and his seate, but to the pallace of Cortes. Descending from his horse-litter, he gaue gifts to all his followers, and to the Spanyardes also, and desired to haue the Spaniards take him by the hand to whome hee called, and spake vnto them with cheerefull conntenance, and courteous speeches. The state of things being thus, Cortes desired Muteczuma, to shew him the mynes of golde, from whence he and his auncestors had their gold: I am well content saith Muteczuma: and presently he commaunded skilful workemen experimented in that art to be brought vnto him. Diuers men with Spaniardes appoynted by Cortes are sent into diuers places to bringe newes to Cortes, what they had seene. They are first directed to the gold mines of a certaine prouince called Zuzulla. That prouince is 80 leagues distant from the Pallace of Tenustitan, where they gathered gold out of three riuers with little trouble, and yet the Spaniardes tooke not their instruments with them, wherewith to clense it. For the inhabitants doe not so highly esteeme golde, that they make any reckoning to seeke for it otherwise, then, that casting vp the sand, they may picke out the greater graines of gold among the little stones. They say, that cuntry, especially in the middle thereof, is replenished with stately townes within a leagues distance one from another. He sent others to the cuntry called Tamacuapappa, whose inhabitants are richer, and more costly and curious in their attire, thē the Zuzullani, because they inioy a more fertile soyle. He apoynted others also to go to another prouince named Malinaltepech, which lyeth neerer the Sea. 60. leagues distant from that Princely lake. There they gathered golde out of a great riuier. Others went to a cuntry in the mountaines, named Tenis. Heere are fierce warriors, who haue speares of 30. spans long, fit for fight. Coatelimaccus, the King thereof, is free from the subiection of Muteczuma: who sayd, that the Spaniardes might lawfully set footing in his borders, but not the Muteczumanes. So Coatelimaccus peaceably receiued the Spaniardes, and fed them daintily. This Country Tenis is famous for 8. riuers, all which ingender gold. This King sent messengers to Cortes,

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to offer himselfe and all that he had. Others were apoynted to goe to a prouince called Tachintebech, who found two riuers there yeelding gold, and that it was a fit country for planta-
 tion of a Colony. Cortes being certified of the goodnes of this countrie of Tachintebech, desired of Muteuczuma, that he would erect an house in that prouince, in the behalfe
 of our great King, whether, such as went thether to gather gold, might resort. This motion
 pleased him well: whereupon he commaunded the kings Carpenters to bee readie at hande.
 The diligence of his seruantes was so great that within lesse then the space of two moneths,
 they built a pallace, able to receiue any great Prince, and all his kingly traine, that they
 should lacke nothing. In the meane space while the house was building in the twinkling of
 an eye, as I may say, graines of Panick, wherewith they make bread, innumerable measures,
 and many small pulse, and diuers kinds of other pulse were sowne, & they planted also 2000.
 of those trees, which beare the almonde, which they vse in stead of mony, whereof else where
 I haue spoken more at large. Men of meane capacity, will thinke it but a phantasie, that
 mony should be gathered from trees. Without the greater house, three other houses were
 built, apoynted as houses of seruice for the pallace. They made also great pooles of fresh-
 water, where abundance of fish and water-foule might be kept, and maintained, but specially
 geese. For he caused 500. at one clap to be cast in, because they haue more vse of them,
 for the feathers, whereof they make many sortes of coverings. For they plucke the feathers
 from them euery yeere in the begi.ning of the spring. He added also hens, which are greater
 then our peacocks, & not inferiour to the in tast, as I sayd elsewhere, whereof he pro-
 uided 1500. for present foode, & for increase of chickens. Besides, they make all instru-
 ments what soeuer might serue for tillage of the ground, and for the vse of husbandry. Cortes
 writeth, that that pallace erected in so smal a time, if it might haue bin sold, to haue bin more
 worth then 20000. Castellans, & that there was not the like thereof in all Spaine. We grant
 what they grant. Muteuczuma being afterward demaied where there was any hauen, answered,
 he could not tell, because he neuer had any care of matters pertayning to the sea coast: yet
 hee would giue him all the sh. are described in painting, that hee might choose a place him-
 selfe, at his owne pleasure. And to that ende, he sent skilfull maisters of those shoares with
 the Spaniards, who trauaile diuers parts. In the prouince Guazacalco, whose king is
 deadly enemie to Muteuczuma, the king admitted the Spaniards, but not the Muteczumanes.
 This king sayth he had heard of the worthinesse of our men, and of their warlike prowesse,
 since they subdued the Potenchianenses, and from that time he desired the amitie and friend-
 ship of our men, and sayth that hee wisheth that their comming might be prosperous, and
 shewed them the great mouth of a riuier, which riuier (they saye) is deepe, where they might
 haue harbour for their greater shippes. There, he began to erect a Colony, the king so de-
 siring it, who after the maner of that country, set vp six of his Tributaries houses vpon the
 banke of that riuier. He promised more, when need shall require and inuited the Spaniards to
 a perpetuall habitation, if they would settle themselues within his borders, nay, euen within his
 citty also, if they rather sought it. Hee sent presents in token of desired amity, although not
 very sumptuous, and embassadours also to Cortes to offer his obedience. Let vs returne
 to Muteczumas matters againe. Muteuczuma being detained, or (that I may more freely
 speake,) brought into honest seruitude, Catamazinus the possessor of the prouince of Haco-
 lucana, (the cheife citty where of is Tesucco,) being a subiect, and allyed to Muteuczuma,
 began to rebell: and openly professed that now, hee would neyther obey Cortes, nor Mutec-
 zuma any longer, and proudly aduanced his crest against them both. This King hath domi-
 nion ouer foure citties (from thence he is called Nahautechal, because Nahau signifieth foure,
 and techal Lord) yet are they vnder the Empire of Muteuczuma: As your Holinesse knowes, it
 falleth out in our kingdomes of Europe, that there are mighty Princes vnder the Emperours
 in Germany, and vnder the kings of Spaine, and France, yet are they subiect to Emperours,
 and kings, with the countries themselves, which they command. They say, that the cheif of
 those citties, Tesucco: containeth 30000. houses, famous for excellent wals, sumptuous
 temples, and stately houses: and the rest, haue some 3. or 4000. houses, with country farmes,
 streetes, and rich villages, blessed with a fruitfull soyle. The messengers of Cortes inuited
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gold.

A great pallace
at Tachintebech
built in two
moneths.

Instruments of
husbandry.

Great Muteczu-
ma then no man
at Sea.

Guazacalco.

The great cur-
tise of this king
to Cortes.

Catamazinus re-
belleth.

Tesucco a citty.

The answer of
Catamazinus to
the offer of
peace.

Muteczuma dis-
wadeth to warre
with Catamazi-
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Catamazinus
surprised and
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Cacuscasinus the
brother made
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Presents de-
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sent to the K.
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34000. Castel-
lanes of gold for
the king of
Spayne.

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him to peace, he answered with a proud and haughty countenance: doe you thinke vs to be so delected in mind, that we will subiect our necks to you strangers? Hee also sharply re-
proued Muteczuma, that he so faintly yeelded himselfe into the power of our men: and that
they should vnderstand what hee was, if they came vnto him. And casting out his armes, he
said, let them come whensoeuer they would. This being reported Cortes desired to inuade
Catamazinus with hostile armes: Muteczuma aduised him to deale otherwise. For slaughter
was prepared, if they came to handy blowes, because Catamazinus was mighty, and Lord and
Commander of men well experimented in armes. That the victory would be doubtfull, and
if he ouercame, it would be bloody and therefore he thought best, to deale with him by sub-
tilty, and cunning stratagems. He answered, that care should be left to him: and sayth,
that he will cut Catamazinus his combe, without any great difficulty. Therefore sending for
his noble Stipendiary Captaines, hee sayth, that hee would suppress the rash insolency of
Catamazinus. These Captaines had alliance with Muteczuma and Catamazinus, and his fami-
liar friends, who being suborned, he commandeth to doe their endeouour to take Catamazinus,
and bring him vnto him whether hee woulde or no, and if they sawe it needefull to kill him.
The circumstances are long, and the history tedious: but it sufficeth to declare how the mat-
ter was acted. The Captaines performed the commaundement of their maister, luckily.
They tooke Catamazinus by violence in the night, vnprepared, and fearing nothing, and sur-
prised him by boates in his owne house, seated on the brinke of a salt lake, and brought him
to the pallace of Tenustitan standing in the lake. Hee gaue Catamazinus to Cortes, who being
imprysoned and bound in chaines, he placed his brother Cacuscasinus in his kingdome, who
was obedient to Muteczuma. The people of those citties desired it, because they were
to proudly gouerned by Catamazinus, neyther durst the brother liue with the brother, because
hee was to stubborne, and captious. A fewe dayes after, Cortes perswaded Muteczuma, to
send messengers to the Noble menne, (who hearing their Kings oration, concerning the
performing of their obedience to the great King of Spaine, went backe againe vnto their
natie countries) to require of euery of them, some parte of those things they possessed, to be
sent to the great King of Spayne, because he was huisily employed in framing of a certaine
great and endles peice of worke, and was carefull to finish the building hee had vndertaken.
Muteczuma granted his request. Wherefore of his familiar friendes, Noble men knowne vnto
him, as it happeneth in kings houses, through conuersing in kings secret chambers, Cortes
sendeth two or three, to euery noble man, with as many Spanyardes to accompany them. So
great a feare was now conceiued among them, that hearing the name of the Spaniardes no
man knew how to mutter, or to thinke otherwise, then that he should be commaunded,
Diuers men went to diuers places, some 50. some 60. some 80. and some an 100. leagues
and more, and demaunded, and receiued large and liberall gifts. There was such plenty of
gold, that Cortes writeth, that the 5. parte of that which was molten, due vnto the King,
amounted to 34000. Castellans of gold: and your Holinesse knoweth, that the coyne which
they call a Castellan, exceedeth the Ducat, a third part. Besides the gold which was to be
melted, they brought many precious iewels of great waight, and value, very curiously
wrought, wherein, the art and workmanship exceeded the mettall. For they haue most in-
genious workemen of all arts, especially for working in gold, and siluer, whereof your Holi-
nesse is not ignorant. For your Holinesse hath scene many, & hath sometimes wondred at
the curious workmanship thereof, when you were with vs, before you attayned to that high
and mighty throne. Cortes also saith, that they brought no meane store of precious stones.
But of the siluer which was brought, Cortes writeth, that the Kings fift part, was more then an
hundred waight, of eight ounces, which the Spanyard calleth markes. They report incredible
matters of Cotton, housholde-stuffe, tapestry or arras hangings, garments, and couerlets. Yet
are they to be thought credible, when such a person dare boldly write such things to the
Emperour, and the Senatours of our Indian Colledge. He addeth further, that he omitted
many thinges, least hee should bee troublesome in recounting so great variety of things.
They also who returne vnto vs frõ thence, affirme the same. But, as for those things which
hee receiued from the King himselfe Muteczuma, they are so admirable both for the value,
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and art, that I thinke it best to omit them, before we see them. What was sent before, we saw, together with your Holinesse in that famous towne Valdolet, which in the fourth Decade we described. He writeth, that hee will shortly send many of those thinges. They, who come vnto vs, say that the former, were much inferiour, both in number, quality, and value. Cortes gaue himselfe to rest & quietnes, and knew not what to doe in so great, and happy a successe of thinges, for beholding the power of Mutezuma, the largenes of his Empire, and the order, elegancy, and plenty of his house, confesseth that he knowes not which way to turne himselfe, nor were to begin, to make report thereof. Yet, he declareth, y he wold begin with that prouince, where those lakes, and the great city of Tenustitan, and many others lie, and that hee will afterwarde speake of the rest. He sayth, the prouince is called Messica, inclosed with high mountains. In that Plaine are those two lakes, the fresh, and the other salt, as I sayde before. They say, that, that plaine is 70. leagues in circuite about, the greatest part whereof is filled with lakes. Seeing the city of Tenustitan is the seate of the great King Mutezuma, placed in the center of a salt lake: which way soeuer you go vnto it, it is a league and a halfe, or two leagues, distant from the Continent, the lake day and night is plyed with boates going and returning. For they goe by stone bridges made by hand, foure leagues, as from the foure sides, for the most part ioyned together, and solid, yet for a long space open, and deuided, with beames layde ouer those ports vnderpropped by posts, whereby the flowing, and ebbing waters may haue a passage, and whereby they may easily be drawne vpp, if any daunger appeare. They say, those bridges are two speares length broade. One of them, wee described, when Cortes mette with Mutezuma, from thence, the forme and fashion of the rest, may bee taken. Two conduits of water were conueied by the bridge, without impedimēt to the bridge. All the citty take their drinke from thence. And places are appointed along the bridg, for the kings rentgatherers, who keepe boates to carry water through the city to be sold, and require tribute of such as fetch water there. This conduit hath 2. channels: so that whē one is foule, through the mossy furring of the running water, they turne the course of the water into another channell, while the other be clensed, so eyther channell beeing scoured by turne, they drinke purified water throughout the whole city. They say the thicknes of that pipe, equalleth the body of an ox. What shall I speake of the multitude of bridges, throughout the citty itselfe, whereby neighbours passe ouer vnto neighbours? They are made of timber, and all of them so broad, that ten men may walke together in a ranke, they are innumerable as they say, and wee can thinke no lesse. For their wayes for the most part, are by water: yet are there other wayes by land, as appeareth in our famous common wealth of Venice. Moreouer, they say, there are other citties built and founded vpon either lake, both on the banke, and on the water, after the manner of Venice. As for Tenustitan itselfe, they report, that it consisteth of 60. thousand houses, or thereabout, and if the rest be true, which is deliuered, none may object against the possibility thereof. There are exceeding great streetes therein, but specially one, inclosed on euery side with walkes or galleries: which is the receit of all marchants and other tradesmen. Heere there are worthy shoppes and warehouses of all vendible wares. Most commodious for apparell, victualling, and warlike, and ciuill ornaments: you may euery day in the markets, and faires number 60. thousand men buyers, and sellers, who bring of the commodities of their country in boates vnto the city, and carry backe some forraine merchandise with them againe. As all our country men with vs vse to conuay their carriages, vpon asses, or else vpon pack-horses, or carts, so doth the country people out of the villages and country farmes to the neighbouring townes, and cities, whatsoeuer they haue gathered through their labourious industry and care: and at their returne in the euening, cary home, wood, strawe, wine, wheate, barley, crammed foule, & such like, wherewith to satisfie either necessity, or appetite. But there is another great benefite there for all strangers, and traders. For there is no streete, biuiall, triuiall, or quadriuall, where there are not victuallers. Euery moment of an houre rost, and soddē meates of foule, and foure footed beasts are there to bee founde, but oxen, goates, and sheepe they haue none. Young whelpes flesh is vsuall there, as I haue already sayd, which they geld and fatte for foode, they haue also store and plenty of deere and wild

The vnspcakable
power & riches
of Mutezuma.

Messica the
name of a prou-
ince.

Mutezuma his
Court in the
center of a salt
lake.

Bridges.

Tenustitā hath
60000 houses.

Trades and mar-
chandise.

No oxē, goats or
sheepe.
Young whelpes
flesh dainty
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Deere & wild
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Hares.
Conies.
Turtles.
Blacke birdes.
Partridges.
Pheasants.

Of the nature of
their Hens and
Cockes.
A pretty con-
script.

Fruites.

Potherbes.
Mony gathered
from trees.
Of bees.

Money of the
fruits of trees.

Drinke may be
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He doth prefer
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Drinkes.

bore, and they are excellent hunters: and haue also hares, and conies, turtle doues, blacke birdes, and certaine birdes feeding vpon figgs and grapes, Partridges, and other birdes they call Atagenes, that country also nourisheth Pheasants. And among other domestically foule, euen as our country women bring vp chickens, so do they maintaine Geese and Duckes, & Peacocks which our country men call hennes. I haue heeretofore sayd, that in greatnes, & colour of feathers, they are like Peahennes. But I neuer yet described their nature and disposition. The females sometimes lay 20. or 30. egges, so that it is a multiplying company. The males, are alwayes in loue, and therefore they say, they are very light meate of digestion. They alwayes stand gazing and looking vpon themselves before the females, and as our peacocks doe, they walke all the whole day with their traines spread like a wheele, before their beloued females, letting and going crossewise, as our peacocks also doe, and continually euery moment, after they haue gone foure strides, or little more, they all make a noyse, like a sicke man oppressed with a violent feuer, when he gnasheth and chattereth with his teeth for cold. They shewe diuers colours at their pleasure among the feathers of the necke, shining sometimes blew, sometimes greene, and lastly purple, according to the diuers motion of the feathers, as a delicate young man insnared with the loue of his lemman desiring to yeeld contentment & delight. But a certaine priest called Benedictus Montinus, a curious searcher of those countries, told me one thing, which hee sayd, hee learned by experience, hard for mee to beleue. He sayth, hee nourished many flockes of these peacocks, and was very carefull to multiply them by generation: who sayth, that the male is troubled with certayne impedimentes in the legges, that he can scarce aliue the henne to treade her, vnlesse some knowne person take her in his hand, and hold her, nor doth the henne (saith he) refuse to bee taken, nor is the male discouraged from coming vnto her. For as soone as hee perceiue the henne which he loueth, is held, hee presently commeth vnto her, and performes his businesse in the hand of the holder. This he reporteth, yet his fellowes say it falleth out very seldome so. Of those peacocks, Geese, and Duckes, they haue great plenty of egges, so that, whether they will haue them raw, or dressed after diuers manners, or serued vpon sippetts, they haue them alwaies at hand. They haue also with them, plenty of fish, both of the riuer, and of the lake, but no sea fish, for they are a great distance from the sea, and of those, raw, boyled, or roasted, marchants get store at their pleasure. But of our countrie fruites, they haue cherries, plumes, and apples, of diuers kindes, but many of those sortes of fruites are vnknowne to vs. Many rauening foules of euery kinde for sensuall appetite, are sold aliue, and their whole skinned stuffed with cotton, so that such as behold them, would thinke they were liuing. All streetes, and passages haue their artificers, diuided apart. They highly esteeme Herbarists and Apothecaries, to cure diseases. They haue also many kindes of pot herbes, as lettice, raddish, cresses, garlicke, onyons, and many other herbes besides. They gather certaine hony, and wax from trees, and such hony as our country yeeldeth from bees. I haue now sufficiently spoken concerning crammed foule, foure-footed beasts, fishes, and other things seruing for foode, and sensualitie: but with what mony these things are done, it is a pleasing story to report, but your Holinesse hath heard it, and I haue else where written thereof.

The fourth Chapter.

I Haue heeretofore said that their currant money is of the fruits of certaine trees, like our almonds, which they call Cachoas. The vtility and benefit thereof is two fould: for this almonde supplieth the vse of monie, and is fit, to make drinke, of itselfe it is not to be eaten, because it is somewhat bitter, although tender as a blaunched almond. But being bruised or stamped in a mortar, it is kept for drinke, a portion of the powder whereof being cast into water, and then stirred about a little, drinke is made thereof, fitte for a king. O blessed money, which yeeldeth sweete, and profitable drinke for mankind, and preserueth the possessors thereof free from the hellish pestilence of auarice, because it cannot be long kept, or hid vnder ground. There are also many other sortes of drinke, (as it commonly happeneth in the Country where your Holinesse was borne,) of ale, and syder, and the graine Maizium bruised and boyled in certaine great vessels, or pitchers, with fruites and certayne herbes, which

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which drinke, euery tauerne or victualling house where meate is dressed, affordeth to such as will buy the same. Before your Holinesse departed out of Spayne, you vnderstoode of that strange matter of the mony, neuer heard of before. But how that tree might be planted, nourished, and grow, wee had not then heard: but now all things are better knowne vnto vs. Those trees grow but in fewe places: for they haue neede of an hot, and moist country, indued with a certaine milde temper of the ayre. There are Kings, whose rents, and reuenues are only the fruits of those trees. By exchange and barter thereof they buy them necessary things, as slaues, and garments, and whatsoeuer maketh for ornament, or other vses. Marchantes bring in diuers wares and commodities vnto them, and carry out plenty of those fruites, which the rest of the prouinces vse. These almondes are so currant, as by that meanes, all the borderers are made partakers thereof. The like happeneth in all countries: for who soeuer haue spices, gold, siluer, steele, iron, leade, or any other mettall, through the bounty of their country, they obtaine the forraine commodity which they desire. For they goe through other countries, which want these marchandies, or which through humane effminacy suppose they want them, and bring home such things as they knowe are acceptable to their neighbours, that through this varietie of things they may adorne nature. So wee liue in the world, and so we must speake. But with what art these trees are nourished, I am now to declare. The yong & tender tree is plated vnder any other tree, that as a yong infant in the bosome of the nurse, it may be secured fro y heat of the sun, & violence of showers. But after it is grown vp y it may spread her roots, & being now hardened, may inioy y calme breathing of y aire & sun, the nourishing tree is either rooted vp, or cut down. Let this suffice for the tree which beareth money: which if comon & base spirits wil not belecue, I desire not to compel them thereunto. Whatsoeuer also serueth for the building or ornament for houses, is sold in the streets of Tenustitan and common markets, as beames, rafters, wood, lime, mortar, or playstering, bricke, and stones readie hewed for present vse. Many sorts also of earthen vessels are sold there, as water pots, greate iuggs, chargers, gobblets, dishes, colenders, basens, frying pans, porringers, pitchers, all these vessels are cunningly wrought. They lacke steele, and iron: yet haue they great plenty of gold, siluer, tinne, leade, and copper. Whether a man desire the rude mettall, or to haue it molten, or beaten out, and cunningly made into any kinde of Iewell, hee shall find them ready wrought. They are so sharpe witted, and ingenious, that whatsoeuer the workemans eyes behold, they presently forge, and graue it so fayre, that they immitate nature. There is no aspect, countenance, or shape of any birde, or foure footed beast, whereof Mutezcuma hath not the similitudes and representations, most liuely counterfeiting them that bee aliue, and whosoever beholdeth them a farre off, would thinke they were liuing. And your Holinesse knowes it very well: for your Holinesse hath seene many of them in a present, which was brought, before you tooke your iourney from Spaine to the City. There is also another thing not to be omitted. In the broad field of a large streete standeth an huge Senate house, where tenne or twelue auncient men authorised, continually sit, as lawiers readie to decide and iudge of controuersies arising. And by them stand sergeants to execute their commaundement: the Clarkes of the market also are present there, who haue the charge of the measures, and numbers, whether they vse waight or no, they had not yet heard. There is another thing besides much to bee wondered at. I haue heeretofore sayd, that there is great plenty of all things, in that city compassed with a salt lake, although they haue neyther beastes of burthen, Mules, or Asses, nor Oxen wherewith to drawe waynes or cartes. But many with good reason will demand by what meanes or industry such huge beames especially, and stones fit for building, and such other things, & the rest might bee carried? Let them know, that all these things are carryed vpon the shoulders of slaues: and it is not without admiration, that seeing they want iron and steele, they so cunningly frame and make all things with such elegancy and perfection. Let them vnderstande that all things are formed and fashioned diuersly with stones. In the beginning of this so rare inuention, I gotte one of them, which Christophorus Colonus, Admirall of the Sea gaue mee. This stone was of a greene darkishe colour, fastened in most firme and harde woode, which was the handle or helue thereof. I stroke with all my force vpon Iron barres,

4 D

The nature of this mony tree and touchstone the plant thereof.

Commodities of all sorts could at Tenustitan.

The wonderful ingenuity of the Indian workemen.

A Senat house and Senators.

Sergeants, Clarkes of the market.

Slaues in stead of beastes of burthen.

All workmanship be it neuer so curious framed and fashioned with stones.

A greene Sma ragdine stone.

Cortes buildeth
4. small gallies
and the cause
thereof.

Euery temple
hath a peculiar
Idoll.

The description
of their cheife or
Cathedrall
Temple.

A Colledge of
yong boyes.

Wichilabuchichi
their great Idol.

The dedication
of an Image.

Reade heere
Barbarisme in
his truest coun-
tours, if thou
canst without
amazement.

and dented the Iron with my strokes without spoyling or hurting of the stone in any part thereof. With these stones therefore they make their instruments, for hewing of stone, or cutting of timber, or any workmanship in gold or siluer. After this, Cortes fearing that which commonly falleth out in the vnconstancy and fragility of humane things, to wit, that the variable mindes of men might change, and supposing that it might come to passe, that the Tenustitanes, eyther wearied through the continuall trouble of intertainement, or vpon any other occasion taken whatsoeuer, would rise vpp against him, and take armes, although Mutezuma endeouored to hinder the same, when hee saw himselfe compassed about with waters, and draw bridges, hee built 4. smale gallies in the salt lake, with 2. ranges of oares, called Brigantines, that vpon any vrgent necessity assayling him, he might set 20. men a shoare at once, with the horses. The Brigantines beinge finished, when through the benefite thereof he nowe thought himselfe safe, hee determined to search the secretes of that city, which were of any moment or worth. First therefore, Mutezuma accompanying him, hee visiteth the Churches: where, as with vs, in euery Tribe called a Parishe, the Churches are all assigned to their particular Saint, so in euery streete with them, their temples are dedicated to their peculiar Idols. But your Holinesse shall heare what thinges are reported of their greatest temple, & cheifest Idols. He sayth, it is a famous and renowned square temple. On euery side thereof, there is an huge gate, whereunto, those 4. admirable, paued wayes, (which are in stead of a bridge from the Continent) directly answere. The largenes of that temple in situation, is matchable with a towne of 500. houses: it is fortified with high stone wals, very well, and cunningly made, and compassed about with many towers, built after the manner of a strong castle. Of many towers, he sayth, 4. of them are greater then the rest, and much more spacious, because in them are halles and chambers appointed for the priests, & prelates. To the cheife dwellings the priests ascended by 50. marble steppes: these are the houses of the priests, who (as I sayd) take charge of the sacrifices. There the sonnes of the cheife menne of the cittie, are shut vpp at seuen yeeres olde, and neuer put out their heades, or come forth thence, vntill they become marriagable, and are brought forth to bee contracted in marriage. All that time, they neuer cut their hayre, and at certaine times of the yeere they abstaine from all riot and excesse, and meates ingendering blood, & chasten their bodies with often fastings, least they waxe proude, and so the seruant contemne reason the mistresse. They are cloathed in blacke. He writeth that some of those towers are higher then the steeple of Siuill, which is very high: so that hee concludeth that he neuer saw greater, better, or more curious wrought buildings in any place: but whither he hath seene any out of Spaine, let the curious aske the question. It is a fearefull thing to be spoken, what they declare, and report concerning their Idols. Omitting therefore to speake of their greatest marble idol Wichilabuchichi of the height of three men, not inferiour to that huge statue of Rhodes. When any moued through piety towards any diuine power, determineth to dedicate an Image thereunto, he endeoureth to gather together of all seedes fit to bee eaten, such an heape, as may suffice for the height of that Image which he hath purposed to erect, bruising those seedes, and grinding them to meale. But oh cruell wickednes, oh horrible barbarousnes, they teare in peeces so many boyes, and girles, or so many slaues, before the meale which is to be baked, while they draw so much blood, as in stead of luke warme water may suffice to temper the lumpe, which by the hellish butchers of that art, without any perturbation of the stomacke being sufficiently kneaded, while it is moyst, and soft euen as a potter of the clay, or a wax chandler of wax, so doth this image maker, admitted and chosen to be maister of this damned & cursed worke. I haue else where said, if I mistake not, that these sacrifices are not slaine, by cutting of the throat, but by thrusting a knife through the short ribs neer vnto the hart, so that their hart is pulled out, to be sacrificed while they be yet liuing, & behold their own miserable cōdition: with the blod which is next vnto the hart they anoint their godds lips, but burne the heart it selfe, who therby suppose the displeasure of their godds to be appeased, and this prodigious act, the priests perswade the people to be acceptable seruice to their Idols. But many wil demand, & that rightly, what they do with the flesh & mēbers of those miserable sacrifices: O wicked yawning & gaping,

oh

oh loathsome proucatiō to vomit: as the Lewes sometimes eate the lambs which were sacrificed by the old law, so do they eate mans flesh, casting only away the hands, feet, & bowels. To diuers effects they forme diuers Images of their godds, for victorie if they be to fight in battaile, for health, for plenty of fruits, & such like, after euery ones pleasure. Now let vs returne to Cortes walking about that great Church. In the halles, which as we sayd before, were in the temples, were the great Images of their godds, & in the halles were darke inner roomes, into the which they enter by narrow & strait doores, whereunto the priests only haue access. The great halles, beset with great Images, were dedicated to the Princes for their sepulchers: & the lesser, which were in the inner chambers, were appoynted for buriall of the Nobles descended of honorable parentage: and as euery man was of abilitie, so euery yeere he offered sacrifices of mans flesh. A poore man with vs offereth a small taper, to the Saints, and a rich man a great torch, many sacrifice onely with frankincense, others build churches, as we pacifie Christ and his Saints with our frankincense, and waxe, yet offering the feruent zeale of the heart. It happened, that while the King, and Cortes went through the open halles of the greates church, some of Cortes his familiars, entred into those narrow, & darke chappels, against the keepers wils, and when by torch light they saw the wals besmeared with a redd colour, they made prooffe with the pointes of their poniardes, what it should be, and breake the walles. O brutish minds: the walles were not only besprinkled with the blood of humane sacrifices, but they found blood added vpon blood two fingers thicke, oh loathing to the stomacke, out of the holes they made with their poniardes they say, an intolerable hellish stincke issued from the rotten blood which lay hidd vnder the fresh. But among so many horrible and fearefull things, one thing commeth to mind worthy of a lubble. Whatsoeuer Images were in the halles Cortes commaunded them to bee presently ouerthrowne, and broken, and to be throwne downe the steppes of the high stayres, in peices, one marble Colosse he left standing, because it was too huge, & could not easily be taken away. Wherewith Mutezuma (being present) was much troubled, & all the Nobilitie of the court, who complained saying: O vnhappy, and miserable men that we are, the godds being angry with vs, wil take away the fruites which we eate, and so wee shall perish through famine, and as at other times it hath befallne vs, the Godds being displeased all kindes of diseases shall sodainely come vpon vs, and wee shall not be freed from our enemies, if we be assayed by warre, nor be sufficiently secured from the tumult of the people, who if they vnderstand this, will furiously arise in armes. Whereto Cortes maketh answer: Behold (sayth he) what is more wicked, and abhominable? and what more foolish? doe you thinke those to bee Godds, which are formed and fashioned by the handes of your Tributaries? Is the seruice of your men more worthy, then the men themselues? Is that thing (O Mutezuma) which your workemen, and peraduenture a filthy slaue fashioneth with his handes, more woorthy then your maiestie? what blindnes is this in you? or what mad cruelty? that ye slaughter so many humane bodies euery yeere, for these insensible Images sakes? what doe these perceiue, which neither see, nor heare: Him, him, (I say) who created heauen and earth, him, yee are to worship. This is he, from whom all good things proceede, to whom these your sacrifices are most offensiue. Besides, it is decreed and established by a law from our King, whom yee confesse to deriue his descent from him, who brought your auncestours vnto these countryes, that whosoever smiteth male or female with the sword, should die the death. When Cortes had declared these things by interpreters, Mutezuma with a pale countenance, and trembling heart replied: Hearken O Cortes, the ceremonies of sacrifices left vs by tradition from our auncestours, those wee obserue, and haue hitherto exercised, but seeing you say wee haue so much erred, and that it is displeasing to our King, wee are greatly delighted to heare it, so wee may perswade the people thereunto. These rites and ceremonies, peraduenture our auncestours who were left heere, found them to be obserued by the inhabitants of those times, so that wee haue followed the customes of our Fathers in lawe and of our wiues, neyther are you to wonder that wee fell into these errors, if they be errors. Giue vs a law, and we will endeour to embrace it with all our power. Cortes hearing this, repeated that there was one God, three in persons, and one in essence.

Gods for diuers
Purposes.

O religious
hellishness. O
hellish religiō.

Cortes over-
throweth ima-
ges.
A huge marble
Colosse.

Such was the
power of Sathā
ouer these
godles people
to afflict them
if at any time
they had neg-
lected his ser-
uice.
Cortes disa-
deth notably
their Idolatry,
and sacrificing
of children.

Mutezuma
his answer.

Mutezuma
contented to
forgoe Idolatry.
Cortes preach-
eth one God.

Good Cortes
recall three
words in this
lyne.

Pallaces.

Muteczuma
hath many
large king-
domes.

A most frequēt
Court of
Nobles.

500 yong nob-
le men attend-
ing in Mutec-
zuma his
Courte.

No Prince
equall in great-
nes to Mutec-
zuma.
The manner of
his seruice.

The statelike
manner of their
comming and
returning frō
the king.
An other poynt
of state.

who created the heauen, and the earth, and the Sunne & the Moone, with all the ornament of the Stars, which moue about the earth for the vse of men, and hence it cometh, that it is odious vnto him to kill men, who formed the slaue, & all others hauing the face of men, of the same matter, whereof he made me, thee, and them. He was borne among vs of a woman who was a virgin, and suffered for the saluation of mankind, which by the learned men who are to come, shal hereafter more largely be declared both to you, & the rest. The standard of that God, and ensigne of victorie, is the Image or representatio of this crosse, for it behoueth the Generall both to haue the crosse, and also the image of the virgin his mother, carrying the infant in her bosome. And as he was speaking thus, Cortes of a Lawyer being made a diuine, shewed the crosse, and the Image of the virgin (to be adored.) These Images of wicked spirits and monsters beeing broken in peeces, Muteczuma causeth his seruantes to sweepe the temples in his presence, and clense them by rubbing of the walles, that no signe or token might remaine of such horrible bloudshed. We haue now sufficiently spoken of the corrupt religion of Tenustitan: lette vs therefore say somewhat of the pallaces of the nobilitie, and other rich men, and of their excellent buildings. Cortes sayth, that he neuer sawe any pallace in Spayne either of Kings, or any other Prince, which the meanest of 70. stone or marble houses, doth not match, who sayeth that they are all builte by the curious art of the architect, with pauementes of diuers sorts, and pillars of Iasper stone, or white transparent marble, rounde aboute the courts, and large galleries vnder the solars. He addeth further, that whatsoever is reported concerning these thinges, ought to be credited, saying it is no wonder, beecause Muteczuma hath many large kingdomes, in the which a great multitude of noblemen gouern many countryes, as vnder the Emperours crowne, many Dukes, Earles, and Marquesses, and Nobles of other titles, are shadowed. All these at certayne times of the yeere, by an auncient custome, frequent the court of Muteczuma, nor may they doe otherwise. It is a thing whereto they are much inclined, that euery one shoulde striue in his desires, to excell his companions in the building of sumptuous houses: I might compare the manner of the Popes Cardinals in the citie of Rome to their magnificence: but much otherwise, for the Cardinals in their buildings haue respect onely to themselues, not regarding succession. But these people being obedient to Muteczuma, prouide for posteritie long to come: for they send their owne children to bee brought vp with Muteczuma, especially suche as descend from nobilitie, whereof there is so great a multitude, that euery day as soone as light appeareth you may see more then 500 such young noblemen walking in the hals, and open solars of Muteczuma, with whose familiars, pages, & folowers, three great courts, and streets (before the gates of the pallace) are fild at that time, to the houre of dinner. All these are fild with Muteczumas prouision, he saith, the cellers are neuer shut all day long, and that any manne may demand drinke of the butlers. Yet no man seeth the King, before he come forth to dinner or supper, out of the priuie chambers, in to the great Hall, whose equall in greatnesse, Cortes sayth, hee knowes not any. When he is set, 300. young men appparelled after the Palatine maner come vnto him, and euery one of them bring seuerall dishes of diuers daintie meates, with chaffin dishes vnder them that the meates freese not in the winter tyme. But they come not neere the table, for it is compassed about with a rayle, one onely standeth within the rayle, who taketh the seuerall dishes from their hands, and setteth them before the Prince being readie to dine. Muteczuma giueth with his owne hande of the dishes to 6. auncient men of great authoritie standing at his right hand, who after the auncient maner, while he dineth, stand all bare footed. The pauementes are couered with mats. If it so happen that he cal any, he that is called goeth vnto him, bowing downe his bodie, with his face to the earth: and lifteth not vp his head at all, before he be gon far from him, creeping backwarde, for he may not return turning his back toward him. No man vseth directly to looke vpon the king, his familiars, and friends, & also the princes, casting down their eyes, & turning their face to y left or right hande, harken what the king answers: and thereupon they blamed Cortes, because he suffered the Spaniardes which he called vnto him, to behold him with a direct countenance: who answered y it was not the manner with vs, nor that our king so highly esteemed his mortalitie, although he were the great-
est,

est, that he would be adored with so great reuerence: this answer pleased the. Besids, whē Muteczuma is presēt, in what state soeuer he appeare, amōg so great a multitude there is so wōderful a silence, that non would thinke any of the, drew any breath at al. Euery dinner, & euery supper, he washeth his hands on both sides, & wipeth them with very white linnen, & the towel hee once vseth hee neuer taketh in hands againe, all instrumentes must neuer bee touched more. The like doth he concerning his apparel, arising from his bed, he is cloathed after one maner, as he commeth forth to bee seene, and returning backe into his chamber after he hath dined, he changeth his garments: and when he commeth forthe againe to supper, hee taketh another, and returning backe againe the fourth which he weareth vntill he goe to bed. But concerning 3. garments, which he changeth euery day, many of them that returned haue reported the same vnto me, with their owne mouth: but howsoeuer it be, all agree in the changing of garmentes, that being once taken into the wardrope, they are there piled vp on heaps, not likely to see the face of Muteczuma any more: but what manner of garmentes they be, we will elswhere declare, for they are very light. These things being obserued, it wil not be wōdred at, that we made mention before concerning so many garments presented. For accounting the yeares, and the dayes of the yeares, especially, wherein Muteczuma hath inioyed peace & howe often he changeth his garments euery daye, all admiration will cease. But the readers will demand, why he heapeth vp so great a pile of garments, & that iustly. Let them knowe that Muteczuma vsed to giue a certeine portion of garments to his familiar friends, or well deseruing soldiers, in steed of a beneuolence, or stipend, when they go to the wars, or returne from y victory, as Augustus Cæsar lord of the world, a mightier Prince then Muteczuma, commāded only a poore reward of bread to be giuen ouer & aboue to such as performed any notable exployt, while being by Maro admonished, that so smal a larges of bread was an argumēt y he was a bakers son: then although it be recorded in writt that Cæsar liked y mery cōceit, yet it is to be beleued y he blushed at that diuinatiō, because he promised Virgil to alter his dispositiō & that hereafter he would bestow gifts worthy a great king, & not a bakers son. Muteczuma eateth & drinketh in earthen vessels, although he haue innumerable plate of gold, & siluer beset w precious stones: such earthē vessels as are once brought, as chargers, dishes, poringers, pitchers & such like vessels, neuer goe backe again. I wil now speak sōwhat of their palaces, & houses in y plaine fields. Euery noble mā, besids his houses in the city, hath sumptuous houses builte for delight in the open felde, and gardens and greene plots of grounde adioyning to them, & places where fruit trees growe of diuers kindes, and hearbes, and roses, and sweete fragrant floures: where there wanteth no art in looking to the plats or quarters, & fencing them about with inclosures of cane, least any suddenly enter into the manured delights to ouerthrowe them, or robbe or spoyle them: becsides euery one hath standing pooles in his orchardes, where sculles of diuers fishes swimme, and multitudes of water foule fote vpon them. If therefore euery Noble man hath one such house, it is meete that their Emperour Muteczuma shoulde not come behinde them. Muteczuma hath three great houses in a solitary place out of the way to refresh and recreate himselfe in the heate of sommer: in one of these he hath great plentie of monstrous men, as dwarfes, crooke backes, such as are gray headed from their youth, and men with one legge, or two heades, and seruants are appoynted to attend them. The second is ordained for rauening foule, where both Vultures, and Egles, and all other kindes of hawkes and cruell byrds of pray are kept. Euery foule hath her open cage in a great courte with two pearches fastened in them, the one on the outside to take the sunne, and the other within, to roost vpon: and euery cage separated one frō another with their sedge betweene them. But the whole courte is couered with woodden grates about that euery foule may inioy the open ayre, and safly flie in that parte assigned her: seruants also are appoynted them, not onely to giue them meate, but they haue likewise a certain number of stipendiary Surgeans, who by the art of phisicke knowe how to cure the diuers kinds of diseases which grow in birds. One thing seemeth somewhat wonderfull & strange, concerning water foule: whatsoever they bee that liue in the sea, are included in the salt pooles, and those that lyue in fresh waters, are kept in the fresh pooles, and at certayne tymes of the yeere, the old waters being dried vp, and the fresh ponds carefully clensed,

An other poynt
of state.

An other poynt
of state.

The change of
the Kings gar-
ments.

Why Mutec-
zuma heapeth
vp so many gar-
ments.

Muteczuma
eateth & drink-
eth in earth
vessels.

Of palaces in
the country.

Of Muteczuma
his three great
houses in the
countrie.

One for mon-
strous men.

The seconde
house for rauening
foule.

Strang pooles
of water foule.

The thirde
house.

Cumatana a
Citie.

Muteczuma a
faithfull and
cōstant prince
and free from
ambition.

The mutabili-
ty of fortune.

ed, fresh waters are let in: the seruantes giue meate to euery kind of foule, of fishes, hearbes, and the graine Maizium, according to euerie ones nature, deliuered them by the houshoulde seruants and stewards of Muteczuma. Round about those standing pooles are large walks, where, vpon marble, alabaster, & Iasper pillers, are other solars or floares, from whence Muteczuma (whē he cometh) may behold al the actions & conflicts of the birds below, especially when they are fed: The third house is appointed for lions, tygers, woolues, foxes, & other rauening beasts of this kind, & peacocks inclosed within their pales, & roomes, whereof I haue sufficiently spoken before: with these the fierce & wild beasts are fed. Those pallaces or courts are well replenished with houses, so yf the king with his family determin to lodge ther al night, he may conueniently doe it. This they say, and this we report. Whatsoever they write, or declare in our presence, we beleue, because, we suppose they would not presume to signify any thing rashly, contrary to truth, & because we haue also learned to beleue yf those things might be done, which are possible, & not miraculous, and they further say, that they omit many things, lest they shoud offend the eares of Cæsar & the courtiers, with too long narrations. While our men thus searched these things, messengers were sent with Spaniardes to accompany them, vnto diuers countries of Muteczumas dominions, to declare vnto yf noblemen of the cōtries in their kings name, that they were to obey the great King of Spayne, and (in his behalfe) the captains sent from him. From the East vnto the furthest limits of those countries, which diuide them from Iucatan (for they think Iucatan w first offereth it selfe to them yf come from Cuba, to be an Iūd, & it is not yet certainly known) they say, so much Iūd lyeth betweene, yf it is almost thrice as big as Spain: for we haue already said that Tenustitā is more thē an 100. leagues distāt from yf citie Potenchiana, otherwise called Victoria, & yf borders of Potēchian are extended further vnto Iucatā & to yf gulf called Figueras lately discovered. But they that were sent vnto the West, foud a city, & that a great one too called Cumatana, 200. leagues distāt or therabouts from Tenustitan, & yf King of this citie, whose name I know not, & such as lie betweene, and they of the East also as farre as the Potenchiani, who (except those fewe common wealthes of whom I haue spoken before at large) were obedient to Muteczuma, nowe both of them haue subiected themselues to vs. Cortes often perswaded Muteczuma to goe vnto his aunient pallace: but he refused, saying, it is expedient for neither of vs, yf we should be parted: for my nobles as I said before louing their benefit more then our quietnesse, will instantly intreate me, to raise the people, and make war against thee, being therefore knit together, wee shalbe the safer from their insolent ambition. Yet sometimes for his recreation, he resorted to those houses, as I mentioned a litle before, & at the euening, he alighted from his cabinet at the Pallace of Cortes. As he went or returned no man looked directly vpon him: so great is the reuerence which is conceiued towardes him, that they thinke theselues vnworthy to behold him. That superstition is ingrafted in the minds of the people, from their auncesters. But what? but what? & againe yf 3. time, but what? The flattering inticemēts of fortune yf mother, in the turning of her wheele, were conuerted to the accustomed buffēts of a stepdame. Cortes saith, he entred into that city of the lake the 8. day of September in yf yeere 1519. and there passed a most quiet and peaceable winter, & the greater part of the sprig vntill the moneth of May the next yeere: at what time Diecus Velasquez gouernr of Cuba or Fernandina, furnished a navy to cōe against Cortes, because, without asking his aduice, & against his wil, as I mētioned before, he determined to set footing on those countries, & plant Colonies there. As touching the fleete wee will hereafter speak, but now cōcerning Cortes. While he thus aboad with Muteczuma, daily expecting with earnest desire, yf returne of the messengers Montegius, and Portucarrerius, whom he had sent with presents vnto Cæsar, behold it was told him by the inhabitants of Muteczuma who bordered vpon the Sea shore, that ships were scene at Sea: he supposed it had bene his messengers ship, & reioyced, but his ioy was presently trāsformed into sorow & sadnes. I will here omit many smal matters, which the Grecians, & Iewes (because they are always straited within narrow boundes) woulde inserte into their Hystories, if they hadde happened to their fellow-citizens: but in so great a vastity of matter, wee omit many thinges. To be short, It was the fleete of Iacobus

bus Velasquez, consisting of 18. shippes, both beaked Carauelles, & Brigantines of two ranges of oars, furnished with men, to witte, 800. footemen, and 80. horsemen & 17. peices of ordinance, as hereafter shall appeare. Ouer this present fleete Velasquez made a young manne called Pamphilus Naruacij, Generall. Cortes sent messengers vnto Pamphilus, to require him to come in friendly manner, and that hee shoulde not goe about to disturbe so happie enterpryses. Pamphilus made aunswere, that the Emperour commanded him, to execute the office of Generall of the armie of those countreyes, and willeth to command Cortes, to yeeld vp his Empire and gouernment, and come humbly, and vnarmed vnto him, that rendring account of his actions, hee might submitte himselfe to his Iudgement, or to the censure of Iacobus Velasquez who sent him. Cortes sayth hee woulde obey the Kinges letters patentes, if he woulde shew them to the Gouvernour left in the Colonie of Vera Crux. But if he falsly say that he hath those letters, let him depart the Prouince, in the which he determined to sette footing, and not forraging the countrey violently take away what hee findeth, because hee thinketh it auailable for the king, not to disturbe so great attempts by his comming: & that all the Barbarians now conquered, who vnder his conduct becam obedient vnto Caesar, and honor his name, if they vnderstande that the Spanyardes disagree, and are at variance among themselues, will aduance their crests, and rebell against the Christians.

A fleete of 18. ships sent from Velasquez vnder the conduct of Pamphilus Naruacij against Cortes. Cortes sendes messengers to Pamphilus.

The fift Chapter.

MAny suche thinges by messengers were discussed on either side, & nothing don, so that Pamphilus continued his purpose. In the mean space those shippes, with their seuerall peeces of ordināce, horses, 28. smal shot, 120. archers, all landed vpon the shore, were brought by certaine trybutaries to Mutezuma, paynted in a certaine table of the barke of a tree. Cortes therefore vnderstanding the matter, was much tormented in mynde ignorant at the first, what counsell to take. If he made light of the matter, he saw that, it would so fall out, that the authoritie of a newe open enemy, woulde gather strength both with the Spanyardes, and the Barbarians. On the other side it was a harde case to forsake so great a matter, for feare of that, which fell out, to witte, the violent assaulte of the Barbarians vpon his menne. At length he thought it better to goe to Pamphilus, relying vpon the authoritie, wherby hee preuayled with them that came with Pamphilus, when hee was chiefe Magistrate for Iustice, in the Ilande of Cuba. Leauing garrisons therefore in the Pallace where he kept Mutezuma, hee spake vnto Mutezuma in these words. O my king Mutezuma, now occasion of thy future happines offereth it selfe, if the king shal find thee faithfull at such a time, it shal cōe to passe that al things shall succeed prosperously, & happily vnto thee. I goe, to search out what this matter may be, in my absence be carefull that no innouation arise. The Spanyards whō I leaue to be at your command, I commēd to your faithfull protection. Mutezuma promised them al succour & helpe, & sayd, he would account the Spaniards in steede of kinsmen. Go prosperously, & if they touch my borders with a treacherous mind, giue me notice therof: & I will command them to be subdued by war, & expelled out of my countries. Therefore leauing a garrison there, and bestowing certaine acceptable presents vpon Mutezuma, & his son, he taketh his iourney towards Pamphilus, who had seated hiselfe in Zempoal, and seduced the citizens against Cortes. He went with that mind, to disturb whatsoever he met opposed vnto him. So Cortes went vnto him: and omitting circumstances, sendeth for his Alguazill (that is to say the executioner of Iustice, which the Latines call a sergeāt: although a sergeant seldōe cometh into the dining roome) & sendeth him before with 80. footmē, with commandement that vsing ¶ Prætorian law, he apprehend Pamphilus. He himselfe foloweth after to aid him with the rest, which were 170. He therefore with 250. men setteth vpon Pamphilus, not vnprepared, because he was admonished therof by the scouts. Pamphilus had fortified himselfe in an high tower of the tēple of that citie: & had eight peeces of ordinance planted on the steps of the staires. This Terentian Pamphilus rather, then that Trojan Hector is beset with 800. soldiers, assaulted, & takē. We think those Pamphilā souldiers durst not lift vp their heads against Cortes, who sometime made

Cortes to Mutezuma.

Cortes leaues a garrison and goeth against Pamphilus.

Pamphilus taken.

made them afraid, when he was chief gouernor of $\S$ citie of Cuba: we also think $\S$ the chiefe cōmāders were seduced through $\S$ subtilty & crafty deuises of Cortes: that, at $\S$ time when $\S$ matter was to be performed, they shuld leaue their swords they brought w them, in their sheaths. Here many things are muttered against Cortes, which time will discouer: howsoever it be, Pamphilus making sō resistāce, lost one of his eies. So he led away Pāphilus with on eye, who a litle before had the luster of 2. eyes, & with him, his chiefe cōsorts, faithfull Centuriās to their General: who are said to be but a few. A certain Licentiate called Aiglionus, an excellent lawyer, one of $\S$ Senators of Hispaniola, solowed Pamphilus. This licētiāte in the behalfe of the Senate of Hispaniola, by whom lawes were giuen to al those parts, commāded Iacobus Velazquez, not to sende out that flecte against Cortes, & that he should not be the occasiō of so great a mischief: who said that the matter was to be decided by authoritie of the king, & not by armes: & cāe also to declare $\S$ sāe to Pāphilus, & endeoured with all his power to diuert $\S$ authors of the flecte from that enterprise. This Terentian Pamphilus did not onely not obey him, but casting the Senator into prison, sent him in a ship to Cuba to Diecus Velasquez, the inuēter therof. The wisdom of $\S$ Licentiate was such, that seducing the mariners, he brought his keepers boūd, in the same ship to Hispaniola. So they became a pray in the lap of fortune. These are small matters, let vs now come to those of more weight, & importāce. Whosoeuer followed Pamphilus, stucke to Cortes the known Gouernour of $\S$ citie. He sent the ships to the garrisons of $\S$ Colonie of Vera Crux, to giue them notice of the victorie: & with the rest hee taketh his journey towards Tenustitan: & sendeth messengers before, to certifie Muteczuma (and the rest who were left behinde) concerning the successe of thinges. This messenger was stabbed with manie wounds in the way, so that he scarce escaped aliue: who brought backe newes, that they were all in an vproare in the city Tenustitā & that the Barbarians were reuolted, and had burned those 4. Brigantins (whereof I made mention before) built for defence of our men, and that our garrisons being beseiged were in extreame perill, and straightly beset with fire and sword, and all prouision of victuall intercepted. And he further said, that they had all perished, and bin ouerthrown, if Muteczuma had not withstood it, to whom the citizens are now become rebellious & disobedient as he sayth. Cortes with all his traine approacheth to the brinke of $\S$ salt lake, and sendeth a Canoa made of one whole tree, to search, what the matter was. Another Canoa meeteth them, wherin one of Muteczumas messengers, & another of the garrison of the Spaniards besieged, were conueied, who cāe to signify vnto Cortes the distresse our men were in. It is manifestly known, $\S$ this was don against $\S$ wil of Muteczuma: wherfore the messengers exhort him to make hast, who say, that Muteczuma hopeth by meanes of his comming, that the sedition which was already risen should turne vnto a quiet calme: whereupon the 8. of the Calendes of Iuly, he speedily conueyeth himselfe with certayne Canoas into $\S$ Pallace, to the garrisons, & Muteczuma, who was very pensiue and sadde by reason of that tumult. He founde the wooden bridges (which all along diuide the stone bridges) drawne vp, and the wayes fortified with rampers: he first thought they hadde done it through feare, but it was farre otherwise: for they determined rather to dye, then any longer to indure such guests, who deteined their King vnder colour of protecting his life, possessed the citie, and kept their auncient enemies the Tascaltecanes, Guazuzingi, and others beside, before their eyes, at their charge: and consumed their prouision which was harde to get, by reason that beeing compassed with water, they naturally wanted all things, abstained not from iniuries, imposed tributes, and desired whatsoever thing was precious which they vnderstande they had, endeououring either by force or cunning to extort it from them, who, to conclude brake in peeces the Images of their gods, & depriued them of their old rites, and auncient ceremonies. For these causes the Princes of $\S$ city being much moued, & with thē the forraine Nobilty (who familiarly inioyed the presence of their king, and brought vp their children & kinsmen with him from their childhood) determined in a rage, to roote out this nation, as husbādmen vse to pluck vp thistles by the roots out of their corne. And therfore tooke vpō them (without the kings cōmandemēt, nay though he withstood it to his power) to conquer the Pallace, & kil the garrison, or consume them with

famin,

The Tenustians
in rebellion.

The fidelitie of
Muteczuma.

Cortes con-
ueieth himselfe
into the Pallace.

famin. Wherby our men were now brought to extreme hazard of life, vnles Cortes had come vnto thē, at whose cōming, they tooke courage again, being now almost out of hart seeing there was no further hope remaining. They had fortified y^e Pallace in maner of a Castle, the Castle had hie churches, neer which stood a tower inuironed with firre trees. They greatly indāmagēd our mē by casting darts & stones out of y^e firre trees, & fortresses. As soon as the Barbariās vnderstood y^e Cortes was cōe with auxiliary forces, & entred the Pallace, to his mē, they begā more furiously & fiersly to assault thē, a blacke cloud of stones, & darts, & arrowes, & al kind of weapōs deliuered from the hād, cāe so thick y^e our men could not discern the sky. The clamors raised to the Heauens, cōfounded the aire, because the nūber of those obstinate & sturdy warriours was innumerable. To those y^e fought on the plain groūd, Cortes sent forth a Captain with 200. Spaniards, who made some slaughter of the Barbarians, but being inclosed by an infinite multitude, he could not breake the array. It was hard for them to returne vnto the Castle, yet he got out, making his way with his sword: among them y^e were slaine, he was grievously wōunded, and left 4. of his company slaine: on the other side Cortes commeth suddenly vpon them, but did them litle hurt, for as soon as they had cast their darts, & stones, they retired to certai litle turrets, which the Spaniards call Azotecas, whereof there are many built throughout the citie: the battaile continued fierce a long time, insomuch as Cortes was constrained to betake himselfe to y^e Castle out of the fight, which (not without dāger) he scarsly performed, many of his cōpanions being slaine through violence of stons, & diuers kinds of weapons. Cortes being brought back away into the Castle, the Barbariās renewed the assault, & seeke entrāce on euery side, & ruine, & coming close vnto y^e ports, they endeouour by setting fire to them, to burne them, they y^e defended the assault shot many of the assaylāts through with bullets with the shot, & bowmen, yet with an obstinate corage remainyng by the dead carkases of their cōpanions, if need required, they proceeded, to renew y^e fight: they say the battaile continued from morning vntill the euening. This was an intollerable labour for our men, y^e they were al compelled to be al in armes, the whole day, but much more easy for them, that 4. times in euery houre, fresh & sound men were placed in the ranks in steed of the weary, slaine, & wōunded men, who came no lesse cheerfull vnto dāger, then they departed weary from the fight: so great was the perturbation of that hatred which they now conceiued. They exhorted one another, to indēuoure corragiously to thrust such gūestes out of their houses, that none could liue with more contentment, then to shake of such a yoke from their neckes, by fighting, or loosing their liues for y^e libertie of their country. So they continued the whole day in the battaile like raging woolus about a sheepfold, & the fight ceased at the euening. But y^e whole night was so troubled with their strōg & loud clamors, y^e through the noise therof, al y^e dwelt neer were struckē with deafnes. Neither could they within y^e castle hear one another there was such a resounding or hellowing of voyces. The Barbarians departing y^e day, Cortes taking muster of his men, fōūd 80. of thē wōunded. The next day after, which was y^e 8. of the Calends of Iuly, they ran more fiersly thither then their accustomed maner, wherupon a cruel conflict ariseth. He planteth 13. field peeces against y^e enemy, & rāgeth the Archers, & y^e smal shot in the front: oh admirable attempt, although 10. & sometimes 12. of thē were shot through with euery great shot, & their dismembred lims tossed into the ayre, yet notwithstanding they persisted, & cāe on still: & which way soeuer the great shot tare them in peeces, they presently closed the Armie, like the Germās or Heluetiās. The next day being cōpelled through great want of things necessary, he determined to try his fortune abroad. The Spaniards (whom cruel hūger cōpelled) issued forth like raging Lions. They fal vpon y^e enemie, kill many, & wōon certaine houses by assault, which lay neere to y^e castle. They passed some of the wooden bridges which crossed y^e waies. But at the euening our men returned, no lesse hunger starued, Cortes & 50. of his company being wōunded. Necessitie dayly more & more vrging, especially the great penury of corne, they were enforced to find out deuises, whereby doing greater dāmage to the enemy they might draw thē to some quiet peace. By night therefore he made 3. warlike engis of wood, couered

The Tenusticans
fiercely assault
the Pallace.

Cortes himselfe
wounded.

A battaile frō
morning to the
euening.

The Tenusticans
shewe great
courage.

Cortes againe
wounded.

with boordes, in maner of a litle square house, the art military calleth them engins of defence, this engin was able to containe 20. souldiers, and putting wheels vnder it, they issue out of the same: they were shot & bowmen which filled the engin of defence. They brought also behind them, slaues with axes, & mattocks, thinking to be able to ouerthrow houses, & bulwarkes y^e annoyed them. There was such casting of stones and dartes from the Towers (which hunge ouer the wayes) vpon those Engines, that they brake the couering thereof: so they were faine to creepe backe againe vnto the Castle. These things thus doone, Mutezuma (that vnhappy King, whome our men hadde with them) desired that hee might bee brought to the sight of them that fought, promising to indouore to perswade them to giue ouer the assault. By euil fortune, hee was brought vnto a certayne open loft, on that side where the assaylantes were thickest, when presently such a mighty tempest of stons cāe violently powring down vpō them that fought, that no manne put out his head, who departed not shrewdly shaken, and bruised. There, the most puissant king Mutezuma, a good man by nature, and wise enough, got the vnhappy end of his greatnesse, and delightes, who being stricke with a stone by his owne people, the thirde day breathed out that soule which commanded so many kingdomes, and was a terrour to so many nations and people. Our men gaue his body to the citizēs to be buried. What was els done, they knowe not. For they had no free libertie lefte them, to be able to doe any other thing, thē to bethinke them, how to preserue life.

The Lamentable and vnhappy end of the mightie King Mutezuma.

The sixth Chapter.

Cortes speaketh to the citizens.

The next day after, Cortes speaketh to the commanders of the warres, the Principall men of the citie, and the kinges Allies (among whom was the Lord of Astapalapa the kings brother) being sent for to the place, where that lamentable mischance happened to Mutezuma. And perswadeth exhorteth & aduiseth them rather to imbrace peace then warre: and that vnlesse they desisted from their enterprises hee woulde vtterly destroy that so famous and renowned cittie, their chiefe seate and natiue soile: and that he pittied their future calamitie, whom he once admitted for his friendes: whereto they answered, that the wordes which Cortes spake, were vaine, & idle. They sayd, they woulde account him for no friend, but a deadly & hatefull enemy: & further say, they will not accept his offered peace, vnlesse he leaue them their country free, departing out of their borders with his army. Cortes againe putteth them in mind to beware of the future dammage, and grievous losses. They replied, that rather then they would indure such a bondage, they would constantly die euery man: and therfore bid him thinke of his return, & not put any confidēce in weak & fraile words, they say, death should be most pleasing vnto thē, so they might shake of that slauiish bondage from the necke of their children and the rest of their posteritie. Contrarily, Cortes againe propoundeth vnto thē, what miseries other natiōs (who refused his friendship) had indured. He promiseth to pardō former Errors. They reply again, that they will haue none of his friendship, nor none of his pardō. Nay, they say, they doubt not but they shal consume them euery mā either with the sword or famin, & shew, that it might easily be done, because there is so great a multitude of desperate men desiring death, so that they make no reckening of the slaughter of a thousād men: if the death of euery thousand be recōpenced, but with one of ours. They affirme, that they are al resolute in this opinion, & therfore admonish him with threatning words, that (a Gods blessing) he goe from whence he came, & prouid for him, & his, with the time: & desire, & beseech him to suffer them to inioy the customs, & precepts of their Auncestors. Cortes, who shortly was likely to perish through famine, with al his traine, vnles he ouerthrew the force & power of the Barbarians (for hee was nowe pressed with extreame famin) out of his necessitie was compelled to frame the courage of his mind vnto an higher straine. He suspected also, least if hee went about to depart, as was required, hee might be intercepted within the drawe bridges, which was easily don, the woodē bridges betweene him & thē, being either drawn vp, or taken away. It increased his suspition also, for y^e the chiefe men of the citie were not ignorant that Cortes had great treasurs heaped vp, through desire wherof they were drawn, and that

The magnanimous resolution of the Barbarians.

A Vertue of necessitie.

that not without cause surely, for our menne confesse, that out of all those countries he had gathered the sum of seven hundred thousande Ducates, in gold, siluer, and precious stones, all which he had in his custodie. Thereupon hee determined to prepare himselfe to the fight, and that night to hazard what the fortune of war shuld decree. They amend those Engins of war whereof we haue made mention: & as soone as day began to appeare, he went forth, first to destroy those little towns, out of the which our men were indangered by casting down stones, & such like things from thence: & then to possesse them by strong hand, if he could. These Engins with wheels, were drawn by them that were within, behind the 3. peeces of battery folowed after, whose flanks many targeteers, & shot guarded & defended, accompanied with troöps of *Y Tascaltecas*, & *Guazuzingi* to the nuber of 3000. out of the first litle town which they assayed, such a cloud of stons & darts was thrown down vpon our *mē*, *y* they could not vse the ordināce: so that on of our *mē* being slaine, & many wounded, they returned w heauy cheer vnto the Castle. Out of the hie tower of *y* church also, which was ouer *y* Castle, they receiued innuerable dāmagēs. Wherefore our men attempted to assault it, & ascend by an hundred marble steps, & more, vnto the top thereof: but the Præsidiary Barbarians of the *isla*, made our men tūble headlong down the stairs. Whereupon the corage of our men faited, but the enemies puffed vp with pride, pressed *y* seig much more grieuously, & renewed the fight. Cortes compassed with so great calamitie, perceiuing that present death would follow, except he woon *y* tower by assault, because they could not so much as put forth a finger, for the enemy, so lōg as *y* tower stood speedily taketh vp a target himselfe, and such as were of stoutest courage followed after him, armed with targets in like manner. They assault the tower: with resolution either to win the tower, or in that conflict to end their liues. And although they vnderooke it with manifest hazard and danger of life, yet boldnes of courage preuailed. The enemy endeouours to defend the stayres, our men desire to ascend them, in so much, as they fought eagerly. At lēgh our men obtained their desires. They woon the tower, & made the defenders to leape down from the top of *y* stairs. In that tower (casting down their Idols) they placed the image of the blessed virgin: which the enemy stole away. Wherefore he commanded that tower, & 3. others to be burned, least any further dāmage should be don vnto the Castle therby. Those towers being lost, *y* Barbarias began to quaille. The night folowing our *mē* sallying forth, in one of the waies neere vnto the castle, burned 300. houses: & many in another, from which the castle was much annoyed. So somtimes killing, somtimes destroying, & sōtimes receiuing wōnds in the wayes, & bridges, they laboured many daies & nights, on both sides. At length the nobles of the city, faying feare, send messengers to Cortes to treat of peace, who say, they will be obedient vnto him, so he will pardon that which was past. Whereto Cortes sayth, that he was well content. Now Cortes had one of the Priestes a man of great authoritie whom he detained in the castle. They earnestly intreat him to set *y* Priest at liberty, by whose means the matter might be performed: the priest is let go, & Cortes being credulous taketh no further care for *y* matter. Cortes sitteth down to dinner, vpō a sudden, messēgers cōe rūning forth cōtinually, who report *y* the bridges were interrupted by armed enemies. Cortes had filled certain spaces, which *y* woodē bridges vsed to couer, to the intēt that if the bridges were taken away, the horses might freely runne hither and thither, vpon the firme ground: they signifie that the bricke of those void places, and the earth, and all other kinde of matter or rubble were cast out, and the bridges made vnpassable againe, and those spaces censed, so that no footemen, much lesse horsemen, might passe that way. He leapeth forth from the table, sendeth out the horsemen vpon the Barbarians, and violently breaketh in through the midst of the enemy, wounding, and killing, on both sides, for a long space. But it repented him that he ranged so far, and wide. Returning from the fight, hee founde all the way behinde him, very full of souldiers, on the water with boates, and thicke on both sides, and before, filling the whole breadth of the bridge. They that remayned by flight, presse vpon him dangerously behinde: he was also assayed from the towers, many on both sides were battered with stones, and pierced with darts, and Cortes also grieuously wounded on the heade, and fewe escaped free, and those so faint and weake, that they

The huge mass
of golde and
siluer that
Cortes had gathered.

Cortes assaults
the tower.

A most resolute
and valiant act
of Cortes.

They win the
tower.

300. Houses
burnt.

The Nobles
subtly entreate
peace.

Cortes assaults
the Barbarians
but with euill success.

could not so much as lift vp their armes. But after they retyred to the Castle they found not meate sufficiently enough seasoned to refresh them, nor peradventure morselles of breade of rough Maizium, nor potable drinke, as for wine & flesh, they had no great care. So being all heauie and sad, they besought Cortes, to bring them backe againe from thence, for it would shortly come to passe that they should either dye by the sword of the Barbarians, or pine through famin. He harkened to the request of his felowes in armes, & being moued with y^e matter it selfe now brought to the last cast, he yeeled to depart: & prepared certain great peeces of timber, to lay ouer the bridges wher the stone bridges were wanting. Being ready to goe soorth one night secretly, he diuideth the treasures, to the sum of 7. hundred thousande Ducates. He assigneth the kings sif part to the kings Auditor, and Treasurer, & other officers, & commandeth them to take charge therof. The rest he diuideth to be caryed behinde them vpon horsebacke. He had with him Mutezumass son, and 2. daughters, pledges, & many other chiefe men taken in the conflicts, for whose sakes, & for casting down y^e images of their gods that tumult of the people arose. He setteth the ranks in order, he chooseth chiefe commaunders, and vnder officers, raungeth the army, & taketh his journey in the silent night. The report & fame thereof is spread throughout the whole citie in the twinkling of an eye, that Cortes, and his companions were fled. A huge number of warriors run suddenly vnto them, they raise their clamors to the heauens, so that our miserable men were pelted with stones and darts on euery side. They that were in the vanguard escaped, but such as were in the middle, and followed in the reare, were shrewdly smitten, and wounded. The discourses concerning these conflicts are long & tedious. Your Holinesse shall briefly heare what they write at large: the Barbarians slew many of our men, and horses, because they carryed away their Kinges children, and the cheife men of the citie, and for that they conueied away the treasure, they fought with madde fury and courage: so that whatsoever riches or householdstufte our men tooke away, became their praye, except that little which fell to the vanguard share by chance: the fury of the conflict was so great, that they slew pel mel Mutezumass children, and the principall men of the citie, together with the slaues, whereof our men had gotten many, and our men also intermingled with them: and if at any time, the horsemen which remained, went backe to such as followed them, the first they met withall, with a violent course leapt into the waters, seeing it is all one with them to swimme, and to walke vpon the land (as is it to Crocodiles, or Seales) and afterwarde comming out of the water, creeping by the walles of the bridges, they came in againe. So our men being vtterly ouerthrowne, and dispersed, forsooke the whole lake. They whose good happe was to escape, made a stand in the field of a certayne land citie, called Tacuna. Vppon an high steepe side of a hill of that plaine, Cortes abode, to gather the remnant of his vanquished Armie together, and incamped there all night, in the open ayre. Mustering his army after the vnhappy remnant thereof receiued, he found left behind him slaine, of the Spaniards 150. of the Auxiliary Tascaltecanes, and Guazuzingi, and others bordering vppon them, about 2000. of the horses, he lost 42. and there remayned not one of the children of Mutezuma, or of the cheife men who were led captiue. The like also befell the slaues: they all dyed in the sight of our men. The Tenustitan conquerors alwayes followed the stepps of our men fighting, to the very view of this citie Tacuna: expecting the day light. Cortes being certified by the Spies, what purpose they had, and how great a multitude was gathered together against him, vsed a Stratageme. He commaunded fiers to be kindled in diuers places, to the intent, that the enemy should thinke our menne would stay there, and not moue a foote till day light. At the second watch of the night hee commaundeth to take vp the Ensignes, and chargeth the souldiers to follow as well as they could: one of the Tascaltecan Auxiliaries escaped, Cortes being very pensiue, because he knew not which way they must goe, or should be compelled to go: he offereth his helpe to conduct him, because he declared, that he had traualled through those countries before time. This Tascaltecan beeing his guide, he remoueth, they bring forth those that were grieuously wounded vpon the buttockes of horses, or fastened to their tayles: the rest who were vnprofitable for warre, who could stand vpon their

Cortes packs vp a great masse of treasure.

Cortes and his companions flee.

Mutezumass children slain.

Tacuna.

150. Spaniards slaine, & 2000 others.

A Stratageme.

their secte: or such as were wounded, or otherwise sicke of any disease, he sent before. The reareward, which he kept, with the horse, and a few sound men, were scarce marched one mile from the place where they incamped that night, when in the first twilight and dawning of the day, an innumerable multitude of Enemies came vnto them: and with their large paces the Barbarians ouertooke our reare-ward. They so galled our men behind, that the horsemen violently fell vpon them all along the way, and slew many, and returned backe againe to the armie while they were marching. So, they alwayes followed our men fighting for two leagues together, for they might not make a further iournie, for the annoiance of the enemy: neither was it les greiuous vnto them, that they were oppressed with the want of all things, because they carried nothing out of Tenustitan fit for food, nor did they safely march fro the townesmen: they that were next in the way, came violently running out of their houses with loud outcries, as shepheards vse to doe vpon the taking of a Wolfe at the sheepefolde, while they perceiue the wolfe is gon farr from the foldes. Through these difficulties, at length they came to their friends the Tascaltecanes. In the second encoüter after they were got out of the city Tenustitan, the enemy wounded 4. horses with their arrowes of the which one being slaine, (as Cortes saith) gaue him and his fellow souldiers a sumptuous & delicate supper, for that they greedily deuoured the horse. They say they led a miserable life for siue daies together, with the parched graine of Maizium only, & that, not to saturity neither. I omit many particulars heere, which cause mee to beleue, that neither that fabulous Grecian Hercules, nor any man liuing euer suffered any such things, & yet remained aliuie, so many painefull labours, so many dangers of fight, such hunger, I thinke none liuing which is not a Spaniard could haue indured. This Race of men is borne for this, that it might more easily indure what labour soeuer, & hunger, and thirst, heat and cold, & continuall watching, (& that in the open ayre if necessitie require) then any other nation in my iudgemēt. At the length the sixt day fro that departure, which was like vnto a flight, he came to a town of the Tascaltecan iurisdiction, called Guazillipa: which consisteth of 4000 houses, as they report. He entred that towne halfe suspected, because he feared (which vsually happeneth in humane affaires) least their mindes might be changed with fortune, and of friends were nowe become enemies, but hee found they had dealt faithfully with him. That towne was 4. leagues distant from Tascalteca. Understanding by the Tascaltecanes of the slaughter of our men and theirs, and of their coming: they sent two of the cheife men of the city messengers vnto them, the one a man of authority, and the other Sæcutengal. Messengers also came from the common wealth of Guazuzingo friend to the Tascaltecanes, who comforted our distressed men & perswade them to be of good cheere, and put them in some hope of future reuenge, offering al their forces for the effecting of the matter. They exhort them to quiet theselues for the present after so many grieuances, & cure their companions: and further promise that the Tenustitanes should shortly receiue punishment for the slaughter of the Spaniards, & the losse of their cittizens slaine vnder their protection. Cortes with these words confirmed his wandering mind, & at the request of the embassadours went to Tascalteca. But he sent the embassadours of the Guazuzingi cheerefully back againe, hauing presented them with certaine gifts of our country commodities, acceptable vnto them, because they were strange. Our men were curteously intertayned, & cherished with soft beds, & necessary prouision of victuals. Cortes being to depart to Mutezumia, had left with the Tascaltecanes some store of gold & siluer, and found all things intire and safe, & their fidelitie kept. But what auailed it: he sent that wealth in chests (to the summe of 21000. Castellanes of golde, besides Iewels,) to the Colony of Vera Crux: siue horses accompanied those riches, and 44. footemen through the enemies borders of the prouince of Colua, because they are friends to the Tenu-titanes: who were takē euery man, & all sacrificed to their gods, & deuoured by the Coluani, & their treasures diuided among thē. Hauing cōtinued 3 space of twenty daies with the Tascaltecanes, he cured the wounded men and refreshed the feeble. After this, he sent againe to the Colonie of Vera Crux, the messenger returning, sayd those Garrisons were all well, at that message Cortes reioyced, but the rest of the Commanders and souldiers were of opinion, that they should be brought backe to that Colony, to the intent that beeing ioyned together, they might more easily resiste the treachery and

The Barbarians
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reareward.

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the Spaniards.

They come to
Guazillipa.

They of Guazili-
pa giue hope of
reuenge.

Tepeaca
a huge city.

Cortes taketh
the city of
Tepeaca.

A castle built.

Embassadoure
to Cortes from
Guaccachiulla
a city, at enmi-
ty with the
Tenustitanes.

An other City
sent Embassa-
dours to Cortes.

Cortes goeth
against Izuucca
a city.

Izuucca wonne.

and deceits of the enemie. Cortes sayth hee will not returne againe, seeing hee had found so great faithfulness in the Tascaltecanes and Guazuzingi, and perswadeth them to bee ready to take reuenge of the Tenustitanes for such their outragious & villanous actes. About the Calendes of Iuly in the yeere 1520. hee marcheth forward in battayle array. There is an huge city called Tepeaca not farre distant from Tascalteca, these citties pursue each other with hostile hatred. The Tepeacenses sacrificed and deuoured 12. Spanyards taken passing through their borders. To them Cortes (with great and mighty armies of the Tascaltecanes, Chiurutecali, and Guazuzingi,) directeth his course: it was reported by the Spies that the Tepeacenses, had receiued mercenary souldiers from the city Tenustitan, against our men. But that I may conclude in few wordes, omitting circumstances, both the hostes, & the guests were conquered: so that he had the city yeilded vp vnto him. They promised by an oath that they would obey the command of Cortes, and in token of obedience, they gaue pledges. Our ordnance and warlik engins together with our horses (things neuer seen nor heard of before, by them) presently make their courages to quaille, but the greatest help was, that power of 3. nations gathered together. In this prouince of Tepeaca he chose a new place to plant a colony, & built a Castle there, which he called Sugura la Frontera. He determined not to trust the Tepeacenses, because they might easily be perswaded to imbrace the counsell of the Tenustitan Princes, & for that Tepeaca is the midd way, intercepting from Vera Crux to these friendly nations. While these things were thus done, Cortes had messengers from Vera Crux, who reported, that the forces of Garaius were sent from Panucus the king, to that great riuer, to erect a Colony, and that they were vanquished, and ouerthrowne, and escaped out of the hands of the King Panucus, and were arriued at Vera Crux. After the Tepeacenses vanquished, a spreading rumour throughout the rest of the bordering nations, stirred vp the minds of the people. There is another mortanous city called Guaccachiulla, which secretly sent Embassadours to Cortes, to offer themselves and all their power against the inhabitants of the Prouince of Colua, the friendes of the Tenustitanes, from whome they complayned, that they had receiued innumerable losses, and disgraces, euen to the rauishment of their women. The Guaccachiulli are seated on this side the mountaine, enemies to these inhabitants beyond the mountaines situated in the countrie of Colua. They told Cortes that 30000. armed men lay in ambush beyond the mountaines in the borders of Mesinga, because they hearde that our men were minded (being next vnto the mountaines) to passe into Colua. He went therefore to the Guaccachiulli with 200. Spanish footemen, 13. horses onely, three thousand of the auxilliary forces, and with certayne peeces of Artillery: the Commanders of this ambushment quietly rested themselves securely in the city Guaccachiulla. Whereupon he tooke, or slew them euery manne. The city Guaccachiulla is fortified with strong towred wals, compassed about with mountaines, blessed with a fruitfull soyle, consisting (as they say) of 6000. houses or thereabouts built of lime and stone, famous for 2. riuers watering the plaine thereof. There is another city 4. leagues distant only from Guaccachiulla. This City also sent Embassadours to offer to yeelde themselves. The king hereof fled away, with the Coluani that escaped, who beeing for to inioy his dominion, refused the same. He rather desired to suffer banishment, then to be subiect to our men. At the request therefore of the people, hee made his brother king in his steade, who promised the cittizens, that hee would not alter and change his opinion. A few dayes after that, he went to another city, named Izzucca, 4. leagues also from Guaccachiulla, but lying another way. After he was in his iourney, hee perceiued there were very great forces of the Coluani in the borders of that city: they write that they were 20000. They thought they were able to defend the country, that our men should not enter. Within the city were 6000. defenders, the best of the rest, were distributed into the townes and villages: but the women, and all such as were vnfit or vnprofitable for war, they sent forth into the woods, and mountaines with their household stufte. This city is very well fortified by art and nature, I should be weary with recounting all the strength thereof, therefore shortly thus. It was wonn at length: the greater part of the defenders leaped downe from the wall into a riuer running close thereby, because they perceiued they were assailed behind. The city being taken, Cortes pardoned the people, & commandeth them to bring backe their families,

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families, and goods. They all cheerefully returned vnto their houses, so that the citty is pre-
sently replenished. By 2. messengers of the citty he commandeth the King who departed with
the Tenustitanes, and the rest of the Coluani, to be sent for: hee refused to come, and desired
banishment rather. The brother vnto this king was a bastard, and aged, and by his sonne
who was dead, there was a grandchilde of ten yeeres old, he therefore placed the nephew only
in the kingdome, because he was legitimate, choosing his vnckle for Protector, ioyning three
of the bordering Guaccachiulli faithfull men, and of great authoritie with him in guardianship,
to looke to the estate of the orphāt, while attaining to more yeeres, he knew how to gouerne
himselfe. They say this citty Izzucca consisteth of 3000. houses, with about an 100. towred
tēples dedicated to their Idols, which Cortes himselfe saith he numbred from a certaine high
place, and in them they sacrifice with mans blood. All these towers with all their Idols he
caused to be burned: commanding, that hereafter they should no more apply their mindes to
such ceremonies. And he further sayd, that the Creator of heauen and earth hated manslai-
ers: and that it was cōtrary to the law of God and Nature, that one man should kill another.
This citty hath a Castle neere vnto it compassed with hilles, which defend it from the sharpe
and bitter blastes of winds, and by reason of the heate thereof it bringeth forth exceeding
great quantity of Gossampine cotton. The plaine thereof is well watered. All the fields therof
are wel moistened in the summer by trenches cut from place to place. There is plenty of all
maner of fruits there, neither is the sowing of pot herbs neglected. The plaine is ful of
towns and villages. The Guaccachiulli being vanquished, & the Izzucani subdued, the
fame thereof being spread through far remoued nations, declared that the countenance of
rauenous and greedy fortun was now changed, & of a stepmother was turned into a milde and
courteous mother. The minds and affections of the nations ranne headlong frō the Tenusti-
tans to our men, as it vsually happeneth, in turning of the wheele. Embassadours come striu-
ing in all post hast from euery place to yceld theselues: affirming that for feare of the Coluani,
& the Tenustitan Princes of that prouince, they durst not hitherto offer their due odedience to
so great a king, as the Spaniardes professed he was. But now, seeing they hoped to be safe,
and secured by the fauour of our men frō the tyranny of the bordering kings, they say that
they are come to discover the affection of their citties. That we may now at length end this
discourse, related in a sufficient long story: Cortes vnderstood by certaine captiues, that af-
ter the death of Mutezuma, his brother the Lord of Hastapalappa was made king in the citty
Tenustitan, who 3. moneths after the kingdome & soueraingty taken vpon him, died of the
Measels, in whose stead Mutezumaes sisters son succeeded, whose name was Catamazinus,
for of the 3. daughters of Mutezuma, they theselues had slain one, at the bridges in the
slaughter of our men. But of thē that remained aliue, the one was an idiot, & other dis-
eased with the palsie. This Catamazinus endeouored to get all maner of armes, as many as
he could: especially long pikes, wherwith he hopeth to be able to wound the horses afar off:
because they are disranked onely with the incounter of & horse. For he feareth that Cortes
would return vnto him, to reueng the outrage cōmitted: because he vnderstood the nations
chiefly round about bordering vpō him were reuolted frō him, & promised aid vnto our men
for their destruction. Neither was he surely deceiued, for he said & Cortes would prepare 13.
vessels of 2. ranks of oars called Bergantines to destroy that great salt lake, & so great a city,
their prouisiō of victual being taken from thē & their cōdits broken, might be vrged with such
necessity, & they might be compelled to submit their necks to & yoke of the king of Spaine.
In the meane space he sent 5. ships to Hispaniola, to bring a conueniēt nūber of horses, &
harquebus shott, with store of gunpowder. Cortes writeth that those cōtries are like vnto
Spaine in the abundance of riuers, mountains, & woody vallies. Therefore he desireth the Em-
peror to confirme & name, which he had giuē vnto those cōtries: for he called al which is
described, Noua Hispania, of the Oceā sea. Withal in the end of his huge volume, he hūbly
beseecheth him that it would please his M. to send some man of courage & experience vnto
him, to viewe the coastes of those countries subdued by him, that he might report, what he
had scene. Dated the 30. day of October, from the Castle which he called Segura Frōtera.
1520.

Cortes burnes
the tēples with
their Idols.

Fortune againe
smiles vpon
Cortes.

Catamazinus
king of the
Tenustitans.

Cortes prepareth
for the warre.

To Adrian the Pope, concerning the compassing of the world.

The seuenth Chapter.

WHile these writings remained in my deske, messengers sayling by reason of the long distance of place, and dangerous traauiling, beholde late matters discovered, behold new hatched broods from the pregnant Ocean. This worke shall be concluded with two additions thereunto, which shall far exceede the former discourse in worth: one, of the strang, and incredible compassing of the world, and the Ilandes which bring forth spices discovered: & other, with what art, pollicy, heate of courage and force of armes of the Tascaltecan, Guazuzingi, and the bordering enemies of Mutezuma aiding him, Fernandus Cortes recovered that huge and mighty city of the lake, Tenustitan, and all the power thereof and ouerthrew it, and almost viterly destroyed it. Whereby no small addition is made to the sceptre of your Holinesse, and the kingdome of great Castile. But let vs come to the Paralell compassed from East to West, and to the negotiation of Spices, which is somewhat further to be deriued. From the city Barchinona, when the Emperour intended the Laletane Councel there, your Holinesse being president in our Emperours Senate of Indian affayres: charge was giuen, as you may remember, to Fernandus Magaglianus the Portugall, who fled from his owne King, to search out the Molucha Ilands, which nourish spices, for that being 7. yeeres conuersant in times past, in the Cochinean, Cananorean, Colocutean, Chersonesian, otherwise called the Malachian Martes and sayres, he knewe where those Ilands lay. They are not farre distant by sea from golden Chersonesus, commonly called Malacha & & rest of those marts. Magaglianus being dismissed by our Senat whereof your Holinesse was president, set sayle to sea from Barameda the mouth of Bethis, the 20. of September in the yeere 1519. with 5. shippes, the Admirall whereof was called the Trinity, the other S. Anthony, the Victory, the Conception, and S. Iames in the which he carried 237. men, of these ships, two only returned. One of the which forsaking the Admirall, returned vnseruiceable: the other, almost 3. yeeres after her departure out of Spaine (for shee arriued the 6. of September 1522. at the same hauen, frō whence shee departed when shee went out) returned laden with cloues, & certaine other spices. Few of the men escaped. And the Admirall himselfe Magaglianus remained still in one of the Ilandes called Matam, slaine by the inhabitants in his voyage, as we shall declare heereafter. Betweene the Castellanes and the Portugues there is a certaine naturall hatred and priuie grudge from all antiquity: Magaglianus seeking diuers occasions vnder pretence of Iustice, consumed many of the Castellanes, because they obeyed him vnwillingly. Of these, we shal speak in their fit places: now let vs come to the voyage vndertaken by them. Arriuing at the fortunate Ilands first, and after comming within view of the Ilands Gorgodes, which the Portugall Lord thereof calleth the Greene Cape: they turned about to the right hand on the backe side of our supposed Continent, all along the length of that land which is called S. Augustine, as the Castellanes named it: and a little further to S. Mary, so called of the Portugalls, which extendeth it selfe 5. degrees beyond the æquinocctiall line, and so they came to the Antartick, to the very signe it selfe: where in one of the Decades we sayd that Solisius the Captain of our fleete, running along those shoares, was slaine, with certaine of his consorts, and deuoured by the inhabitantes. That Bay, as they say, is 38. degrees beyond the æquinocctiall to the Antartick. This place was called the Bay of Saint Mary. I haue else where sayd that a Bay is called a gulfe. Messengers being sent from Magaglianus against the streame which fell into the gulfe with one of the ships, & the pinnace of another, they saw three halfe wild, and naked men, two spannes higher then the common stature of men: One of them beeing more hardy then the rest entred the boate. Our men supposed that he would haue allured his companions to the ships, if they intreated him well, when they had him in their hands. Hauing well intertained him with meat & drinke, and clothing, they sent him backe againe. But none of them came vnto them, neyther returned he any more. Yet they found trees cut with our hatchets, and in the top also of another tree, a Crosse erected, but found no footing of any one of our men. They report wonder-
full

S. Mary.

3. halfe wild and
naked men.

full things of the largenes of this riuer, as else where I haue spoken of Maragnonus in the country of Paria to the North. They say, they went 20. leagues vp the riuer, where they af-
 firme it is 17. leagues broad. But the mouth thereof (because in their iournie they perceived that many other riuers flowed into it) they say, is exceeding broad: and that fresh waters are drunke for a very great space within the Sea: leauing which Bay, a few degrees to the antarctick, because it now bended to the westerne land, they found another great gulfe, which they named S. Iulian. There was a very safe Harbour there, therefore the Admirall commanded them to cast ancor. Now the sunne ascending vnto vs, forsooke those countries: After they had passed the middle of Aries, they were oppressed with cold, as our northren men are, the sunne passing the halfe part of Libra. In that hauen our men passed more then 4. months of the sommer, vnder cottages, and sheds vpon the shoare, deteyned through extremity of cold, and shut in by tempestuous weather. For in the Kalends of Aprill they tooke that Harbour, and went out the 9. of the Kalends of September. Here Magaglianus the Portugall dealt cruelly with a certaine man called Iohannes Cartagena, the familiar friend of the Burgentian Bishop: who by the kinges decree was ioyned in commission with Magaglianus, and was Vice-admirall of the fletee. Him, and a priest (vnder pretence of plotting to kill him) he set a shoare, with a bagg of bisket, and each of them their sword: he would haue punished their deuises by death, if peraduenture they imagined to kill him: but fearing the hatred of the Castellanes already conceiued against him, he durst not. Diuers report this matter diuersly, and other things like vnto this. Some say Magaglianus lawfully did, that which he did, others taxe him, and ascribe those executions to the generall auuncient hatred betweene the Castellanes and Portugues. There, they saw cottages of the inhabitants: but it is a barbarous nation, vnarmed, onely couered with skinnes, a runagate people, without any certaine place of abode, lawlesse, of a large stature, and are called Patagones. The sunne now returning to those coastes: waying anchor out of that Harbour of Saint Iulian, the 9. of the Kalendes of September, in the year 1521. they descend vnto the antarctick 14 degrees more, as they say. Heere wee must walke a little vppon plaine ground. This Magaglianus when hee was a childe, confusedly heard vnder a cloud, in the Portugal actions, that there lay a straight, and narrow Sea, in those countries, intangled and inclosed with diuers coastes, and reaches, but which way he was to seeke it, he vnderstoode not. Chance offered that, which reason directed not: for ther arose a great tempest, insomuch that it violently carryed one of the ships, and cast her whole vpon some of the next rockes, and left her hanging there, the men were preserued: but the shipp remained shiuered in pieces by the violence of the storme. Beholde now one of the fiue left behind. A little further on the left hand he had the huge Ocean. On the right hand, vnaccessible snowy mountains: one of the ships which drew lesse water, seeking an Harbour from the fury of the waues, drew neere to the land. By chance they saw a narrow straight, and going a little further in, she light vpon a Bay 4. Spanish leagues broad, and 6. leagues long, the ship returning bringeth tidings of a straight. Heere I omit many smale and trifling things, the rest of the ships follow: they say that in some place they might cast stones with a sling to eyther mountayne. The countrey is desert, and they affirme that the mountaynes on both sides of the Straight are beset with Cedar trees. Hauing passed beyond that Bay, they met with another Straight, some what broader, yet narrow. After that, another Bay, and then another Straight, beyond which, there was another Bay, to witt, as two narrow mouthes in the Maps of Europe, containing a certain large space to the Hellespont: so in this straight ther were three, with as many large & great spaces. These straights are full of small Ilands, whereupon beeing always suspitious, and fearing shallowe water, they sayled by those places. But enery where they found very deepe seas. Nowe that tract or coast bent vnto the æstiuall Occident, which they note to bee extended an hundred and ten leagues in length. While they cast anchor in a certaine square space of the Sea of that coast, they found nothing worthy the remembrance. Three of the foure shippes follow their course. The fourth called S. Anthony, remayned in that square space, their consorts thought shee would follow: but shee abode still, and gaue her companions the slip, and now returning backe, a long time reuiled Magaglianus with reproachfull speeches. Wee do not suppose that the Commanders of the

The displeasure
of Magaglianus
against Iohannes
Cartagena.

The Patagones.

A tempest
whereby one
ship is split.

Another ship
returneth.

ship would suffer such disobedience vnpunished. The rest therfore proceed with 3. ships onely. At length they come out of those straights, for hauing entred into them the 21. of October, they came out the 5. of the Kalendes of December. They say, they had very long dayes at that time, and very short nights: neither is it contrary to the reason of the Sphere. Hauing passed that coast, they tooke the huge Ocean, another Sea. That is to say, on the backside of our supposed Continent, and is ioyned to that Sea, which in the Decades I call the South sea, first found out by Vaschus Nunnez from Darien, the sons of King Comogrus directing him: they say, they liued 3. months, & 20. dayes in that huge Ocean, contenting theselues with the sight of the heauen, and the salt water. They report lamentable thinges of their great wantes, and of the extremity of heate which much vexed them. They confesse that an handful of Rice, for many daies together, was their dayly portion onely, without a morsell of any other meate. And there was such scarcity of potable water, that they were compelled to cast in a third part of salt seawater to boile the Rice, and if perhapps any would drinke it without mixture, hee was forced to shutte his eyes by reason of the greene tainture thereof, and stoppe his nose for the stincke. Saying through that great sea, to the West, and North, they came to the æquinoctiall line againe, next vnto whiche they founde two worthles Ilandes, which they called the vnfortunate Ilandes, beecause they were vnprofitable, and desert. After that they called the multitude of Ilandes Archipelagus, like our Cyclades in the Ionian Sea: in the beeginning of whiche, they went a shoare in manie Ilandes fūe hundred leagues distaunt from the comming out of the narrowe Straight, those Ilandes (the auncient name not beeing expressed) they called Latrones, because they stole whatsoeuer they coule lay hand on, although our menne quietly suffered it: as that wandring kinde of theeues, whiche the Italian calleth Zingari, who fayne themselues to bee Egyptians: amonge the thinges which were stolne, the boate, wherein our menne went a shoare from the shippes, when they hadd scarce turned their backs, yet they caryed her away: but many of them beeing slaine first, they brought her againe. It is a naked people, and halfe brutish. In that place a tree groweth which beareth Coccus. The greatest of those Ilandes is Burneia, which without doubting, they write to be two hundred and foure and fiftie leagues in circuit about. In the Harbour of this Ilande they say, a tree groweth whose leaues falling, goe creeping like a worme: I suppose some vitall spirite swelles between both sides of the leafe, which like a puff of winde that lasteth for a smal time, may moue the leaues. They vnderstood that there were 2. kindes of Religion there, Idolaters, and Mahumetanes, agreeing well inough one with another. Heardes of oxen & Buffalas are nourished there, flocks also of goates, and great plenty of our country fatted foule are there maintained, but no sheepe. They want wheate, barlie, and wine, but haue abundance of Rice, that is their bread, and of Rice they make diuers daintie dishes. The Burneian King, and our men, interchangably saluted each other with acceptable presents. The King sent his presēts to our men vpon 2. Elephants: and the next day after, 32. sortes of dainty meats brought vpon the shoulders of noblemen: they say that the city of this Prince consisteth of 25. thousand houses: but made of wood, except the Kings pallace which (they say) is built of stone. Many little Ilandes lie about Burneia: among the which there are two, whereof the one is called Zubo, and the other Matan of the cheife towne thereof so called. Magaglianus procured vnto himselfe the loue & fauour of the king of Zubo, by bestowing certaine presents of our country commodities vpon him, acceptable vnto him, because they had not bin seene before & were estranged from their knowledge. He subiected the King to Baptisme, and to the obedience of Cesar. Moreouer, leauing the ships in the hauen of Zubo, he passed ouer with their skiffes, & the Canowes of that Prouince, and certaine Zubensian soldiers, into the Iland Matan, so called of the towne Matan, which lieth within the view therof, 4. leagues only distant from thence. He endeouored by Interpreters to perswade the King of Matan, that he would subiect himselfe to the great king of Spaine, and to the king of Zubo, & to pay tribute to the great king of Spaine, he answered he would obey him, but not the king of Zubo. Magaglianus made a pray of the town next vnto the kings seate, and wholly consumed it with fire, to the number of some 50. houses: and returned backe to Zubo with a pray of victuals (whereof there was some scarcity in Zubo) and of diuers implements & furniture

A greete diste .c.

The vnfortunate Ilandes.

Latrones.

The Iland Burneia.

A strang tree.

Idolaters and Mahumetans heere.

Rice.

Presents carried vpon Elephants.

The kinges pallace.

The Iland Zubo.

The kinge of Zubo baptizd and submitteth to the kinge of Spayne.

furniture for houses. But the greater parte of them the Zubenses (enemies to them of Matan) tooke from him. Eight dayes after that, Magaglianus returning after the same manner, leauing his shippes, attempted by force of armes, and assault, to win Matan the kings towne it selfe. The king refused to obey the command of Magaglianus, brought hether by euill destinie: and went out armed with the inhabitants of the towne to meet him. Besides weapons of that prouince, of canes, and wood hardened in the fire, this king hath gotten long speares: for the Sericæ, & marchants of the countries of the Sienæ do often trade with these Ilands. To make short he was slaine with 7. of his companions, by the king, and 22. wounded. So that the good Portugall Magaglianus ended his greedy desire of spices. They that remained, returning to their companions to Zubo, were inuited by the Zubensian king. At that banquet Iohannes Serranus (the principall Pilot of the Ocean, of whom I spoke in my former Decades) now master of one shipp, & another master of another, with some 10. more perhaps of their companions, were present. In the meane space, about some 40. others of the marriners wandred through the Iland. The kings armed troops lying in ambuscado sally forth vpon them while they were at dinner, & slew some, and kept the masters of the ships aliue, and stripping them starke naked drew them openly to the shoare, supposing that others would haue come from the ships with their skiffes, to take them in. They that kept the ships durst not go vnto them. So leauing their cōpanions, these vnfortunate men set saile. I inquired diligently of them that returned, & among the rest, of a yong man of Genoa, one Martinus de Iudicibus, who was present at al things, what crime cōmitted moued the Zubensian king to attemp so cruel & wicked a deed. They suppose that the deflouring of their women caused this perturbation: for they are iealous. These are the Ilands (in my iudgement) wherof many Authors report many things: that thousands of Ilands, som say 3. thousand, others increase it, are not far distant from the Indian shoares. Of those Ilands that lie about Burneia, there is one, wherein are 2. towns, Buturan, & Calegam: there they were peaceably receiued. Frō the same Iland they saw another, which the Caleganenses shewed thē with their finger, where the Buturanenses, & Caleganenses said, that ther was so great plenty of gold in the sand of the Sea, that the sand only being sifted through a siue, they might picke out graines of gold, which were as big as a filberd nutt, or little lesse: the rest they contemne, as nothing worth: with in the view of this Iland there is another, famous for two stately towns: Vnidanaus, & Chipicus, of the which, the one looketh to the South, and the other to the North. The Southerne land ingendreth Cinamon, the other gold. They gaue our men somewhat of either, for exchange of commodities. To these Ilands (as I haue already sayd) marchants of the Sericæ, and Sienenses, & other countries of India, vse often to resort, barter for gold, and precious stones, and other things: and giue them webbs of linnen or woollen cloth, and other things seruing for apparell, and humane ornament, and also for the vse of warre. From the prospect of these Ilands, those Malucha Ilandes so much desired, are 175. leagues distant to the æquinotial, they account them 10. degrees: why they should beate their braines about these computations, I see no reason. The ancient Philosophers, will haue a degree consist of 60. Italian miles, whereof euery one includeth a thousande paces by measure. These say, that a league containeth 4. of those miles by sea, and but three by land. If we take the computation of leagues, after the maner of the Spanish sea men, euery degree containeth 15. leagues: but they, contrary to the opinion of all men, say that a Degree containeth 17. leagues, and a halfe. Let them vnderstand themselves, for I vnderstand them not. Let vs come to the Maluchas: at length they attayned them. There are fiue principall Ilands of them, either vnder the æquinotial line, or next vnto it, almost of an equall circuit or compasse: euery one of them is contained within the compasse of 4. 5. or 6. leagues at the most. By a certaine instinct of Nature, an high hill ariseth in euery one of them. In them the Cloues naturally growe and increase. The huge land named Gilolo seemeth to inclose them all fiue vpon the Antarcticke side. Cloues also grow in Gilolo, but somewhat sharpe, and halfe wilde: as it happeneth of chesnutts, & oliues of wild oliue trees not grafted, but in all those small Ilands there are aromaticall, and pleasant fruits and spices. But it is a most delightfull thing to heare, by what meanes in their

Magaglianus
slaine by the
kinge of Matan

40 men slayne
and lost in the
Ile Zubo.

A multitude of
Ilandes.

Buturan and
Calegam.

Gold.

Vnidanaus and
Chipicus two
stately townes.

They come to
the Maluchas.

Clove.
Gilolo.

Fruits and
spices.

The opinion of
the inhabitants
concerning the
vigor of their
clouds.

Rice.
A third ship
broken.

Those Ilandes
happie, and
why.

Bread of the pith
of old date trees.

A skiruy kinde
of bread be sure.

Bread of the
grayne of Tipha.

A fatall rule.
Suger.

Affrican aples.

Nasturtium
aquaticum.

Anapellus or
wolfes bane.

iudgement that aromatically vigor is put into the Cloue. The inhabitants say, that a certayne Cloude ariseth thrice euery day (they say it is sent from Heauen) early in the Morning, at noone, and in the euening, which couereth the toppes of the Hilles which bring forth cloues, so that, at that time the toppes cannot bee seene: and after a short time that cloude is dissolued. And the trees of cloues, which are almost equall, & like to bay trees, they say it is an argument, that they become fruitfull with that spirit of breathing, because that cloude neuer descendeth to the plaine of those hils: nor the trees transplanted from the hils prosper, or bring forth sauory fruite. Euery Iland preserueth the plaine for the sowing and bringing forth of Rice. They went a shoare in one of them, by whose king they were peaceably, & honorably intertained, but with 2. ships only: for the third, they brak in peices, because they wanted men, to gouerne more, after the slaughter of the Admirall, and his companions, and that fatall banquet. The ships which were called the Trinity, and the Victory, remained safe. This nation is almost naked, and vse breeches made of the inner rine of trees to couer their secret parts only. But that king told vs, that therefore he ioyfully receiued our menne for his guests, because that a few months before, he saw in the circle of the moone, a forraigne nation come from sea plainly, & confessed that our men differed not one iot frō that image which he saw: they say, that they suppose these Ilands are 5000. leagues distant from Hispaniola, which containe 20000. Italian miles: but I thinke they are deceiued. Our men say those Ilands are happy, although they want our bread, and wine, and beefe, and mutton, because they are contented with their Rice, of the which they make a thousande sorts of meate. They haue another kinde of common bread of the inner pith of certaine olde date trees falne downe, withered with long continuance, as it vsually falleth out in thicke woodes standing vpon mountaines, remoued from resort of men, in the which great trees fall, smitten with the violence of whirlewindes, or earthy substance fayling in the rootes, through long space of yeers, and the length of trees increasing, which require greater strength of rootes, then the earth it selfe can giue them, to sustaine the tree. How soeuer it be, many lie in the woods, and grow old, & are eaten with the wormes. Such is that pith of the Date tree, of which they make their common bread. They cut the pith into square proportions, then presently they grinde it into meale, and dry it, and lastly they kneade it, & bake it. They brought pieces thereof made in the forme of a bricke. I desired to tast it, but nothing was more rough, nothing more vnsauory: that must bee the foode of poore miserable men, who haue not y ability to procure rice: because they are ignorāt in tillage of the ground. And I myself haue seen the inhabitants of y mountaines in the montanous countries, & villages, eate a little more sauory breade, almost of a blacke color, of the grayne of Tipha, commonly called Spanish Centenum, or Millium or Panicum, or some other worse then these. It is a rule in the arbitrement of the wheele turninge about, that fewe should be satisfied, many famished, some haue delicates, not many foode. Yet men liue euery where, for nature is contented with a litle, so we be vsed to a litle. They are carefull to maintaine goates & all kinde of crāmed foule: they haue also sweete Canes, out of which suger is taken. They haue also Affrican apples, which the Italians & the Spaniarde call Pomegranats & Oringes & Citrons of all sortes. Among these apples, the Spaniard calleth Limas Limones, Narangias Torongias, Cidras, Cidrones which differe amonge themselues. Among herbes also why should I call Nasturtium Aquaticū herbs growing in y litle streams of y fōutaines? If the cōmon people of Spaine plainly & without circūlocutiō call thē by one name Berros and y Italian Cresones? And which prouoketh more to disdaine amonge those herbes, a certaine poysonous killing herbe (I know not what) groweth, of the Spaniard called Anapellus. One being demanded (who careth to store vp nothing in the treasure of his minde, but to be a Latinist) whether it might bee lawfull to call it Anapellus, because the Latine tongue wanteth that woorde, & it may very well bee taken elsewhere? he will wryth the Nose, and with a certaine graue and stately countenaunce whisper and buzz it into your eares, that it ought to be called wolles bane. Therefore thus in my iudgement with the good likinge & laue of those fine witted fellowes, the Ilands of Malucha abound with Limons, Oringes, Citrons, Pomegranats, and pott herbes. I made mētiō of Cressons or Berris,

Beris, & Anapellus, not without cause, for whē in the first beginning of supper we eate ^{The force of} ^{this hearbe.} herbe with salt, vineger, & oyle: my deere friēd Fernandus Rodericus (whose helpe your Holines sometimes vsed by persuasiō of y^e Emperours Maiesty) lyght vpō Anapellus which as soone as he had takē, he fell flat downe in such a taking as if he had eaten Hemlock, or Libberds bane, but we presētly preuēted daunger of death with Treacle & Mithridate: Yet he liued a long time halfe benumbed. Is not Anapellus a pleasing & well sōunding word, when they will clatter & babble y^e it ought to be called the strāgler of y^e wolfe by a filthy circumlocution? They make not wine of grapes, which the Maluchas Ilandes haue not but make very pleasant wines of diuers kinds of fruites, especially of one. There is also with them and with the inhabitants of our supposed continent, a tree almost a Date tree in likeness of forme, but very vnlike in the manner of bearinge fruit. This tree bringeth forth 12 bunches of berries, sometimes more, euen to the number of 20: in euery bunch clusters as of the grape, but couered with a thousande rindes: euery cluster being piled, is very like vnto a smale Melō, but of a shelly rinde or barke, almost as hard as a shell. They call those fruites Coccus, & this Coccus is wrapped with in more outward curious wouen works, then the date, which is to be eaten, with the same litle ribbes, certaine networks bindinge them together: and those skinnes are to be taken away with noe lesse labour, thē dates are pilled. These Cocci being opened, yeeld meate & drinke, for they finde thē full of sweete & pleasit liquor. Within the barke or rind a certaine spongy masse of the thicknes of two fingers, is nourished sticking within the shell in whitenes & softnes like vnto butter, or suet, but sweeter in tast: That lump is cutt a way from the inside of the shell, being very fit to bee eaten. If it remaine but a few dayes in the vessell a litle rouled vp together, it is sayd to melt, & turne into oyle, sweeter then oyle of oliues, and is very wholesome for such as are sicke. Another profitable seruice of nature is receiued from this tree. They pierse the sides of y^e tree where the leaues spring out: whereupon they say that potable liquor distilleth forth by droppes, into vessels set vnder thē, which liquor is most pleasing to the tast, & agreeable with health. They apply thēselues to takinge of fish, whereof those Seas euery where ingender many sorts, and among the rest, one very monstrous, somewhat lesse then a cubit, all belly, with a backe not fensed with scales, but with a very hard skinne, with a swines snowte, armed in the forehead with two straight bony hornes, and with a diuided backe, bunchinge out, & bony. The Kinge to whom our menn went a shoare, beleuing that they were brought thether by Gods helpe and direction: demanded of our men what they desired, or what they sought? They say, they desire spices. What we haue (saith he) you shall obtaine. With that he calleth his tributary Ilanders vnto him, and commandeth euery one of them to shew their heapes of cloues vnto our men, & suffer them at their pleasure to take them away, yet giuing honest contentment for the same: for when they be ripe, they lay them together on heapes at home, expecting marchants, as it falleth out in all others marchandize. Heere they are carried to the Collocitean, Cochinean, Canenorian, and Malachean faires, in certaine great shippes, which they call Iunckes. So doe they likewise of Pepper, Ginger, Cinnamon, and other Spices which effeminate the mindes of menn, needeles, and vnecessary allurements: but in these 5. Ilandes of the Maluchas noe other Spices grow, saue Cloues. Yet those Ilands which bring forth other delicates are not farre distant frō those, as the inhabitants of the Maluchas told vs, & had learned by an experiment of piracy. For when they set sayle to the Maluchas from the great Ilande Burneia, and the rest of the Ilands lying round about, in one of the which they slewe the Admirall Magaglianus: as they sayled, they suddenly light on a great ship of those prouinces vnprepared, called a Iuncke, laden with marchandize, amonge which they found some store of all other spices, but in smale quantity, yet very perfect, and well conditioned, because they were new gathered: nor dare those shippes passe ouer the longe reaches of the Sea, because their shippes are not built with so greate art, that they can brooke those stormes of the Sea, which ours indure: nor are their marriners so skilfull, that they knowe how to sayle, when the wind bloweth not directly in the sterne. That shipp brought her burdē of the cōūtry prouision into another Iland next adioyninge: to witt, Rise, Coccus, whereof I spake a litle before,

Of the tree
Coccus, & the
properties
thereof.

A fish of a monstrous shape.

Fayres of Spices.

before, hennes, geese, & many things else to be eaten, & some store also of graines of golde : with these profits & reuenues they prepared themselues dainty dinners, at ſ cost of innocents passing by without suspitiō. They therefore determined to lade the two shippes that remained, with Cloues : & because they found not such store with ſ kinge, to fil both shippes the King himselfe speedily roweth ouer to the bordring Ilandes within vewe, for, of 5. sower of them may see one another. The fift is a litle further from the rest, not so farr as the eye of mann may discerne but a litle more. Behold two ships filled with Cloues newly gathered from the trees themselues, from which they brought also the bowghes, each hauinge their cloues vpon them. It was a delightfull thing to all Courtiers to see those branches & to smell those little berries on their mother bowghes. That sent differeth not meanelly from the smell of old Cloues which the Apothecaries sell. I had many bowghes of them that were brought : and I imparted many vnto many, to be sent vnto diuers countryes. There remaine yet a fewe with me, which I will keepe vntill I vnderstand whether any of them came vnto your Holines his handes. Behold two shippes laden with Cloues. Let vs declare what followed thereupon. One of the two called the Trinitie, putrified, was eaten through, & rotted with wormes (which the Venetian calleth Bissa, and the Spaniard Broma) & was boared so full of holes, as the water rann through her sides, & Pumpe as through the holes of a Siue. Wherefore shee durst not committ her selfe to the Sea for such a longe voyage, till she were new repaired. The Trinitie therefore remained there still vntill this day, but whether shee be safe or no, wee knowe not. Of siue shippes therefore two only returned. This which is called the Victory returned now : and the other called Saint Anthony, the former yeere, but fewe of the menn. It remaineth that wee declare, what way shee returned : For after three yeeres (a fewe dayes only excepted) from her departure shee came backe another way, by euill fortune leauinge all the cheife menn behinde her. But this shipp (which was neuer heard of before, nor neuer attempted from the beginninge of the worlde) went about the whole Parallel, and compassed all the Earth. What would Græcia haue fained vppon this incredible Nouelty, if it had happened to any Græcian? The Argonautick shippe (which without blushing and derision they suspiciously fable to be carried vp to heauen) may say, what hath she effected? If we consider what ſ ship hath done, going out of the citty Argos into Pontus, to Oeta, & Medea, with their Nobles Hercules, Theseus, and Iason, I knowe not what shee hath done : for it is yet vnknown what that golden fleece was but what the distance of the iourney frō Græcia to Pontus was, childrē haue learned it with yong Gram-marians. That distāce is much lesse thē a Gyantes nayle. But wee must labour to perswade men, how it might be that shee compassed the world : for it is hard to be beleued. Let vs take prooffe thereof from hence. Let your Holines cōmand a solid rōūd Sphere to be brought, wherein the figure of the whole world is described. There let your Holines take the Herculean narrow passage called the straight of Gibraltar for your guide. Goinge out on the left hande, the Fortunate Ilands commonly called the Canaries, are the first Ilandes they meete with. Betweene them & the shoare of Affrica saylinge directly South, they meete with other Ilands called the Ilands of ſ Greene Cape, by the Portugalles who are Lords thereof, but in Latin ſ Medusean Gorgones. Here your Holines is to marke with an Attick minde, for from hence the grounde of this admiration is taken. The Portugalles from the Hesperides turned about wholly to the left hand, and passe the æquinoctiall line, and goe beyond the Tropick also of Capricorne, euen to the furthest ende of Montes Lunæ : called the Cape of Bona Esperansa : as they commonly cal it : from the Equator 34. degrees some, deduct two. From the pointe of that promontory, they returne backe to the East, and sayle by the mouthes of the Erithrean Sea, and the Persian gulfe and by the huge mouthes of Indus, and Ganges, as farr as golden Chersonesus, which (as we sayd) they call Malucha. Behold the halfe part of ſ Circle of ſ world. All Cosmographers by a perpetuall accompt haue set it downe in writinge, that, that is ſ space of 12. howres, of the 24. which the sunne runneth. Now let vs measure the halfe which remaineth. We must therefore returne to the Gorgodes. This ours litle flete of 5. shippes, leauinge those Ilands on the left hand, went directly to the right hande, turninge sterne to sterne to the Portugalles, on the backe side

The Trinitie
and what befell
her.

What way the
Victory returned
how shee com-
passed the earth.

A comparison
betwixt the
Argonautick
ship so much
renoummed by
antiquity and
this.

The prooffe from
the sphere and
compass.

of golde :
cost of inno-
shippes that
both shippes
of 5. fower
as the eye
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side of that lande of ours, which we call the supposed Continent, whose first entrance is in the iurisdiction of the Portugues, & this flecte went so farr, y (as wee now say) y way they attained more then 50. degrees of the Antarctick: I note not the particular number because they differ in the report of the degrees, although but litle. Followinge the West, as the Portugalles did the East, they made those Ilands of the Maluchas behinde them which are not farr distant from that where Ptolomeus placeth Gatigara, & the greates gulfe: that wide & open entrance to the country of the Siue. What shall I say of the great gulfe, and Gatigara which (they say) they found not so situated, as they are described by Ptolomy, for the present I omitt them happily else where I shall speake thereof more at large. Let vs retarne to the cōpassing of the Paralel, behold the golden Chersonesus found out a cleane contrary way to that of the Portugues: and this shipp (Queene of the Argonautikes) re- turneth the same way within the vewe of golden Chersonesus, holding the same course that the Portugues did: this shippe arriuinge at the Hesperian Gorgodes, in great want and necessity of all things, sendeth her boate a shoare with 13. menn, to desire water, and some- what to eate, yet not freely. There the Portugues officers of their King (who supposed their right eye should bee plucked out, if any other Prince gott the profit of Spices) made stay of the boate and menn against the league made from the beginnunge of the diuision, established & confirmed by Pope Alexander the sixt: and the Kinges Gouvernours of the Hesperides attempted to take the shippe it selfe, which had bin easily done. But the mari- ners vnderstandinge of the successe of their companions, before the Portugalls could pre- pare their shippes for the encounter wayinge ancor, they say, they fledd away, leauinge 13. of their companions in the power of the Portugues, of 31. which they brought thether, of 60. menn taken into the shippe at the Maluchas, but the Portugues settinge them at liberty, by cōmandement of their King sent thē home againe. If I would recite their greiuances, daungers, hunger, thirst, watchinges, & painfull labours in pumpinge out the Sea water day and night which came in through the open chinkes and holes, I should insert too longe a discourse, let this therefore suffice for that shipp which was fuller of hoales than any siue, and for those 13. persons which shee brought, who were more carion leane, then any starue- linge horse. They say they were violently driuen so farr out of their course, that they affirme they rann, 14. thousand leagues, saylinge now hether, now thether, although they confesse the whole compasse of the Earth is lesse then 8. thousand, because they knewe not, what way (contrary to the course of the Portugalls) these desired Ilands were to bee sought. Meanes are made, that such enterprises should not come to nought: what shalbee deter- mined, and how the matter shalbe concluded with the Portugalles, who complaine that they shall sustaine exceedinge losse by this meanes, wee will hereafter signifie. They say that the Maluchas are within the limits assigned to either king, to witt, y kings of Castele, & the Portugall, by Pope Alexäder y sixt: they say, they are townes, & coutry villages which bring y profits of their lads to y Malachiä, Colocuteä & Cochinean marts, as generally it falleth out with country men, who bring such necessary things as country men nourish and maintaine at home, to sell thē at cittyes & townes. But we haue foud y the Maluchas haue bin vsurped by them, because it is without that line, diuidinge frō East to West, from either Pole. That is best knowne vnto your Holines, because this question was often discussed before you. One thing remaineth which will fill y Readers with great admiration, especially those, who thinke they haue y wandering courses of the Heauens familiar before hande. When this ship came backe to the Gorgodes, y saylers thought it had bin Wednes- day, but found it to be Thursday. Whereupō they say that in that wandring course, they lost one day, in that space of 3. yeeres. But I replied to them your preists peradventure de- ceiued you by omitting y day either in their Celebrations, or in y accout of howers. They answered me againe what doe you think it possible that all, especially wise men, & wel ex- perienched could fal into so foule an Error? it is a common case, to keep a ready account of y dayes and monthes, because many had with thē bookes of the cōputatiō of howers, & knewe very well what was dayly to be accouted. In the howers especially of the blessed Virgin, to whom we prostrated our selues euery momēt, desiring her protectiō: in these, &

Golden Chersau-
nesus.

They arrive at
the Hesperian
Gorgodes.

The direct cō-
passe of the
earth les then
8. thousand
leagues.

The Maluchas
to belong to the
kinge of Spaine.

The losse of a
day in this voy-
age a strange
thinge to bee
noted.

in

An Excellent
and very proba-
ble reason for
the losse of a
day.

in the commemoration of the deade, many spent y vacant time. Direct your thoughts there-
fore another way: without all questiō wee lost a day. These remēber this, others other
things, & diuers diuers things, but all agree, that they had lost aday. I added moreouer:
my friends, remember y yeere following after your departure (which was 1520) was leape
yeere, least peraduenture you were deceiued thereby. They affirmed, that they gaue Pigmean
February 29 dayes that yeere, and forgot not the leape yeere at y Kalendes of March. These
18 persons which remained, were altogether vnlearned: so they say all, one after another.
Being much disquieted and trobled with that care, I conferred with Gasper Contarinus (a
man not meanelly instructed in all kinde of literature) who then was Embas-adour with the
Emperour for his famous commonwealth of Venice. Whereby wee know (discussing the
matter with diuers arguments) that this strange report, neuer heard before, might very well
be, after this manner. This Castellāe ship set sayle frō y llāds of Gorgodes towards y West,
which way also the Sunne goeth. Thence it came to passe, that hauinge followed the Sunne,
they had euery day longer, according to the quantity of the way they made, wherefore
hauinge perfited the Circle, which the Sunne performeth in 24. howers towards the West, it
cōsumed & spent one whole day, therefore it had fewer dayes by one, then they who for
that space of time, kept one certaine place of abode. But if the Portugall Fleete, which
sayleth towards the East, should returne againe vnto the Gorgodes, continuing their course
vnto the East, by this way and Nauigatiō, now first fōūd & discouered to mortall men, no
man wold doubt seeing they shuld haue shorter dayes, hauing perfited y Circle, but that 24.
whole howres shuld remaine vnto thē ouer & aboue, and so one whole day, wherefore they
should reckon more by one: and so if either fleete, to witt, the Castellane and the Portugall,
had set sayle the same day from the Gorgodes, and the Castellane had sayled towards the
West, and the Portugalles had towards the East, turninge sterne to sterne, and had returned
to the Gorgodes, by these diuers wayes, in the same space of time, and at y same moment,
if that day had bin Thursday to the Gorgodes, it had bin Wednesday to the Castellanes, to
whom a whole day was consumed into longer dayes. But to the Portugalles, to whom by
shorteninge of the dayes, one day remained ouer & aboue the same day should be Friday.
Let Philosophers more deeply discusse this matter, we yeeld these reasons for the present.
We haue now spoken sufficiently of the Parallel compassed, and of the llands nourishinge
spices, and of a day lost, and of strange countreyes. Now let vs at length come to the
affaires of Tenustitan, which I will shortly touch in as few wordes as I cann, because I am
now grievous, and troublesome to my selfe through so great a labour, by reason of fadinge
old age in whose greedy talons your Holines left me almost faintinge: which indeuoureth
with speedy flight to thrust me downe to that more greedy and deuouringe gulfe of his
crooked aged Sister, as if I should more quietly walke through the pathes of this cloyster.

The Eight Chapter.

1521.

Cortes settled in
Tascuco a greate
city.

The Tascotecas
carried the
Ioyntes of the
Bergantines vpon
their shoulders
to Tascuco.

OF the casting of our menn out of the Laky citty Tenustitan, or by what meanes, after
so great an ouerthrow through the ayde of the borderinge enemyes of the Tenustitanes,
they began to gather strength againe, hath bin sufficiently spoaken: Let vs now therefore
at one cast passe ouer to y neighbourhood of y lake omittinge meane actions. In a citty of
8. thousande houses (but consistinge of vnmeasurable suburbs reaching euen to the lake
18. leagues frō Tascalteca) called Tazcuco, Cortes with a mighty army settled his abode.
The Tazcucane citizens taught by the example of their neighbours, durst not deny him,
least they shuld be made a praye. Cortes had left shippwrightes in Tascalteca, to make 13.
Bergantines (as we mentioned before) while he by warring, subdued the borderinge ene-
myes round about. As soone as hee first settled his army in Tascuco, he commaunded the
Ioyntes of y Bergantines to be brought, which were carried boorde by boorde, or peece by
peece vpon the shoulders of y Tascaltecās and Guazuzingi, neither did they vnwillingly vn-
dertake y labour & paines, so cruell is their hatred against the Tenustitans that they account
all trauaile & paines whatsoeuer delightfull, directed to the destruction of the Tenustitanes.
Behold a thinge not easy for the people of Rome to haue done, whē their estate most flo-
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rished. From Tascuco to y lake runneth a smale riuer, each bankes where of y place was
houses standinge together on a rowe with orchardes lying betweene the. In the meane sea-
so while the ioyntes of the Bergantines were set together, and w^h set the oare, and all the
flagges were makinge, he commanded a Trench to be cut fro Tascuco to the lake, for the
space of 3. Italian miles and 4 fathom deepe somewhere, most strongly fortified with their
bulwarke, which might receaue a Riuer, to carry the Bergantines to the lake and within the
space of 50. dayes with 8000. continuall pioners of the menn of that prouince, he finished
the worke. But when both the Trenches were ended and the Bergantines framed, and set to-
gether, he burned and destroyed many cityes both on the lande and standinge vpon lakes,
whereby hee was molested when he fledd away : so that the Tenustitanes durst not now
peepe out, nor ioyne battayle with our menn in open field. The 13. Bergantines beinge
launched in the lake by that admirable worke of cuttinge of a Trench, the Tenustitans sawe
their present ruine and destruction : yet forced by necessity they tooke courage. Under-
standinge of the comming of the Bergantines into the Lake, an huge multitude of boates
in an instat of time, with armed warriours came speedily rowing to the Bergantines, they
say, that in a trice, there were 5. thousand present, which also the citzens reported after the
victory obtained : the boates comming towards them, by force of the ordinance planted
in the prowes, and sides of the Bergantines were dispersed euen as little clouds by fierce
windes. So wandring and rousing in the open Sea of the lake, they shrewdly molested and
vexed the city with the Bergantines. In a few dayes space Cortes tooke away from the
city their fresh riuer waters, their conduits being torne asunder by Christopher Olit : and
that no prouision of victuall might be brought from any place to them that were besieged,
hee compassed the city with three Armyes : with one from Tascuco, by Astapalappa, which
he destroyed vtterly, because it was more mighty then the rest, & at that time the an-
cient seate of Mutezumaz brother. Cortes himselfe had the commaund thereof with more
then threescore thousand warriours, as they say : for many more then he desired both for the
hope of booty, and liberty, came now flocking to him from all the prouinces : so that Cortes
himselfe kept the bridge which came from Astapalappa to the Princely city, whereof men-
tion was made beefore. And fighting by little and little the enemy withdrawinge themselves,
by stronge hande, and by force of the ordinance, and the horse beefore and by the helpe
and fauor of the Brigantines on the sides, hee got the bridge as far as the Castle, whereof
wee speake in the meetinge of the Kinge Mutezumaz, with our menn, where wee described
that Castle to bee fortified with two townes, buttinge vpon two bridges, which are ioyned
vpon the arches thereof. In y place Cortes pitched his Campe, & by y meanes possessed
y entrace of either bridge. On y contrary he commaunded other capes to be placed for de-
fence of another greate bridge on y North, ouer which he gaue the charge to Gonsalus San-
doulus, a soldier to execute Iustice which the Spaniard called Alguazill. And ouer y third
army incamped on another side of the city hee committed the charge to Petrus Aluaradus.
They say, that those 3. armyes consisted of one hundred & twenty thousand soldiers. So
the miserable city compassed on euery side with Enemyes, indured extreame want of all
thinges : and was no lesse wasted and consumed through the ambition of a fewe (whose
greedy desire of soueraignty drewe the vnhappy people to that misery) then it was afflicted
by the enemy. The people might easily haue bin perswaded to subiect their necke vnto our
yoake, but that the kinges sisters sonne who vsurped the kingdome, and the pride of his
Nobles, withstoode it. For 70. dayes together both beefore and behinde it was continually
vexed & molested with incursions, and assaults. Within the streets of the city it selfe,
our men returning to the Campe toward the Euening they write, that 500. and somtimes a
thousand were slaine, at euery incounter : the more cruell the slaughter was so much the
more plentifully and daintily the Guazuzingi, Tascaltecanes, and the rest of the auxiliary
provincialls, supped, who vse to bury their enemies which fall in battaile in their belly,
neither durst Cortes forbid it. They say, but fewe of our menn, alwayes were slaine.
Therefore both by the sword, & famine the greater part of the citzens was consumed :
Our menn for the most part entering the city fightinge, founde heapes of deade men in the

A trench cut to
conuey a riuer
an admirable
worke.

A multitude of
boates sent to
stop the Bergan-
tines dispersed
by the ordinance.

The Bridge won.

Cortes his 3. ar-
mies of 120000.
Soldiers at this
siege.

Cortes surprised
and by Frisicaut
Olea rescued at
a deare rate.

The king taken,
His speeches to
Cortes.

The citye won
and those na-
tions all subdued
to the Emperor.

Cortes createth
a king one of the
bloud royall in
Tenustitan.

The South sea.
6. cityes.

1 Teph
2 Mechnaca
3 Guaxaca
4 Fuesco
5 Tequantepech
6 Saunce name.
Certayne Cityes
lying in lakes.

20000. ducats
sent to the king
of Spaine.

3. Tygers.

streets, who as they sayd, dyed with hunger and thirst. They destroyed many of those excellent buildings when they thrust the Enemyes out. Cortes was once circumvented and surprised by the Enemy vpon one of the bridges, but was preserued by a certaine familiar freinde of his, called Franciscus Olea, who brandishinge his sworde against the enemy cutt of both his handes at one blowe who pressed vpon his maister Cortes hauing taken him. But with $\S$ vnhappy destiny of $\S$ Preseruer who (after he had giue him his horse) was slaine. At length it was now reported to our menn, in what part the king had hidd himselfe with his familiars, and Prince. Cortes vnderstanding the matter, with the Brigantines, setteth vpon a litle fleete, of Boates discovered by Spies (wherein the Kinge wandred in certaine secret corners of the lake) and tooke them all. The Kinge being now subiect to the power of Cortes, touchinge the dagger wherewith Cortes was girded, sayth, behold the weapon, wherewith thou maist, and oughtest to kill me, I haue done what laye in me, so that now my life is become hatefull & loathsome vnto me. Cortes comforted him, and sayde, he had done that which became a couragious Kinge. But yet hee ledd him with him into the Continent, and deliuered him to his menn to bee kept in safe custody. These thinges being done, so greate a city vanquished, and the people thereof almost destroyed, hee subdued all those Nations to the Emperours Iurisdiction. Two menn came vnto me, of them which Spaine calleth Fidalgi, who had not least to doe in all matters, both in searchinge out the secrets of the Prouinces, and also in all the conflicts, the one called Diecus Ordassius, and the other Beneuides: who sayd that Cortes (at his pleasure) created a King in Tenustitan, who was of the blood royall and commanded him to seate himselfe there, to the intent that city beinge now desolate for want of resort might vnder the shadowe of a king be stored with people againe, otherwise so huge a city had remained desolate without inhabitants. But hee himselfe impatient of ease determined by Messengers to search out other strāge countreyes. High mountaines to the South laye within viewe, but what lay beyond them, hee commaundeth diligently to bee sought: and it was told him, that another Sea lay on the South side of these mountaines, as I wrote in the Decades, of the South Sea discovered from Darien, by Vasquez Nunnez. There are six Cityes there whereof (they say) the least is much greater then our Vallidolet that famous corporation: one whereof is called Teph, the second Mechnaca, the third Guaxaca, the forth Fuesco, the fift Tequantepech, to the sixth they giue no name: and it is written in a particular letter out of the volum of the Affairs of Tenustitan, that they vnderstoode in the South Sea that those llands ingendringe spices, gold, & precious stones were not farr distant from that shoare. But the cityes that lye in lakes, and one the sides of lakes, are called by these names. Saltucar, Tenaucica, Tenustitan, Scapuzalco, Tacuba, Capulazpech, Culucan, of that name two, Guichilobusco, Suchimilco, Quitagua, Astapalappa, Mesechice, Coluacan, Tezucco. Of those two, Beneuides, lately returned from his companions, one of the two ships sēt from Cortes. In them they bringe gifts sent from Cortes, which they say are much more precious and excellent, thē those which were carryed and brought from the Emperours Maiesty, that yeere hee went out of Spaine vnto the Belgæ, which your Holines sawe: they valew these riches about two hundred thousand Ducates in estimation, but those shippes are not yet come vnto vs. They stayd In the llandes Cassiterides, called the Azores by the Portugalles who are Lords thereof, least they should haue fallen into the hands of the French Pyrates, as another did the yeere before, comminge from Hispaniola and Cuba, with a great masse of gold of seenty two thousand Ducates, and six hundred waight of precious pearles of eight ounces to the pounce, & with 2000. suger bushes (a briar is called of the Spaniard arroua) of 25. poud waight, of 6. ounces to the pounce. Besides many brought many particular things: all which became a Pyrates pray. An armed fleete was sent to waft those two safe frō the Azores. At the time that I wrote this they were not yet brought he-ther. Those ships brought (as Beneuides saith) three Tygers brought vp of litle ones in seuerall cages, or grates, made of longe rafters, two in one of the shippes, and the third in the other: in that, where two were carryed, one of the cages was a litle battered and broken by the rowling and shaking of the shipp by tempestuous and foule weather, so $\S$ it

ſo it made way for the Tyger to come out. The Tyger eſcaping by night rann about the ſhip with noe leſſe rage and furye, then if ſhee had neuer ſeene any man: ſhee runneth about rauinge euery where & ſhooke & ſeiſed vpon 7. men, from one ſhee tare an arme, from another a legge, from others the ſhoulders, ſlewe twoe and leapping vpon one who fled from the maſt of the ſhip, ſhee caught him: and being halfe dead yet reſcued by his companions, he periſhed not: All they that were in the ſhippe ran vnto her with ſauelines, ſwordes and all kinde of weapons, and hauinge giuen her many woundes, they forced her to leape downe into the Sea, and ſlew her fellow in the cage, leaſt the like miſchaunce ſhould befall them by her. The third which is in the other ſhippe, Beneuides ſaith, is brought. In ſo thicke woods of theſe Mountaines, great multitudes of Tygers, Lions, and other wild beaſts liue. Being demanded with what foode they are maintained, he ſayth they pray vpon hartes, Robuckes, deere, hares, and conyes, & many other milde creatures which liue there. Two men had the charge of thoſe ſhippes who were Capitaines of the warres in thoſe countreyes, to witt, Alſonſus Auila, and Antonius Quignonus: theſe men bringe the Kings part giuen him by the people, to be deliuered vnto him: But Iohannes Ribera hath the charge of Cortes his part, who was his Secretary, & companion of all his labours from the beginning: and by the decree of the Kings Counſell of India, the Emperour confirmed ſo gouernment of Noua Hispania to Cortes, who gaue it that name. But Diecus Velasquez is both thruſt out of the Gouernment of Cuba, & neere there about, becauſe it is decreed, that he did not well in ſendinge forces againſt Cortes, the Counſell of Hispaniola forbiddinge the ſame. Newes was lately brought, that ſiſteene of the ſhippes of the French Pyrates were ſeene wandringe at Sea, vpon hope to gett theſe ſhippes, as they tooke another: But by foule and tempeſtuous weather, they were tranſported into Affrica, and moſt of them drowned.

The Gouernment of Noua Hispaniola confirmed to Cortes Velasquez depoſed from the gouernment of Cuba.

The Ninth Chapter.

I haue hetherto declared, what Cortes, what ſo fellow ſoldiers of Cortes, and the officers of the Kings Magiſtrates, the Treasuſer, Auditor, and Diſtributor (whom the Spaiard calleth Factor) both writte while they remained, and alſo reported vnto me by word of mouth returning: Wherein I haue omitted many circumſtances, leaſt through the repetition of ſmale and triflinge matters, I ſhould become tedyeous and contemptible: Let vs now report ſomewhat from Darien by the letters of Petrus Arias Gouernour of ſo ſuppoſed Continēt, & by his Eldeſt ſonne Diecus Arias who returned frō his father, and then, many things lately vnderſtoode concerning the affaires of Hispaniola, and Cuba Fernandina: and this firſt. In the ſuppoſed Continent 5. Colonies are planted, vpon the North ſhoare of the country Sancta Maria antiqua, which towne we call Darien: becauſe that towne (as in the former Decades I ſpoke at large) is ſeated vpon the Banck of the Riuer Darien: why they choſe a place there, & why they gaue the place that name which of Zemacus the King thereof was called Zemacus, I then ſufficiētly declared. The ſecond Colony called Acla is ſituated toward the Weſt, and 30 leagues diſtant from Darien: 40. leagues frō Acla ſtandeth an houſe ſeated on the ſhoare, to the Weſt, called Nomen Dei, of a Hauen thereof ſo called, by Colonuſ who firſt diſcouered it. At the South ſhoare are Panaman & Natan (accenting the laſt ſillable,) their country names not being changed. The third is very broad in ſome place, but cheefely on ſo coaſt, where that great riuer Maragnonus runneth, whereof I haue ſpooken at large in the former Decades where ſhewing ſo cauſes why ſo great abondance of waters could be conioyned in one channell, among other, I ſayd, that country was very large from North to South, whereby through the great diſtance of place many riuers might be ingēdred, which might fall into this one, to be coueied to ſo Northerne Ocean Sea. So (moſt holy father) it was ſoud ſo I had prophesied, when ſo paſſage was diſcouered. Frō thoſe Northerne ſhoares, famous for the fall of Maragnonus (where I ſayde ſo Kings are called Chacones) ſo land is extended to ſo antarcticke to ſo ſtraight beyond the Equinoctiall, 54. degrees ſome deduct two whereof in the diſcourſe of the ſeeking out of the Iland of Spices I haue ſufficiētly ſpooken. Neere vnto that ſtraight, winter ſhut vp that flecte of 5. ſhippes, through ſo extremity of cold, almoſt

Sancta Maria antiqua. Darien.

Acla.

Nomen Dei.

Panaman and Natan.

A learned coniecture of the largenes of ſo Continent.

for our fūe sommer monethes (as we haue already spoaken) when ꝑ Sun departed from them vnto vs. From thence ariseth ꝑ admiration of ꝑ prodigious riuer Maragnonus. How then should ꝑ land be very broad there, which elsewhere is content with narrow straightes of lande? but especially frō ꝑ Colony called Nomen Dei, to the South shoare, and the Hauen Panama, are 17. leagues distance, yet by vnpassable mountaines, and inaccessible, by reason of the huge rockes, and exceeding thicke woodes, neuer meddled with in any age: so that those desert places are the dennes and habitation of Leopardes, Tygers, Lyons, Beares, & Apes of many shapes, & other monsters. Wounderfull things are reported of these wilde beasts. They say ꝑ the Tygers doe no more feare to meete Trauellers, then if they mette with a little whelp: If they finde any man wādringe alone, there is no remedy but hee must needes be torne into a thousand peeces and eaten. Therefore they cheifly beware of Tygers, which by experience they finde much more cruell then Lyons: There are many valleyes of most fruitfull land, and many sides of those mountaines, which remaine desert, without any inhabitant, by reason of the Sauage and wild beasts, which otherwise would be replenished with store of people. But it is a pleasant thing to bee reported, touching diuers Apes, and dangerous also. By those mountaines through which Petrus Arias now Gouvernour, writeth hee hath made a passage, and dayly doth proceede more and more, in breakinge the stones in the craggy rocks, and burning the thicke woods, the ringleaders of the Apes, when they perceiued any of our troopes of men marchinge (for being but a few, much lesse being alone durst they attempt any such thing) assemblinge a common multitude of diuers kindes, runne forth to meete them and pursuinge our men which way soeuer they march, with horrible outcries, leaping from tree to tree, and deride them with a thousand scurrilities, & a thousand mockinge gestures, especially those that haue tayles: and oftentimes make shewe as if they would assaile our men by troopes and companyes. But as soone as they are come downe to the body of the trees, and see the arrows, & harquebuse shot (which they haue sometimes felt) ready to be leuelled & directed against thē, they make back againe as swift as the winde to the toppes of the trees from thence vittering their rauiuge cōplaintes they gnash with their teeth in threatening manner. They say their dexterity & agility is such, ꝑ they know how to avoyde arrowes shot at their bodyes, & take thē in their hād, as if they volūtarily receiued thē, being reached vnto thē. Yet they haue not so learned to shift & avoyde the arquebuse shott, wherewith they slew māy, peraduenture of the younger sort, who were not so skilfull & cūning: But when they see any one of their cōpany sal headlong wōded, & takē vp by our men frō ꝑ ground they thūder & fil ꝑ skyes with such a violet, & horrible noyse ꝑ it exceedeth ꝑ roarings of a thousād Lions & as māy Tygers. But one thing is worthy the hearing: Euery Ape when they are nowe about to clime the trees, caryeth as many stones as shee can beare in one hande, and some in her mouth, and thereby fight with stones against such as passe by, whensoever our men cease shooting their arrowes or shot, at them. A bowman of our men bent his Scorpion against an old Ape with a long tayle, bigger then a Baboon, this Ape made as though she woulde waite for it, but as soone as she sawe the arrowe directed by shutting of one eye, casting downe a stone vppon the archer, shee shrewdly bruised his face, and (as they say) brake his teeth out of his head. But yet the Munkie was punished for her straunge stratagem, for at what tyme the stone fell downe vpon the archer, the arrowe ascended vnto the Ape, and hauing slayne her, they eate her for a daintie dish, for so great hunger oppressed them, that they hadde eaten toads, or any other worse meate. We haue spoken sufficiently of fourefooted beasts: now let vs speake somewhat of them that are two footed: for that two footed nation, is almost like those fourefooted beasts. There is a mightie and courageous king called Vrracus, in the borders of the Colonie of Natan towards the South, whom Petrus Arias the Gouvernour could neuer perswade to intertayne amity and peace, and therefore prepared to master him by warre. But this king trusting in his power and authoritie, is reported to haue answered the Embassadours proudly who came to treat concerning peace, and presumed, armed after his maner, by incursions to inuade the Colony of the Christians who inhabite Natan. For they haue many kinds of darts in those countries, wherewith they fight a farre of,

Of the cruelty
& fiercenes of
Tygers in these
countrys.

A pleasant story
of apes.

Scorpion an in-
strument of war
like a Scorpion
to shoote small
arrowes.

Vrracus mightie
and courageous
King.

of, and broad wooden swords burnt in the fire, wherewith they encounter hand to hand. They haue bowes also, with the endes of their arrowes either of bone, or hardened in the fyre. In those countries there is great plentie of the fruite of Coccus, whereof I made mention before. Where especially in the South coast, the flowing Sea washeth the broad neighbouring playnes: of the which, they say, one is ouerflowed by the floud for the space of two leagues, and becometh dry againe with the ebbe. In those places (they say) those trees grow and increase of their owne nature: and not elsewhere, vnlesse the yong and tender plants be transported thence. Some thinke that the flowing of the Sea brings the seeds of those trees thether frō vnknowne countryes, from other countryes of the Indies, where they naturally growe: they say, they are brought to Hispaniola and Cuba as I sometimes sayd of the trees which beare Cassia Fistula, and from the Ilandes to the Continent, vntil they come to those Southerne partes. But in the Ilandes by the wonderful purpose and worke of nature, another tree groweth, (whiche I know not yet whether it growe in the Continent or no) which hath leaues whereon a man may write, besides that tree whereof I made mention in the Decades. This tree compared with that, differeth much: which wee will describe, when wee shall speake of those Ilandes. Now let vs returne vnto the affaires of the Continent. From Panama a Colonie of the South Sea, they descended with shippes built in that Sea, so farre to the West, as they thought they hadde attained to the backside of Iucatan. For argument and prooffe thereof Gil. Gonzalus the Admirall of that flete, and his Consortes say, that they light on men apparelled after the same maner, with holes pierced in their lips, wearing goulden or siluer iewelless about their neckes, beset with precious stones, such as those were, wherof I made report in my 4 Decade to Pope Leo, when mention was made of the affaires of Iucatan, and of the presents which were brought. They write, that on the right hande they founde suche a furious and raging Sea, that they suppose there was a narrowe strayght there betweene the Continent, and Iucatan, though not yet discovered: but durst not hazarde themselves in such a raging sea, because the shippes, by reason of the long space of time they had sayled along those shores, were halfe rotten, and eaten through with wormes. Hauing repayred and amended their shippes, they promise to returne. In that voyage Gil. Gonzalus, and his Consortes tolde Petrus Arias, that about an hundred leagues from the Colony of Panama, they found the Vast Sea of a blacke colour, in which fishes swim of the bignes of Dolphines, melodiously singing with sweet harmony, as is reported of the Syrenes, and after the same maner, inuiting to sleepe. Heere menne of meane spirit and conceit will wonder, and say it is a thing impossible. I will therefore discourse the matter a little with these men. Do we not read that the Erythrean gulfe is red, from whence it hath the name of the red sea. Whether it be by the nature of the water, or whether it happen by the redde sandes, or reuerberation of the red rockes on the shore, the Sea appeareth red: who therefore would make nature so dull, to take away her power that shee could not ingender blacke sandes also, and blacke rocks, which elsewhere might make the waters seeme blacke? But concerning the singing and melody, I my selfe also thinke it to bee a fable, albeit wise and discrete menne report it: yet notwithstanding in their excuse, is it not knowne that the Trytones are very shrill? they haue beene sometimes hearde, and haue beene found dead cast vp vpon the shore, in the West Spanish Ocean: & doth not a frogge croake vnder water? Why should it then be wondered at, of other Vocall fishes also be founde, neuer heard of before? Let euery manne beleue as hee pleaseth: I thinke nature able to doe great matters. All the ryuers of the supposed Continent are full of Crocodiles: in the Ryuers they are hurtfull, and dangerous, but not on the Lande, as those of the Riuer Nilus are. They founde one deade of two and fourtie fete long, and seuen foote broad betweene the iawes. Petrus Arias his sonne being returned from his Father, sayth, that those trees are now found, of the planks and tymber whereof, if shippes bee built, they might bee freed from daunger of those mischieuous wormes which gnawe holes through them. He sayth also that the wood being brought into the kitchen, coulede scarce bee burned, by reason of the exceeding moysture thereof. Now let vs come to the commodities. That lande hath many Gold mines:

Coccus.

A great ebbe.

A tree on whose leaues a man may write.

A furious and raging sea.

The blacke Sea. The Syrenes.

Crocodiles here.

Gold mines. mines: but let Petrus Arias, and the rest pardon me, who haue gotten gold, by the sweate of the poore miserable Inhabitautes. That whiche by the assistaunce of your Holynesse hath beene often attempted, is nowe established and decreede in our Senate of the Indian affayres: to witte, that the Indians shoulde euery where bee free, and applie themselues to tillage of the ground, and Christian disciplyne. But if any, through hope of obtaining anie of our commodities, voluntarily offer themselues they might lawfully haue them as mercenaryes, & hired seruants. We haue sufficiently spoken of the Continent: now let vs speake somewhat of the Ilandes. In Hispaniola nothing is changed. The Senate is the same, from whiche all those tractes and countries receiue their Lawes. Whatsoeuer thinges are sowed or planted there, increase daily more and more. There are great multitudes of horses, swine, and herdes of cattell there. The like also is in the rest. A yong mare colt conceiue the tenth moneth after shee is foaled, and hath scarce brought forth a colt when she desireth and taketh the horse again. They liue contented with their countrey bread made of Iucca, and Maizium: wines are brought home vnto them from Vandalia, although they haue vineyardes in very many places: they say, they growe wonderfully: and become so ranke, that they spend their vigor and strength in the leaues and braunches, and little in the clusters, and die a fewe yeers after the planting. They say the same of corne, that it groweth to the height of canes, with exceeding long eares, yet that the graynes vanish to nothing, before they be ripe, for the most part: and that there is more plentiful store of other thinges in those Ilands, then elsewhere. Suger presses are euery yeere increased.

No smal proof of good land by this prooff of horses. Vineyardes. Corne. A tree which yeeldeth parchment. Now lette vs speake of the tree which yeeldeth parchment, which is very like a date tree, the leaues whereof are so great, that euery one being spread vpō the head, may defed the whole body of a man from a showre of raine, as if he cast a cloath cloake vppon his backe. This is but a smal matter, lette vs speake of that which is admirable: those leaues which cleaue to the tree no otherwise then the Date doth to her tree, the leafe plucked vppe by the roote, whereby it is ioyned to the tree (for the leafe you lay holde on is easily taken from the tree by thrusting the poynt of a knife to the bottome of the stalke) in the inner rinde thereof containing the parchment, a little white skinne is found, like to the white of an Egge: whiche is pilled away, as the skinne is flayed from a sheepe new killed, and is taken whole from the barke, not much lesse than a sheepes, or a goates skin of parchment: whiche all those people vse, as if they hadde gotten parchment it selfe: and they say it is no lesse tough and strong. They cutte that parchment with sissers, so muche

The tree Yagua. onely as serueth for the present necessitie of writing. This tree is called Yagua: the fruite thereof is lyke to an Oliffe, it fatteth swine, and is not so conuenient for menne. But howe they vse the benefitte of the other leafe which may bee written vppon, differing from this thinne skinne, wee haue sufficiently spoken in his place. There is another Tree whiche groweth in the cliftes of Rockes, and not in a fatte soyle, and it is called Pythahaya, the fruite is sower mixed with sweet, as wee see in the Soure sweete Affrican apple, called Pomegranate: the fruite thereof is as bigge as an Oringe, of a red colour within, and without. But the fruite of the Tree called Mameia, in the Ilandes is no bygger then a small Melon, but in the Continent, not much lesse thē a great one. This fruite nourisheth three small creatures somewhat greater then a nutte, for preseruatiō onely of their kind. Nowe let me speake a little of the Pepper of the Ilandes, and of the Continent. They haue woodes full of fruites whiche bring forth Pepper, I call it pepper, although it be no pepper, because it hath the strength and Aromaticall tast and sauour of pepper, nor is that graine lesse esteemed then pepper, they call it Axi, accenting f last sillable, & it exceedeth the height of Poppey. Grains or berries of them are gathered like those of Iuniper, or firre tree, but not altogether so great: there are two sortes of that grayne, some say fūe: one of them is halfe as long againe as the length of a mans finger, it is sharper, and biteth more then pepper, the other is rounde, no greater then pepper. But this consisteth of a thinne skinne, and certayne substantiall, and animall partes, which three, haue a hotte kinde of sharpenesse and biting. The thirde is not biting, yet aromati-call, which if we used, we should not neede Caucasean pepper: that which is sweete, and pleasant

Pepper of diuerser sortes.

pleasant they call Boniatum, the thinnest sort they call Caribe, because it is sharpest and strong, and from thence they call the Canibales Caribes, because they confesse them to be strong, and cruel. There is another kinde in these Ilandes, the dewe whereof being touched, a manne is infected as if he had taken poyson. If any man with fixed eye beholde that tree, he looseth the sight of his eyes, and presently swelleth like one that hath the dropsie. There are two other trees, the woode and leaues whereof being set on fire, kill onely with the fume, if the woode of any one of them beeing but a little kindled, be caryed about the house or lodging. It is an others poyson, if any sucke in, the fume of the leafe by the nostrils. A certayne priest told mee of a cruell and mischieuous act, who sixe times sayled from the Continent to Cuba and Hispaniola, that long voyage by sea, going three times, and returning as often, his name was Benedictus Martinez a man of good sort. This was he, who first came to Barchiuona to make report of Iucatan, and the rest of those bordering countreys. He sayth that a certayne man called Madronus a citizen of the towne of Albazet in the Country Spartaria, hadde by an auncient custome, a certayne King with his subiects at his commande, vnder his subiection to digge golde out of the Mines, in a place called S. Iames: in short time, that mine of gold was found by chance. This king with his Miners, gathered for his Temporary Maister 9000. Castellanes of gold. Now it was decreede in our Kings Senate, that some largesse, of our commodities, shoulde bee giuen to euery one departing from their labour, to witte, a cappe, a stomacher, or a shirt, a cassocke, or a glasse, or such lyke. The king supposed hee should haue had some fatte larges from his maister, because that in so short a time he hadde founde so great a Masse of Golde. Madronus dealt more strictly with him then he ought: whereupon the King conceiued such displeasure, and anger, that calling those Miners into an house, to the number of ninty fiae, he thus debateth with them. My worthy companions & friends why desire wee to liue any longer vnder so cruell seruitude? lette vs nowe goe vnto the perpetuall grate of our Auncestors: for we shall there haue rest from these intollerable cares and grieuauces which we indure vnder the subiection of the vnthankful. Go yee before, I will presently followe you. Hauing spoken this, he helde whole handfulls of those leaues which depriue life, prepared for the purpose: and giueth euery one part thereof beeing kindled, to sucke vp the fume: who obeyed his command. The King, and a chiefe kinsman of his, a wise and prudent man, reserued the last place for themselves, to take the fume. The whole pauement of the Hall was now couered with dead carkases: so that an eager conflict arose betweene those two that were liuing, whether of them should kill himselfe first. The king vehemently vrged that his companion should first dispatch himselfe: but his companion saith he wil follow him, but not goe before. At length the king made riddance of himselfe first. His companion through the loue of sweete life, deriding the king, and those other fooles, refused to follow, & comming out from thence, reported to our men what had happened. Hee further sayth, that much about that tyme, another more horrible accident fell out in the Prouince called the Princes prouince, one of the city captains called Olandus had a Cubensian mayden the daughter of a king: the captayne suspecting (though she were with childe by him) that she dealt abroad, fastened her to two wooden spits, not to kill her, but to terrifie her, and set her to the fire, and commanded her to bee turned by the officers: the mayden stricken with feare through the cruelty thereof, and strange kinde of torment, gaue vp the ghost. The king her father vnderstanding the matter, tooke thirtie of his men with him, and went to the house of the Captayne who was then absent, and slewe his wife whom he had maryed after that wicked act committed, and the women who were companions of the wife, and her seruants euery one: then shutting the dore of the house, and putting fire vnder it, he burnt himselfe, and all his companions that assisted him, together with the Captaynes deade family, and goods. Hee reporteth also a fearefull story of another mayde. This mayde being deflowred of a Spanish Muletter, went home, and declared what had happened, and told her parents that she would therefore kil her selfe, it booted not to comfort her. She tooke the iuice of Iucca, which if it be taken rawe, is poyson, if boyled, is vsed for milke: the force of f

Boniatum.
Caribe.

A kind of pepper tree that blindeth the beholder.
Other strange reportes of the pepper tree.
A tragical tale of barbarous resolution.

A worthie and Roman lyke act of an Indian mayd.

poyson

These Indian
Maydes neuer
heard of leading
Apes in hell.

Of the thygh
bone of a Gyant.

A country
inhabited with
Giants.

poysō was not such, that it would kil her: yet notwithstanding she resolved to ende her lyfe, by any meanes whatsoeuer. The next day, shee sayd shee would goe wash her selfe at a ryuer neere adioyning: for it is the manner with them to wash themselues twice every day: shee founde a cruell way of reuenge for her selfe: shee bent downe a little tree standing by the ryuers side, and broake it to the height of her heade, and sharpened the poynt of the tree as well as she could. Then getting vppe into a greater tree neere vnto it, shee thrust the poynt of the tree into her selfe, where shee was deflowred, and remayned spytte, euen as a kidde to bee roasted at the kitchen fire. Another mayde also, a fewe dayes after, determined to finish the miseries of her lyfe, who brought as a companion with her, the maid seruant of this Priest, of like yeeres to her selfe, and easilie perswaded her, that by her example, shee woulde goe with her vnto their auncesters, where they shoulde leade a quiet and peaceable life: binding therefore the girdles, wherewith they were girt, to the boughes of a tree, & fastening them with a knot about their necks, they cast theselues down from the tree, & so by hanging themselues, they obtayned their desires. They report many thinges of such like matters. I determine therefore to vphold this last leafe with a giant-like discourse, to backe and defende these reportes, like that fearefull supporting Athlas. Dicus Ordacius, of whom I made mention before, diligently viewed many secrete and solitary places of those Countries, and appeased their Kinges: especially the King of that Prouince, where the Money tree groweth, where he learned howe that Money tree was planted, and nourished, as I haue declared in his place. This Dicus Ordacius founde a peece of the thygh bone of a Giant (in the vault of a Church) broken of, and halfe consumed through long continuance of time: whiche thigh bone, the Licentiate Aiglionus, a Lawyer, & one of the Counsell of Hispaniola brought to the citie Victoria, not long after your Holinesse departed thence towards Rome. I hadde it at home for certayne dayes: it was fife spannes long, from the huckle bone vnto the knee, and the proportion aunswered the length. After this, they that were sent by Cortes to the Montanous Countryes of the South, reported that they hadde found a Country inhabited with these men, and for prooffe thereof, they are sayd to haue brought manie of the ribbes of those deade men. Concerning other occurrents, which happen among vs, your Holinesse is often aduertised by those that are neere about the Emperour, and therefore none of those matters are to bee required of me, whiche disquiet the afflicted mindes of Christian Princes intangled in mutuall secret hatred, and displeasure, to the benefit of the Mahumetanes, and losse, & hinderance of our Religion. Nowe therefore I bid your Holinesse farewell, before whose feete prostrating my selfe, I dedicate my most humble, and deuoted seruice.

The tenth Chapter.

Euen as the heads of Hydra smitten of are seuen times doubled, so vnto me deliuering one discourse, many other arise. I thought I shoulde nowe at length haue concluded the affayres of Tenustitan: when behold through new tidings comming suddenly, & vnexpected, I am compelled to enter into the discourse thereof againe. In one of the 2. shippes which brought the Presents from the Cassiterides, one of the familiar friendes of Cortes (neere about him) called Iohannes Ribera, is returned: the other shippe, for feare of the French Pyrates, expecting other subsidiary shippes to conduct her, with the Treasure, whereof, besides the fift due to the Kinges Exchequer, Cortes willingly giueth a parte of the riches gotten by his owne labour, and industry: another part also the rest of his chiefe companions in Armes bestowed. This Ribera bringeth in charge with him, to present the giftes, assigned by Cortes, to the Emperour, in his maisters name, for the rest, those two, who (as I said before, remained in the Cassiterides, with the ships) should offer their presentes. This Ribera is skilfull in the Tenustitan language, and nothing was done all the time of the warres, at the which hee was not present, alwayes at his maisters side: who was sent from his maister, many daies after the departure of his companions: from him therefore we may haue a most cleare and apparent reaso of all thinges. Being first demanded of the Originall of the city Tenustitan, and defini-
tion

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in her selfe
twice every
little tree
opened the
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and easilie
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tion of the name then of the ruine and destruction, and of the present state thereof, and with what forces Cortes maintayned and defended the same, & of many such like things besides: hee saith the citie was built in the middle of a salte lake, vpon a rocke found there (as we read of that most famous citie of Venice, seated on a plat of ground appearing in that parte of the Adriaticke Gulfe) to secure themselves from the incursions of the enemy: but the name thereof is deriued from 3. short words. That which seemeth diuine, they call Teu, fruite, they call Nucil, and Titan, they call a thing seated in the water, from whence commeth the name of Tenu-titan, that is to say, a diuine fruit seated in the water: for vpon that rocke they founde a natu-rall tree laden with pleasant fruit (fit to be eaten) greater then our country apples, which yeelded desired foode to the first inuentors: wherupon in token of thankfulness, they beare that tree imbroydered in their Standard, it is like a Mulbery tree, but hath leaues much green-er. The Tascaltecan also in their Colours, haue 2. hãds ioyned together, kneading of a Cake, for they vaunt that they haue more fruitful fields of corne, then the rest of the borderers, & from thence the city hath her name: for Tescal is a cake of bread in their language, and Teca, is a Lady, and therefore she is called the Lady of breade. The same also is reported of the inhabitantes of the Mountayne which we call Vulcanus, whiche casteth out smoake. For in their warlike Auncients, they beare a smoaking Mountayne, and call the Mountayne itselfe Popocatepech, because Popoca is Smoake, and Tepech, signifieth a Mountayne. A litle dis-tant, on the East, standeth another Mountayne neere vnto this, couered all the yeere with Snowe, there are also other Mountaynes laden with Snowe, by reason of the height thereof. Another hill also full of Conies is called Cachutepech, because Cachu is a Conie, and there-fore it is called the Mountayne of Conies. The house of their Religion they call Teucile, of Teu, which signifieth God, and Cale, an house. So they define all their matters from the effect: but wee shall more curiously search into these things hereafter. He further sayde, that the citie for the moste parte, was ruined and destroyed with fyre, and sworde, and that but fewe of the chiefe menne, remayned alyue. In some places hee sayde it remayned whole, and in-tyre, where anie secrete streete or rowe of houses was free from the furious conflictes, and that the three chiefe Pallaces were woonderfully repayred and amended, the chiefe whereof beeing the house of Muteuczuma, all menne report to bee so great, that no manne after hee entred into it, was able to find the way out agayne, without a guide, borne, and brought vppe there, as wee reade of the wyndinges, and turnynges, of that fabulous Labirynth of Mipos: in this house, Cortes sayeth hee purposeth to Seate himselfe, and therefore intended first to repayre it. And this manne reporteth, that there are houses of pleasure, built within the Cittie, and in the water itselfe, with pleasaunt and delyghtful greene plattes of grounde, and not in the Continent as others sayde, where dyuers kindes of fourefooted wilde Beastes, and sundry sorts of foules are inclosed, as I mentioned beefore. Hee reporteth manie thynges of the Roaryng of Lyons, and of the querulous yellyng, and howling of Tygers, Beares, and Woolues, when they were burnt with their houses, and of the myserable spoyle of all those thynges. It will bee long ere those houses bee repayred, and newe builte, for they were all of stone from the Foundation, with Turrettes rounde about them, adorned and beautified in manner of a Castle: for seldome doe the Conquerours repayre the ruines of defaced townes, who rather sacke twentye stately Citices, and fortified Castles, then erect one particular house, especially, where newe conquests call them away, and the greedy desire of enlarging their dominion hasteneth them to inuade other Prouinces. But the common houses themselves as hygh as a mannes Girdle, were also built of stone, by reason of the swellyng of the Lake through the floode, or washing flote of the Ryuers fallyng into it. Vppon those greate Founda-tions they builde the rest of the house, with Bricke burned, or dried in the Sunne, inter-mingled with Beames of Tymber: and the Common houses haue but one Floore, or Planchin. They seldome make their aboade, or lodge vppon the Grounde, least the dampe thereof through excessiue moysture might indanger their desired health. They couer the Roofe of their houses, not with Tyles, but with a certayne kinde of clammie earth, or Claie: for that way or manner of couering is more apt to receiue the Sunne, yet is it supposed to bee consumed in a short-er tyme. But howe they drawe those huge Beames, and Rafters, whiche they vse in building

Tenu-titan
situated as
Venice.

An excellent
Etimologie of
the worde
Tenu-titan.

As wittie is that
of Tescalca
the Lady of
bread.

A kinde of
bestu-g of armes
amongst the
Barbarians ap-
peareth here.

A Mountayne
couered all the
yeere with
snowe.

Teucile:
Gods house.

Of the greatnes
and intricacie of
Muteuczuma his
Pallace.

of their Houses, considering they haue neyther Oxen, Asses, nor Horses, nor any other beast of burthen, (as heereafter shall bee spoken) wee will nowe declare. The sides of those high Mountaynes are beset with goodly spreading Citron or Lymon Trees, with the which the Voluptuous Romaynes, (after they fell from Contynencie to Ryot) made Tables, bedde-steedes, and other Vtensils, for ornamente and furniture of houses: because the Citron Tree perpetually preserueth whasoeuer is boarded with it, from Woormes, and Putrifaction, (as the aun-
The Citron or
Limon tree an
enemie to
wormes.
 cient writers report of the Cedar) and the boordes of that Tree are naturally Flouryshed with dyuers coloures: immitating the curious art of some ingenious Artist, and the places where Pyne Trees growe are neere adioyning to those flourishing Cytron Trees in all the spacious
Copper hatchets.
 Woodes. With their Copper Hatchets, and Axes cunningly tempered, they fell those trees, and hewe them smooth, taking away the chyppes, that they may more easily be drawne. They haue also certayne hearbes, with the which, in steed of broome, & hempe, they make ropes, cordes, and cables: and boaring a hole in one of the edges of the beame, they fasten the rope, then sette their slaues vnto it, like yokes of oxen, and lastly in steede of wheels, putting roid blocks vnder the timber, whether it be to be drawn steepe vp, or directly downe the hill, the mat-
Ropes and ca-
bles made of
certayne
hearbes.
The vse of
wheels want-
ing here.
 ter is performed by the neckes of the slaues, the Carpenters onely directing the carriage. After the same manner also, they get all kind of matter fitte for building, and other things apt for the vse of manne, seeing they haue neither oxen, nor asses, or any other fourfooted beast of burden. Incredible thinges are reported of those beames of tybmer, nor durst I repeate them, except menne of great authoritie, and that many, had testified, and affirmed vnto vs, assembled in our Senate, that they had measured many: & that in the citie Tascuco, they sawe one of a hundred and twentie foote long, eight square, bigger then a great Oxe, which supported almost the whole Pallace, they affirme that they beheld it, & no man gaine-sayeth it: hence we may gather, howe great the industry of these men is. But concerning the money called Cacaus, and of the strength of Cortes to sustaine so great an Empire, he sayth that the money is not chaunged, nor that it is expedient that it shoulde be altered. And he declareth, that the strength of Cortes consisteth in 40. peeces of ordinance, 200. horse, & 1300. foote, of the which he hath 250. alwayes in a readinesse to man the Brigantines, beating vp and downe the lake day, and night, with their appoynted Commaunder. Others helpe hee vseth in ranging new countries: many haue throughly searched the middle of the Mountaynes from the playne of Tenustitan vnto the South: and from the East vnto the West they finde them verie farre extended. They who attempted the discouery say, they trauayled fiftie leagues: and that they were well stored with victualles, and delightfull, and famous for many excellent cities. From those Mountaynes, and diuers Riuers running through the playne of Tenustitan, this Iohannes Ribera, in token of the riches of the soile, bringeth many sorts of gold, as big as a lentil, or the pulse of pease, & diuers pearls frō the South part: but they were such as were founde with Mutezuma, and his gallant and delicate Nobles, or other enemyes among the spoyle of warre. When I had this Ribera at home with mee, the Reuerend Secretary Caracciolus, Legate to your Holinesse, with Gaspar Contarinus the Venetian Embassadour, and Thomas Mainus a yong man, the nephew of great Iason Mainus, Embassadour for the Duke of Millane, desirous to heare, and see straunge things came vnto me. They wondered not at the great plenty of golde, nor that it was so pure of his owne nature (for it is so pure, that golden Ducates might bee coyned thereof, without refining it) but they first wondred at the number and forme of the vessels filled with golde, which from diuers Nations contained diuers sortes, sent for Tribute: & for prooffe that that gold was gathered with them, euery vessell or little cane had the seuerall markes of their country printed in them with an hotte Iron: and euery one of them consisted of eyght nine or tenne drammes weight of gold. That being shewed vnto vs, declareth, what kinde of golde properly belongeth to one manne, of those who were partakers of those thinges: For Ribera himselfe is maister of all that, whiche hee shewed: but, that which is brought in the shyppe which staieth, is an huge masse, to bee presented to the Emperour: the summe of the golde whiche is moulten and brought into wedges, and barres, amounteth to 32000. Ducates: and that which may be made of ringes, Jewells, shielde, helmettes, and other thynges, amounteth to the summe of an hundred and fiftie thousand ducates more, as he saith: but I know not what flying report
 there

With howe
great a power
Cortes mayn-
taineth a great
Empire.

Pearles.

The puritie of
the golde of
these parts.

A huge masse
of golde for the
Emperour.

there is, that the French Pirates haue vnderstoode of those ships, God sende them good successe. Let vs nowe come to the particulars of this Ribera, which are but smal shaddowes, and proportions of the thynges which are to bee brought. Hee shewed vs Pearles, (no worse then those which humane effeminacie calleth Orientall) whereof many exceede a very great filberd, but for the most parte not very white, because they take them out of roasted Shelle fishe, ingendring pearles: yet wee sawe some cleare, and of a good lustre. But this is but a small matter. It was a delightfull thing to beeholde the variety of Iewelles, and Rynges: there is no fourefooted beast, no foule, no fyshe, which their Artificers haue once seene, but they are able to drawe, and cutte in mettall the likenesse and proportion thereof, euen to the lyfe. We seemed to behoulde liuing countenances, and wondered at their ve-sels, earerings, chains, braceletes, and all of golde, wherein the curious workemanship and labour exceeded the matter and mettall, as also their crestes, plumes, targettes, and helmettes, artificially wrought with smale prickes and pouncing so drawne out in length, that with the smalnesse thereof, deceiued the very sight of the Eye: wee were muche delighted with the beautie of two glasses especially, the one was garnished and edged about, with an halfe globe of golde, the circumference and compasse thereof was a spanne broade: the other was sette in greene woode, not so bigge altogether. This Ribera sayth, that there is such a Quarrie of stons in those Countryes, A Quarrie of transparent stoues. that excellent glasses may bee made thereof by smoothing and polishing them, so that wee all confessed that none of ours did better shewe the naturall and liuely face of a manne. Wee sawe a Visarde very excellently well made, set in a table on the inside, and aboue vpon that, inlayed A Visarde. with very small stones, so fastened together, that the nales coulde not enter them, and the clearest eye woulde thinke them to bee one entire stone, made of the same matter, whereof wee sayde the glasse was composed: it hadde also golden eares, and 2. greene circles of Em-rodos ouerthwart the face thereof, from either side of the heade, and as many yellow, with bone teeth, shewing themselues halfe out of the mouth, whereof two of the innermost checke teeth hanging downe from either iawe, were putte forth without the lyppes: those Visardes they sette before their Idolles face, when their Prince is sicke, and take them not away before hee either escape and recouer, or els die. After this, hee brought forth diuers garmentes out of a very great chest: they haue three kindes of matter or stuffe, whereof they make all garments, the first is of Cotton, the next, of the feathers of foule and the thirde, they compact of Conies haire: and they set those feathers in such order betweene the Cony haire, & intermingle them betweene the thriddes of the Cotton, and weaue them in such difficulty, that we doe not well vnderstand how they might do it. Of cotton there is no wonder: for they weaue their cotton cloth, as we weaue, or begin our webs, of linnen, woollen, or silke. Concerning the shape and fashion of their garments, it is ridiculous to beholde: they call it a garment, because they couer themselues therewith, but it hath no resemblance with any other garment, of any fashion: it is onely a square couering like vnto that, which your Holines cast on your shoulders, somtimes in my presence, when you were about to kembe your heade, to preserue your garments, least haire, or any other filth should fal vpon the. That couering they cast about their necke, and then knitting 2. of the foure corners vnder their throate, they lette the couering hange downe, whiche scarce couereth the bodie as lowe as the legges. Hauing seene these garments I ceased to wonder, that so great a number of garmentes was sent to Cortes, as we mentioned before: for they are of small moment, and many of them take vppe but litle roome. They haue also sloppes or breeches, whereat (for elegancie & ornament) certayn toyes of feathers of diuers colours hange: from the knee downward they goe bare. Many vse breeches for the most parte of feathers, they mingle feathers and Conies haire most curiously together in the cotton thriddes in all thinges, and of them they make their winter garments, and couerlets or blankets for the night. For the rest, they are naked, and vnlesse it be extreame cold, they alwayes put out one of their armes. Therefore they are al somewhat swarft, & brown coloured: but the country (although they sometimes feelee the cold) necessarily cannot be much troubled with cold, seeing they say that plaine is distant from the North Pole from 19. Degrees onely vnto 22. but I marked one thing described in the Mappes whereof he hath brought many. On the North, the Mountains in some places are distant one from another, most fruitfull valleyes diuiding them, betweene the narrow passages whereof, the violence

of the Northerne windes is very strong, and boystrous in that playne, and therefore that side of the citty Tenustitan whiche looketh towards the North, is fortified with rampires of huge stones, and tymber fastened in the ground, to defend the citie from the violence of whirle-windes. I sawe the like inuention at Venice, to sustayne the furie of the Adriaticke Sea, leaste it shoulde shake the houses, the Venetians call that pile of woode, the shore, commonly El Lio. Contrarily, on the Southe side all the Mountaynes ioyne one vppon another, so high, that the South windes haue no power to blowe through that playne, to giue them heate: but the North windes come from the skie, and from on high doe more beate vpon them then the South winds because they ascend from the bottome to the toppe, and the playne itselfe hath perpetuall snowie Mountaynes, and burning Mountaynes not farre from it. Wee sawe a Mappe of those countreyes 30. foote long, and little lesse in breadth, made of white cotton, wouen: wherein the whole playne was at large described, with the Prouinces, aswell friendes, as enemyes to Muteczuma. The huge Mountaynes compassing the playne on euery side, and the South coastes also butting vpon the shore are ther, together described, from whose Inhabitanes, they say, they had hearde, that certaine Ilandes were neere vnto those shores, where (as wee sayde before) the Spices grew, and great plentie of gold and precious stones were ingendred. Here (most holy Father) I must make a little digre-sion. When this poynt was reade amongst vs, many distorted the nose, and thought that fabulous which the letters reported of a doubtfull thing to come as it happeneth in manie thynges, which are deliuered by report of the Barbarians, while they come to bee openly knowne: and surely they doubted not without good cause, by the example of three thinges, whiche happened in our supposed Continent not agreeing with the first propositions, whereof I made mention in the former Decades, yet leauing them alwayes doubtfull. I haue heretofore said that the Spanyardes were accused by one of the sonnes of King Comogrus, chiefe of seven, because they esteemed golde so much, whereof he offered to shew them sufficient plentie, so they would procure some forces of armed menne, by whose conduct they might boldly passe ouer the Mountaynes he shewed them, possessed by warlike kinges, couragious, and stout defenders of their owne right: because those sides of those Mountaynes, which looke towards the South, had another Sea, at the Antarticke, and the inhabitantes of those sides were very rich: they passed those Mountaynes, to consider throughly of the South Sea: and knew the substance and wealth of those Kings to be farre inferiour to that which fame reported: the like also they vnderstoode of the ryuer Dabaiba, wherof I haue largely and sufficiently discoursed before. Which two thinges declared to the Catholike Kinge incited him to send Petrus Arias with 1200. soldiers to be slaughtered. For they are almost all deade, with out any great benefit, as I haue elsewhere sufficiently declared. The third thing perswadinge them to giue lesse credit to y^e which is reported, is this, nor is it repugnant to reason. It is now manifestly known through long experience, y^e all the inhabitantes of those Countries, to y^e intent to driue our men away from their borders diligently inquire what they desire: & whē they vnderstoode they desire gold, or victualls, they shewe vnto thē by signes, places y^e are farther distant from them, & tell thē with admiration, that they shall finde much more abundance of the things they seeke with certaine Kinges which they name, then with them. But when they went to the appointed Kinges they vnderstood they had bin deceived. Not with out cause therefore, they iudg that the like also may happen concerninge those thinges which are reported from farr Countryes. But I, imbracing this Casualty, in fauour to so great a mann, seeme to my selfe to haue found out probable, and perswasive reasons. I disputed these things in the Senate of Indian affaires, in presence of the great Chancellor Mercurius a Gattinera, the cheife Comendator Fernandus Vega, Doctor, Lord dela Rochia Belga, a mann gracious with the Emperour Philippes great Chancelers sonne & the great treasurer, Licentiato Vargas, admitted after the departure of your Holines. I should blush to reckon this thinge amonge the difficult or miraculouse thinges of Nature. The Malucca Ilandes ingendring spices, are partly vnder the Æquinoctiall as I mentioned before: and these Countries if we consider the whole world occupy but a very smale space. Seeing then the æquinoctiall circle compasseth the whole world, who will denye, but that elsewhere as well

as

He digresseth
to satisfie some
doubts.

A deceit of
the Barbarians.

He seemes to
demonstrate that
a great part of
the world is yet
vndiscouered.

as there, other countryes may bee founde of the same milde temper of the Ayre, which the powerfull influence of the Sunne may inspire with that aromaticall vigor, and yet the Diuine Prouidence would haue them vnknown vntill our times: as wee see so great a vastity of the Ocean and earthly Countryes to haue bin hetherto concealed? for those Southerne shoares of Tenustitan, are scarce 12. degrees distant from the Equinoctiall. What woonder then, if as the rest which were drowned before, we now see them discovered? and this falleth out for the increase of our Emperours felicity, the disciple of your Holines. I would the same should be spokē to such as resolute only to beleue those things, which they may attaine by the power of their owne witt, and that, in your Holines name, who haue allwayes bin a prudent searcher, of not onely the secrets of Nature ingendringe all thinges, but also of such as bee diuine. Besides that which hath bin already spoaken I am moued with another argument. Cortes, who performed so great matters, would not in my iudgemēt, be so voyd of reasō, ſ̄ at his owne charge he wold blindfold vndertake so great a matter in the South Sea, as wee knowe hee embraced, in the building of 4. shippes to search out those cōūtries, vnles he had vnderstoode some certainty, or likelyhod at the least. We haue now spoaken sufficiently of these thinges let vs therefore returne to Ribera his familiar friend. In those Mountaines by report of the Inhabitants, he saith, there are wild men, rough as hairy beares, contentinge themselves with montanous caues, or the naturall fruites of the earth, or such beasts as they take in huntinge. After that, we sawe another greate Mapp, a little lesse, but not lesse alluringe our mindes, which contained the city of Tenustitan it selfe described by the same hand of the inhabitants, with her Temples, bridges, and lakes. After this I caused a boy borne in the same country (whom he carryed with him as his seruant) to bee brought vnto vs out of my chamber, furnished in warlike manner, as we sate in an open Solar. In his right hande hee held a plaine wooden sworde, without stones which they vse (for they abate the edge of their warlike sword and fill the hollow and concauity thereof with sharpe stones fastened with tough and clammy Bitumen and clay) so that in fight, they may almost compare with our swoordes. These stones are of that kinde of stone whereof they make their rasors, whereof I haue spoken elsewhere. He brought forth a target also made after their manner: that is to say compact and ioyned together with twigges or osyers, ouerlayd with golde, from the middle lower circumferences of the edge whereof, wauinge feathers hange dangling downe, more then a spann longe, set in for ornament: the inner part of the Targett was couered with a Tygers skinn: the out side had a bosse of gold in the middle, with a field or large space of fethers of diuers colours little differinge from our veluet. The boy commeth forth armed with his sword, clad with a straight garment of feathers, partly blew and partly redd with a paire of breeches of bombasin cotten, and a little napkin hanginge betweene his thighes, hauinge his breeches fastened to his garment therewith, as one that putteth off his doblet without vndoinge his poyntes from his hose, and being very well shodd, the boy thus counterfeited the practise of warr, now setting vpon the enemy, and presently retyringe from them, at length hee maketh shewe as if he had taken another boy in fight, instructed for that purpose, and his fellow seruant, and halinge him by the haire of the head, as they vse violently to carry away their enemyes taken in the warres, hee draweth him to sacrifice him, & hauing layd him all along, hee seemed first to open him with a knife about the short ribbes where the hart lyeth: and then pluckinge out the hart made as if hee had drawne out the blood next vnto the hart with both his handes, and therewith besmeeringe his sword and target, hee moystened and washed them. After this manner (as they say) they vse the enemyes which they haue taken. But the hart it selfe hee burneth in the fire kindled with twoe stickes rubbed together, fit for that purpose, for the fire which they supposed to be acceptable to ſ̄ Goddes that fauour their warres must bee virgin fire newly kindled: the rest of the body they diuide and cutt into seuerall parts (leaving the whole bellye with the intrayles least ſ̄ filth fall out) as the boyes action did demonstrate. But the head of the sacrificed enemy, hauing the flesh taken from it, euery slaughterer reserueth it set in gold for a trophy or signe of victory & causeth so many litle goldē gaping heads to be made for him, as shalbe proued he hath slaine, & sacrificed enemyes: & hāgeth thē

He returnes to Ribera. Hairy men.

A boy armed after the Indian manner.

He counterfeits the warr.

The heade of the sacrificed set in gold for a Trophy.

thē about his necke, & it is thought, they feede vpō their mēbers. This Ribera saith, he knew y all y Princes of Mutezcuma thēselues vsed to eate mans flesh, wherupō he suspected y Mutezcuma also himself did y like: although in y case he alwayes forboare y same after they declared how foule a fault it was, & displeasing vnto God, to kill a man, how much more to eate him. After y fained solēnities of sacrificing ended by the boy, while in y meane space wee wearied Ribera with questioninge him concerninge the customs of those countryes, and the largenes thereof, hauing brought the boy into a chamber they attired him for sport, and meriment: Who came forth vnto vs cladd in another manner, taking a golden rattle curiously beautified, in his left hande, but in his right hande hee brought a garland of belles, shaking it and gently aduancinge the rattle about his head, and then presently swinging it about belowe, singinge after his country manner, hee filled the roome with dauncinge, where we sate to behold him: it was a delightfull thing to see when he came to any more honorable persō how they salute kings whē they bring presēts, with a trembling voyce, and lowly countenance, neuer presuminge to looke the kinge in the face, approachinge, & prostratinge his body hee speaketh vnto him, and deliuereth words to this effect: Hee calleth him Kinge of kinges, Lord of heauen and earth & in the name of his citty or towne hee offereth his seruice, and obedience, and of two things intreateth him to chose, which he would rather haue: Whether that they build him any house, in drawinge stones, timber, and rafters thether: or whether he purpose to vse them in tillage of the grounde: They say, they are the Kinges bondmenne, and affirme that (for his sake) they haue sustained exceedinge great losses by the bordering enemyes, yet that they willingly receiued all iniuries for the reuerence, and fidelity they bare vnto him and many such like Idle speeches. Thirdly, while wee were earnestly talkinge with Ribera, y boy commeth forth of the Chamber, cōterfeitinge a drunkard: so that wee haue not seene any spectacle more like a drunken mann: when they shall obtaine any thing which they desire of their Idol godds, he saith, that two or three thousand of them come together, and fill themselues with the iuice of a certaine inebriatinge herbe, and so runn naked hether and thether through the streetes of the citty, seekinge the walles to support them, and demanding of them they meete, which is the way to their owne lodginge sometimes spittinge, and sometimes vomiting, and often fallinge. Let this suffice for the boy. I knowe not what Ribera saith hee hath heard of a country inhabited onely by women in those Mountaines lyinge towards the North but noe certainty. For this reason (they say) it may bee beleueed, because the country is called Yguatlan for in their language Yguat signifieth a womann, and lan is a Lord or Mistres: supposinge therefore, that it is the country of women. In the meane space while the boy was prepared for diuers spectacles, amongst other arguments of the power and greatnesse of Mutezcuma hee is sayde to haue had interpreters & innumerable Embassadours of diuers prouinces with him, gracinge his Court with their perpetuall residence in their Lordes behalfe, as we haue Earles Marquesses and Dukes, obseruers of Cæsar. It is not much from the purpose, although it bee but a trifling matter, to declare what sports and games they vse: It is well knowne that they haue chesse bordes, by the checker worke which they haue wouen in their sheetes: but Tennis play both with them, and in our llands, is accounted the cheefest pastime. Their balles are made of the iuice of a certaine herbe which climeth on the trees, as hoppers doe vpon hedges: this iuice they boyle, which beeing hardened by heate, conuerteth into a massy substance, of the which, beeing rubd together and wrought with the hande, euery one formeth his balle at his owne pleasure, and others say, that of the rootes of the same herbes wrought together weighty balles are made: but I knowe not how, there is a ventosity in that solid body, that being strocken vpō the ground but softly, it rebounds vncredibly into the ayer. And in y sport & pastime they are very quick & nimble: so y they smite the ball with their shoulders, elbowes, and heades, seldome with their handes, and sometimes with their buttocks turninge their backe from him that playeth with them while the ball is smitten, for they exercise this pastime naked like wrastlers. In steade of candels, and torches they burne the pith or heart of the pine, and they haue no other tallow, grease, or oyle: neither did they vse wax for that purpose (although they haue both hony and wax) before

The manner of
saluting & of-
fering of seruice
to the kinge.

A drunken spec-
tacle.

The country of
women.

A note of the
greatnesse of
Mutezcuma.

Chesse } Play.
Tennis }

Heere is Enuie
for the French
men that are
sed to be borne
with rocketts in
their mouthes.
Candies.

before our comming vnto them. In the courtes or entrances of the kinges and noble mennes houses, they keepe three fires burninge all the night, made of those peeces or chippes of y pine, appointinge likewise fuellers for that busines, who with perpetual supply of wood to the fire, maintaine the light vpon an high candlestick, curiously wrought of copper. One candlestick standeth in the entrance of the Court another in the cheife hall where their household seruants walke expectinge their Lordes pleasure: and the third within the Princes chamber. If they bee particularly to goe any whether, euery one carrieth his torch in his hande, as our menn doe a candle. But in the Ilandes they vse the trane or tallow of the Tortoyse to maintaine candle light. Hee further saith, that the comon sort of people content themselves with one wife: but that euery Prince may maintaine harlots at his pleasure: and affirmeth also that Princes onely lye vpon beddes, and the rest on matts spread vpon the floore, or vpon cotton carpetts, beinge contented onely with certaine cotton sheets: the halfe part whereof they spread vnder them, and with the other part they couer themselves. Of these kinde of sheets Ribera shewed vs many. Moreouer they liue contented with number, and measure, weights are vknowne vnto them. I haue heeretofore sayde, that they haue books whereof they brought many: but this Ribera saith, that they are not made for the vse of readinge, but that those characters garnished and beautified with diuers Images and proportions, are examples and patternes of thinges from the which workemen may draw out examples for the fashioning of Jewels, sheets, and garments to beautify them with those proportions, as I see semsters euery where in Spaine, and those who with fine needles make silken chaine worke, roses, & flowers in linnen cloath, and many kinde of formes, to delight the eye that beeholds them, the formes and proportions of all which workes they haue in particular samplers of linnen cloth, by direction whereof they instruct younge maydens and girles. What I should thinke in this variety I knowe not. I suppose them to bee bookes, and that those characters, and Images, signifie some other thinge, seeinge I haue seene the like thinges in the obeliskes and pillars at Rome, which were accounted letters consideringe also, that wee reade, that the Caldeis vsed to write after that manner. I remember that I haue written beefore, that Mutezuma at the request of Cortes, built a Pallace by his architects neere, vnto the Sea, 60. leagues from his owne Court, where he commaunded 2000. mony trees to bee planted, and many measures or Hemina of the graine Maizium to bee sowed, and geese and duckes, and peacokes, to be cast in for breed, with three other houses for seruice of the Court or Pallace: but at such time, as they were expelled out of the city, he saith, that the borderinge Barbarians slewe our menn, and made hauock of all. Hee maketh report also of the commodity of foode, of the salt, and potable lake: that the fish of the salt lake are lesser, and lesse sauory, & when the water of the salt lake floweth into the fresh, that the fishes bred and nourished in the salt lake, flye backe from the tast of the fresh water, to the course and passage of the ebbing water. And contrarily as soone as the fishes bred in the fresh water begin to tast the salt, they likewise retorne backe. Beinge demanded, what was done concerninge the auncient forme of rites and ceremonies, or after what manner they receiue so sudden an alteration of their holy rites, hee saith, that all Images or Idols are ouerthrowne by the warre of the Conquerours: and that it is vtterly forbidden to sacrifice mans bloud any more. And that such friends as hee left, weere perswaded to kill noe more menn, if they desire to please the Creator of Heauen, neuertheles hee thought it was noe time, that he should so suddenly compell them to chaunge and alter the customes receiued from their auncesters. In this one thinge onely he is supposed to haue done enough, that neither the Tascalicans, nor Guazuzingi, or any other friendes whatsoever, durst publicly any more exercise that kinde of slaughter, and butchery: yet, whether secretly they altogether abstaine hee sayth hee maketh some doubt. It is to bee hoped, that by litle and litle hee shall abolish their auncient ceremonies. He requireth Preists and desireth belles, with ornaments: all which shalbee sent vnto him, whereby many new hundred thousands of people shalbe subiectd to your Holinesse throne.

Of fires in the Court.

Wives and concubines.

Princes onely lye on beddes.

Of bookes otherwise then in the 4. decade chap. 8.

Three quartes of a pinte.

Of the fish of the salt and fresh lake.

A good step towards Christianity.

The

The sixth Decade, of Peter Martyr a Millanoisse of Angleria written to the Consentine Arch Bishopp, to bee giuen to the Pope.

The first Chapter.

Before you returned to the citty, hauinge executed your Spanish Legation honorable, & profitable to two Popes while Spaine wanted a Kinge, by reason of his departure to take vp him & Imperiall crowne offered vnto him, I suppose, that amonge the Nobles of Spaine, who passed through the South side of our supposed Continent in the new worlde, you knewe, that Ægidius Gonsalus commonly called Gil. Gonzalez, and Licentiatu Spinosa the Lawier, were men of noe ordinary rancke. Concerninge Spinosa I wrot many things in the third booke of my Decades (while you were present) to Pope Leo; at his request. But now we haue letters from Ægidius Gonsalus two yeeres after, dated the day before the Nones of March 1524. written frō Hispaniola the Pallace or Princely Court of those countries: where (hee saith) hee arriued with an hundred and twelue thousand dragmes of gold: and that hee returned the 25. of Iuly 1523. to Pannama, the yeere before. It would arise to a great volume of paper, to declare euery little accident that befell them in so longe a space of time and distace of countryes. And the demaundes which hee requireth at the handes of the Emperour are very large, for their trauailes, & dangers sustained, & for their miserable wantes indured in that wandring Voyage: nor are there complaints, & wordes wanting concerning Petrus Arias the generall gouernour of those countries (which vnder one denominatiō we call golden Castele) straightly desiring liberty from his will and pleasure: among which hee saith & he is more nobly borne, as if it made any matter, whether those & are chose of the kings for the effecting of such laborious and waighy affaires, were borne of base and Idle victuallers, or Hectorean, and valiant menn, especially in Spaine where for the most part they suppose, the Nobilitye haue a speciall prerogatiue, to liue Idley, without any exercise or employment, except it were in the warres, and that as commanders, not as ordinary & priuate soldiers. I receiued letters from you deliuered me by the hands of your Iohannes Paulus Oliuerius dated in the citty the Nones of Maye, whereby amonge other things, you say, that Pope Clement is noe lesse delighted with these relations, then his cousin german Leo, or Pope Adrian his Prædecessors were, who by their letters mandatory commanded me to set downe the same the same in writing. Of many things I haue gathered a few, to be directed vnto you, not vnto his Holines, which if as his nephew Leo, or as his Successor Adrian did, he shal cōmand me to write, I willingly obey otherwise, I will forbear & labour, least by scandalous mouthes I be iudged to haue incurred & sleaunder of temerity. Obseruinge therefore our manner, little regarding & slight affection of & writers, we wil shortly touch such things as we thinke necessary to be known, neither shal & cheife point of your Epistle diuert me a iot frō this purpose, where you say, & through & perswasio of Iohn Granatensis & elect Bishop of Vienna, whatsoeuer Fernandus Cortes, the Conqueror of those huge coutries of & lucatanes & Tenustitās, hath written to & Emperors Cōsell of & Indian affaires, & to & Emperour himselfe, was translated in Germany. word for word out of & Spanish tongue, into & Latine: for out of thē, & by relation of others (as you knowe) I haue made special choice of such things as I thought worthy & noting. Let vs now therefore at lēgth come to & matter, & begin with & Colonies erected, to the intē & the auncient Geography being more easily perceiued, the vnderstāding may apprehēd, what coasts, & coutries this Ægidius hath trauailed. Cōcerning & largenes of those coutries, which thrice exceede all Europe in lēgth, & yet the ende thereof not discovered, I haue made mētion in my former Decades (vnder & name of & supposed Cōtinēt) subiect to & printers presse, & sufficiently spread abroad through out the Christiā world. We wrot & they lay in the probatiō or prooffe of the Latitud of the riuier Maragnō, & & this lād hath two huge, & mighty Seas: this our Ocean, butting vpon that Northerne coutry, & the other, & South sea. These things presupposed, his Holines may vnderstand & on the sides of & land, there are six Colonyes planted by the Spaniards: three on the North, vpon the banke, or shoare of the riuier Darien

Letters from
Ægidius Gon-
salus.

A spot vpon the
nobility of
Spaine.

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Colonyes
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in the Gulfe of Vraha, one called Sancta Maria antiqua 20. leagues from Darien Acla: & the third, called Nomē Dei, in the dominion of king Careta, 37. leagues distant from Acla. And on the South shoare they haue erected as many, one whereof, leauinge the country Name, they haue called Pannama, the second Natan, 31. leagues from Pannama, & the third called Chiriqui, they built 75. leagues from Natan.

The second Chapter.

OVt of the Hauen of f North Colony called Nomen Dei, the Inhabitantes, with Petrus Arias the Gouvernour, determined to make a way to Pannama standing on f South shoare, through the moitaines ouergrown with thick woods neuer touched from all æternity, and vnpossible to passe ouer by reason of the steepe and dangerous rocks, reachinge vp to Heauen. For that distance of lande betweene both Seas is 17. leagues onely, which containe about some 50. miles, although elsewhere the land be very broad and so enlarged, that from the mouth of the riuier Maragnon fallinge into the Ocean from the North, to the Antaretick, it extendeth it selfe more then 84. degrees beyond the Æquator, as I thinke you sawe in that Decade directed vnto Adrian, who lately dyed, which I sent you to be giuen to his Successor, although intituled by another name, because he was preuēted by death, without receiuinge the Decade where mention is made at large, concerning the llandes ingendringe spices, foud out by that waye. Through this narrow strait of land therefore, at the great cost and charge both of the kinge and Inhabitantes breaking the rocks, and felling downe the woods which were a couert for diuers wild beaates, they make that way able to giue passage to two carts at once, to the intent they might passe ouer with ease to search f secrets of either spacious Sea, but they haue not yet perfited the same. From the lland therefore which in my former Decades (I sayd was called Dites, but now the lland of Pearle, because there is great store of pearle there, seated within the view of the Colony Pannama, Ægidius Gonsalus saith, that the 21. day of Iauary in f yeere of our Lord God 1522. he set sayle vnto the West, with a smale, and almost an vnarmed fleete of 4. shippes, to the end that by the Emperours commaund, he might obey the counsell and aduise of our kings Senate, from whom hee receiued this charge, to view the westerne coasts neuer yet attempted, and make diligent search, whether betweene the furthest boundes of the same supposed Continent lately knowne, and the beginninge or first entrance of the country of the lucatanes, any straight or narrow Sea might be founde, diuidinge betweene those huge Cōtreyes: in few wordes to cōclude, they finde no straight at all: but what he performed (omitting many circumstances & many noted, & obserued) you shal heare. He writeth f in the space almost of 17. monethes, he passed six hundred and 40. leagues (which amount to 2000. miles or thereabout) to the West, through the coasts of strange countryes, and dominions of pettie kings. At what time while his broken ships, (and eaten through with Sea wormes which the Spāiards call Broma) were repaired, wantinge also necessarye victuals hee was compelled to trauaile the rest by lande. Hee passed through the heart of the countrie 244. leagues, with an hundred menn or thereabouts, begginge breade for himselfe, and his followers of many kinges, from whom (hee sayth) hee hadd giuen him 112000. dragmes of gold: (Pensum is a dragme and a fourth part more, as you must needs haue learned through your singular familiarity, and conuersation with the Spaniards for fourteen yeeres space:) and hee further sayth that more then 32000. persons of both sexes, were willingly baptised by such as hee hadd with him, who hadd receiued baptisme, and entred into the rules, and first principles of Religion: and that he sayled so farre, that on the backe side of the Prouince of lucatane, he found the same customes, & manner of behaiour, & speach which f lucatane inhabitāts cheifly vse. Of f 112000. Pensa of gold brought by f Treasurer Cerezeda sent frō him he saith he sēdeth vnto Cesar for f kings portiō, on f on part 17. thousād Pensa of halfe pure gold, which attaineth to f degrees of twelue, & thirteene, on f other part 15000. 3. hūdred and sixty Pensa. In hatchets, which they vse in steed of Iron & steele ones made fitt for the cutting of wood or timber, he writeth that by testimony of the ouerseers, appointed for that purpose deducting the Pensa of euery one of them a litle more thē halfe a Ducate of gold, each

A way of 20.
miles in length
cut throw the
mountaynes
from Nomen
Dei to Pannama.

The lland of
Pearle.

Ægidius Gonsa-
lus with 4.
shippes sayles to-
ward the West.

Beggars well re-
warded.

32000. persons
baptised.

The kinges part
of gold.

Hatchets of
gold.

Smiths that
make rusticall
instruments of
gold.

The pallace of a
petty king, & of
the fall thereof.

The hauen of
S. Vincent.

hath their true valewe. But that which we greatly esteeme, is that we haue founde countries, where smithes worke, and also rusticall Instruments are all made of gold, though not pure. In belles also made of gold, wherein they are greatly delighted, he sayth he hath sent fourescore & six, weighing about 6000 Pensa, which attaine almost noe degree by the assay of the ouerseers: in y the belles shakē to & fro, sound more dull or shrill, our men suppose they are so made without any order, or rule: for y ringinge of gold (as you must needes know) y purer the gold is so much more duler is y sōūd thereof. And recōūting māy things more particularly, he sayeth, y by reasō of their wading through y riuers, and the often showers of raine, in regard they were our winter monethes: although, neere vnto the Equinoctiall they were not so oppressed with colde, yet hee, and his consorts fell into diuers diseases, which hindered them from makinge great iourneyes. Passinge ouer to a strange land in their Canows with the Prouincials or inhabitants of that prouince, which by testimony of his companions is tenn leagues longe and six broad, he was courteously intertained by the King of the llande, whose Court or Pallace was erected in forme of a warlike pauilion, built with vnder setters or crosse beames vpon a litle rising hil, & couered with reede, and grasse to defend them from the raine. In this land, and neere about the Pallace runneth a mighty riuier which diuideth it selfe into two armes: this riuier as hee sayth, at that time that he remained with that king intercepted of his iourney, did so ouerflowe almost the whole llande with inuadations of water, & so surrownded the kings house it selfe to the heighth of a manns girdell, that through the fury of the increase thereof, the very foundations of the pillars sustayning y Pallace being ouer throwne, & moued out of their places, y house it selfe fell downe. But (he saith) that the endes of the beames being fastened, held the house together that it should not wholly fall vpon them: so that they were forced to cut out a dore with axes, whereat they might issue forth. From whence they fledd for refuge to the boughes of high trees, where (he saith) himselfe, his companions, and their hostes that receiued them, remayned for the space of two dayes, while the waters returned to their channels, after the rayne ceased. He reporteth diuers particular accidents. But it is sufficient for you, if principally you make blessed Clemēt partaker of these trifling matters of Fortune, whom that greates and waighy pontificall charge ought alwayes to deteine buisied in great affayres. All prouision of victuall being taken away by this inundation, cōpelled through want, and being about yet to seeke foode by land, he trauaileth further to y West, yet neuer leaving the vewe of y shoare, at length he came to an hauen already known, which our men called the hauen of S. Vincent. Where he found his consorts arriued, with whom he thus mett, after he departed from them while they repayed their shippes, and water caske.

The third Chapter.

HAuing saluted his cōpanions as the time would permitt & speedily deliberating what euery one should doe, taking 4. horses out of y ships which he brought with him, he cōmandeth thē of y fleete to sayle by litle & litle directly towards the West. And chargeth them to beware of sayling by night, by reasō of the rockes, & sādly shouldes, because they were now to passe through the vnknown coastes of the Sea, but he, with those 4. horses, & about 100. foote trauailing by land, light on a Kinge called Nicoianus: this Nicoianus hauinge curteously intertained him, gaue him 14000. Pensa of gold: being perswaded by our mē y there was another Creator of heauen & earth about the sunne then they supposed, who made the sunne it selfe, & the moone & the rest of the visible starrs, of nothing, & gouerned thē by his wisdom, who also rewardeth euery man according to his deserts. Whereupō he desired with all his family to be baptised; & by the kings example, a thousand men of his kingdom or thereabouts were baptised. Hauing remained about 17. dayes space with Nicoianus, hee left him so well instructed, that hee deliuered thees wordes in his owne language (vnderstoode by the bordering Interpreters) at such time as they departed. Seeing I shall neuer hereafter speake any more to these auncient Images of the Gods, nor euer desire any thinge at their handes, take them away with you. And speakinge thus to Ægidius Gonsalus he gaue him six golden Images of a spann longe, the auncient monuments of his auncesters. Fifty leagues

King Nicoianus
his courteous en-
tertainment &
great gifts of
gold.

Nicoianus des-
ireth baptisme
& is baptised
with 1000. more
of his subiectes.

Nicoianus his
sincerity in ban-
ishing of his
Images.

leagues distant frō the Pallace of Nicoianus, he vnderstoode, that the King called Nicoragua, had his kingdom: staying therefore one dayes Iourney from the princly seat of Nicoragua, he sent messengers to deliuer the same message to the King which our men were wont to declare to ſ rest of the kinges before they would further presse them, that is to say: that they should become Christians, and that they admitt the lawes and subiection of the greate Kinge of Spaine: but if he refused, then they would rayse warr, and vse violence against him. The next day after fowre Nicoraguanian Noble menn came foorth to meete him, sayinge in their Kinges behalfe, that they desire peace and baptisme. Our menn goe forward to Nicoragua, whom they constraine to receiue holy baptisme with all his household, and somewhat more then 9000. menn besides. This Nicoragua gaue vnto Ægidius Gonsalus 15000. Pensa of gold made into diuers Iewels. Ægidius recompenced his gifts with other presents, and gaue vnto Nicoragua a silken garment, and an inner vesture of linnen wouen, and also a purple capp: and erectinge two crosses, one in their temple, and another without the towne he departed: and went vnto another coutry about 6. leagues of, makinge his way alwayes to the West: where (hee sayth) hee found 6. villages, euery of them consisting of about 2000. houses a peece. The fame & report of our menn being heard, while they stayd amongst those 6. villages, another Kinge further to the West called Diriangen (desirous to see them) came vnto our menn accompanied with 500. menn, and 20. woemenn, tenn auncients, and fiue Trumpeters goinge before him after their manner. The King comminge to Gonsalus expectinge his approach in a throne adorned with rich and princly furniture, commaunded to sounde the Trumpetts and presently to cease, & the auncients that went before him to be layde down & euery one of the men, one, brought one, the other, two foules like vnto peacocks, not inferior in tast, nor greatnes. These foules are their domestically powltry: as hēnes are with vs. I make a litle digression with your leaue: & repeate many particulars of this sort, who being but an vnskillfull husbandman instruct Æsculapius in medicine: for māy of these things are very well known to you, & dilated at large in my Decades. But supposing that these relations may come vnto the hands of men desirous thereof, to whom they are vnknowne, vnlikely to obtaine your interpretation, I repeate them, that for your sake, they might obtaine their desire: do not you therefore accuse me, who are borne for the benefit of many. This kinge Diriangen by his seruants brought about 200. hatchets, euery of them weighing 18. Pensa, or somewhat more. Being demanded by Interpreters, which Ægidius had of his next bordering neighbours, who vnderstoode our menn, what cause moued him to come: he is sayd to haue answered, that it might be graunted him to behold a strange Nation, which he had heard, trauailed those countryes, and offeringe, that whatsoever they desired of him, he would performe their demaundes. Whereupon they admonished them (by alledginge the same reasons they vsed to perswade the rest) to become Christians, & that they would submitt themselves to ſ obedience of the great king of Spaine. Hee saith, hee was contented to doe both, and promised the third day to returne vnto our menn to receiue their charge. And so he departed.

The fourth Chapter.

IN the meane time, while our menn remained with Nicoragua, many things fell out betweene them not vnworthy the relatinge. For beside that I gathered them out of the letters of Ægidius, the kings Quæstor with him, cōmonly called the Treasurer, one Andreas Cerezeda, no meane partaker of all their trauailes, & labours, told me, & departinge left me ſ writings. Ægidius, ſ cōmander of our soldiers & Nicoragua ſ king falling in to diuers discourses for recreation, while they were at leasure, by an Interpreter which Ægidius had brought vp, borne not very farr frō the kingdome of Nicoragua, who perfectly spake both languages. Nicoragua demāded of Ægidius what was thought (with ſ mighty king, whose seruant he confesseth himselfe to be) concerninge ſ generall flood past, which as hee had heard his auncesters say, ouerwhelmed ſ whole earth with men & beastes. Ægidius sayth it is beleueed that it was so: being demanded whether he thought it should come againe, he answered, noe: but as once by the invndation of waters for the wicked misdeedes of men,

Ægidius Gonsalus sends messengers to k. Nicoragua with offer of the choyse of Christianity & subiection, or warre. Nicoragua with all his houshold & 9000. men besides receiue baptisme. Nicoragua giues to Ægidius 15000. Pensa of gold. a Crosses erected.

Diriangen a king hearinge of the fame of Ægidius Gonsalus comes to see him.

King Diriangē presents to Ægidius Gonsalus 200. hatchets of gold.

It is very remarkable how apte the barbarians are alwayes to receiue the Christian religion.

Notable questions proposed by Nicoragua to Ægid. Gonsalus. A tradition of Noah his flood amongst these Indians.

The generall
combustion to
come.

Nicoragua made
a questiō whe-
ther Gonsalus
and his company
cam from heauen
or no.

He questions of
the departure &
places of Soules
departed, of
times & seasons
which God hath
put in his owne
power. Act i. 7.

Naturall ques-
tions.

Diuine ques-
tions touching
earthly matters.

Intemperancy
and the seedes
thereof.

Marriage.

Sacrificing of
mankinde dis-
waded.

Their Idolles
the Images and
invention of the
deuill.

& cheifly, for their vnlawfull & mōstrous lust, all liuing creatures (a fewe only excepted) perished, so after an appointed terme of yeeres (vnknown to men) it should come to passe y through flaminge fire cast downe from heauen, all things should be cōsumed to ashes: wondering at this discourse, they were all strickē with astōishmēt. Whereupon Nicoragua turning to the interpreter, with a discontented countenance demanded of him: Whether this so wise & vnderstanding a Nation came from Heauen: the Interpreter sayth they were sent downe from Heauen. Then out of his simplicity & innocēcy he asked him, whether he came directly down or in a circuite, and compasse like a bowe or arch, the Interpreter sayth, hee knewe not that, who was borne in the same country where Nicoragua was, or in the next. After this he commanded the Interpreter to aske his Maister Ægidius, whether the earth should euer be turned vpside downe: Whereunto Ægidius answered, declaringe that this was a secret resting onely in his mind who is the Creator of Heauen, Earth, and menn. And questioninge him further concerninge the vniuersall consummation of mankinde, and of the places appointed for the soules departed out of the prison of the body, and of the determined time of sendinge downe that fire, when the sunne, and moone, and the rest of the starres shall cease to giue their light, and of the motion, quantity, distance, and effects of the starres and many things besides. Ægidius although hee were very wise, and delighted to reade common bookes translated out of the Latine tongue, yet hadd hee not attained that learninge, that he could otherwise answer this, then that y knowledg of those things was reserued in the brest of y diuine prouidence. Nicoragua further demanding of him concerning the blowing of the windes, and the causes of heate and colde, and of the varietie of dayes and nights, although it be very smal with them (because they are but a litle distant from the Equinoc-tiall) and many such like questions, Ægidius answered Nicoragua satisfying him in many things according to the ability of his iudgement, and commēding the rest to the diuine intelligence. Nicoragua and his familiar Courtiers descending afterwarde to earthly things, demaunding whether without sinne, they might eate, drinke, vse the act of generation, play, sing, and dance, and exercise arms, he answered them after this manner: he sayth they might chere themselues with meates, and drinks, but auoyde gluttony and surfeiting: for what-soeuer is taken beyonde the necessitie of nature, is receiued both against the excellencie of the minde, and health of the bodie, and thereby he sayth that the seedes of vices, braules, and priuie hatred, and displeasure are stirred vp, and reuiued: and that it is lawfull to vse the act of generation, but with one woman onely, and her, coopled and ioyned in marriage. And if they desire to please that God who created all things, they must abstaine from any other kinde of lust whatsoever: and that it was not forbidden to delight themselues with singing, honest sportes, and dancing in their due tymes. Seeing they questioned him not concerning their ceremonies, nor slaughtering of menne in sacrifice, hee mooued conference thereof himselfe, and saith, that those oblations of sacrifices were most displeasing vnto God, & y with his Maister the great King there was a Law made, that whosoever slewe any man with the sword, should dye by the sworde. And he further sayth, that those Idolles, whereunto they sacrifice mans blood, are the Images & representations of deluding deuilles, who being cast out of Heauen for their pride, are throwne downe to the pitte of hel. From whence, going out by night, they shewe themselues for the most parte to innocent men, & perswade them through their deceitfull artes, that those things are to bee done, which ought in all kinde of things to bee auoyded, to the intent they might estrange our soules from his loue, who created them, and desireth by charity, and other honest actions of lyfe to reduce them againe vnto him, least beeing violently carryed away by those wicked spirites from eternall delightes, vnto perpetuall tormentes, and miserable woes, they be made companions of the damned.

The fift Chapter.

Nicoragua de-
mandeth to
know how to
please God.

AFTER that Ægidius, like a pulpit preacher, had thus reasoned, or in the like sense, by his Interpreter he signified the same to Nicoragua as well as hee coulede. Nicoragua assented to the wordes of Ægidius, and withall demaunded what hee shoulde doe, that they might please that

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that God, the author of all things, of whom he maketh report. Cerezeda the Kings treasurer with him, witnesseth that Ægidius answered Nicoragua in this manner: hee who created vs, and all things, is not delighted with the slaughter of menne, or shedding of bloude, but in the feruent loue onely of our mind towardes him, hee greatly reioyceth, the secrets of our hearte are apparant vnto him, hee desireth onely the meditations of the hearte it selfe, he feedeth not on flesh, or bloude, there is nothing wherewith he is more angry and displeased, then with the destruction of menne, of whom he desireth to be magnified, and glorified. These abhominable sacrifices are pleasing, and all impious, and wicked actions are acceptable to his, and your enemies cast downe to the bottomelesse pitte of Hell, whose Images you heere obserue, to the ende that they may drawe your soules (departing hence) together with themselves into eternall ruine and destruction. Throwe these vaine, nay pernicious Idolles, out of your houses and temples: and imbrace and entertaine this Crosse, the Image whereof the Lorde Christ beedewed with his bloude for the saluation of mankinde that was lost: and hereby yee may promise vnto your selues happie yeeres, and blessed eternitie to your soules. Warres, also are odious to the creator of all things, and peace amonge neighbours is amiable, whom hee commaundeth vs to loue as our selues: yet, if leading a peaceable lyfe any doe prouoke you, it is lawfull for euery manne to repell iniury, and to defende himselfe, and his goods, and substance. But to prouoke any through the desire of ambition, or couetousnesse, is vtterly forbidden: and that these things are done both against common ciuility, and also against the will of God himselfe. These thinges thus playnly declared, Nicoragua, & his Courtiers who were present fixing their eyes with open mouth vpon the countenance of Ægidius, consented to all other thinges beefore propounded, but to this one concerning warlike affaires, they made a wry mouth: and demanded where they shoulde cast their weapons, golden helmets, or whether they should throw their bowes and arrowes, their military ornamentes, and their renowned warlike ensignes, shall we giue them (say they) to women, to vse? & shall we handle their spindles, and distaffes, and till the ground after the rusticall maner? Ægidius durst not answere them any thing to this, because he knewe they spoake it halfe discontented. But when they asked him concerning the mistery of the Crosse to be adored, and of the benefit thereof, hee saith, that if with a pure, and sincere heart looking vpon it, (mindfull with a religious zeale of Christ who suffered thereon) you shall desire any thing ye shall obtaine it, so ye desire iust and honest things: if peace, or victory against your enemies, plentie of fruits, if temperatnes of the ayre, or saftie and health, and if ye propound such other like thinges to bee desired and wished for, ye shal obtaine your desires. I haue mentioned beefore, that Ægidius erected them two Crosses, one vnder a roofoe, and another in the open ayre, vppon an high hill of bricke made by hande: at what time it was carried to bee sette vppon the hill, Cerezeda saith that the Priestes went beefore the glorious and pompous shewe in procession, and Ægidius followed with his souldiers and traine, the King accompanying him, and the rest of his subiectes. At what tyme the Crosse was sette vppe, they beganne to sound the Trumpettes, and stricke vppe the Drummes. The Crosse being fastened, Ægidius with his heade discouered, and bowing the knee, ascended first to the foote thereof, by the steppes whiche were layde, and powred out his secrete prayers there, and imbracing the steppes of the Crosse, lastly kissed them. The King, and by his example al the rest did the like. So beeing instructed in our rites and ceremonies he made a decree. Concerning the distribution of dayes saith he, sixe whole daies ye are continually to apply your selues to tillage, and the rest of your labours, and arts, and the seuenth, you must diligently attende sacred and religious exercises, and hee appointed them the Lordes day for the seuenth, nor did hee suppose it to be profitable to be further troubled some vnto them with a long rancke of holy dayes. I will adde one thing onely omitted by Ægidius himselfe in the discourse of his narration, which Cerezeda recyteth. All the Barbarians of those Nations are beardless, and are terribly afraide, and fearefull of bearded men: and therefore of 25. beardlesse youthe by reason of their tender yeeres, Ægidius made bearded men with the powlinges of their heades, the haire being orderly composed, to the end, that the number of bearded men might appeare the more, to terrifie the if they should be policy.

Ægidius his
reply.

This good doctrine concerning war: onely excepted agaynst by the Barbarians.

He acquainteth them with the Sabbath.

The Barbarians of these nations are beardless: in great feare of bearded men vpon this occasion Gonzalus used a pretie policy.

Ægidius Gons.
When he set
sayle for the
straight.

The fashion of
the kings courtes
in these parts
and the maner
of their other
buildings.

Their Temples.

Auncients
paynted with
diuels.

be assailed by warre, as afterwarde it fell out. Cerezeda added that Ægidius wrote vnto him, that with 250. foote mustered in Hispaniola, and 70. horse, he set sayle about the Ides of March 1524. to the desired prouince to seeke the Strayght. But this matter is not yet reported to our Senate, when we haue it, you shall haue notice thereof. Nowe at length, let vs passe ouer these thinges, and come a little to that horrible Lestrignonian custome of those Nations, and to the situations, and buildinges of their houses and temples. The length of their kinges courtes consisteth of 100. paces, and the breadth 15. the frontes whereof are open, but are all close behinde. The pauements or floares of their pallaces are erected halfe a mans stature from the ground the rest, are nothing raysed from the earth. All their houses are made of tymbre, and couered with strawe, and haue but one roofoe or couering, without any boorded floare. Their temples also are built after the same manner: they are large, and replenished with lowe, darke, inner chappels, wherein euery noble manne hideth his housholde goddes, and they haue them also for Armories: for there with their Auncients painted with Diuelles, they keepe their warlike weapons, their bowes, quiuers, golden brest plates, and golden helmettes, and broade wooden swoordes, wherewith they fight hande to hande and their dartes also whiche they cast a farre of, and diuers ornamentes of warre, during the time of peace, and to the proper Images of the goddes left by their Auncesters, according to their abilities they slay particular sacrifices of mans flesh, and adore them with affected prayers of vowes or desires, composed by the priests after their manner.

The sixt Chapter.

The situation
of the Kings
courts and no-
blemens houses.

Gold smithes.

Pillars erected
for rhabhominable
sacrifices.

Their accursed
altar of sacrifice.

A blouddie
preacher.

Two kinds of
Sacrifices.

Large and great streetes garde the frontes of the Kinges courts, according to the disposition and greatnes of their village or towne. If the town consist of many houses, they haue also little ones, in which, the trading neighbours distant from the Court may meete together. The chiefe noble mens houses compasse and inclose the kinges streete on euery side: in the middle site whereof one is erected which the Goldsmithes inhabite. Golde is there moulten and forged to be formed and fashioned into diuers Iewelles, then being brought into small plates, or barres, it is stamped or coyned after the pleasure of the owners thereof, and at length is brought into the forme and fashion they desire, and that neatly too. Within the viewe of their Temples there are diuers Bases or Pillers like Pulpittes erected in the fieldes, of vnburnde bricke, and a certayne kind of clammie earthy Bitumen which serueth for diuers vses and effectes, which Bases consist of eight steppes or stayres in some place twelue, and in another fiftene the space of the highest parte of the toppe thereof is diuers, according to the qualitie of the designed mistery, one of these is capable of tenne men, in the middle space whereof standeth a marble stone higher then the rest, æqualling the length and breadth of a mans stature lying all along: this cursed stone is the altar of those miserable sacrifices: at the appoynted day for sacrifice, the people rounde about beholding the same, the King ascendeth another pulpitte in the viewe, to beeholde the execution thereof. The Prieste in the audience of all, from that eminent stone, standing on his feete performeth the office of a Preacher, and shaking a sharpe knife of a stone, whiche hee hath in his hand (for they haue quarries of stone in al those countries, fit for the making of hatchets and swords, whereof we may haue as many as we will, and the Cardinall Ascanius was not ignorant hereof) proclaymeth that sacrifices are to be slaine, whether they be of the bodies of their enemies, or bred at home. For there are two kinds of humane sacrifices with them: the one, of enemies taken in the warres, the other of such as are brought vp and maintained at home: for euery king, or Noble manne from their infancie maintaine sacrifices at home to be slaine, to their abilitie, they also not being ignorat wherfore they are kept and fed more daintily then the rest, who are not sadde & sorrowfull for the same, beecause from their tender yeeres they liue so perswaded, that through that kinde of death, they should be turned into goddes or heauenly creatures. Hereupon walking freely through the villages and townes, they are reuerently receiued of all that meete them, as if they were halfe deified already, and are sent away laden with whatsoeuer they demande, whether they desire any thing for foodes, or ornament: nor doth

doth he who giueth to the goddes, suppose, that day fell out vnluckily with him, wherein he bestoweth something. Therefore they diuersly handle these diuers kindes of sacrifices in offering them to their Idols. They stretch out either sacrifice on that stone flat vpon their backe, and after the like manner open them through the short ribbes, plucking out the heart, and with the blood of either obseruing the same rule, they annoint their lips, and beards, but the preaching Priest holding a knife in his hande, compassing the enimie whiche is to bee sacrificed with certayne mournfull songes, being layde along vpon the stone, goeth thrice about him, and then openeth him, and after that cutteth him into smal peeces, and being cutte diuideth him in this manner to be eaten. The handes and also the feete are both giuen vnto the king, the harts are giuen to the Priestes, their wiues, and children, who by the Law ought to haue them, the thighes are diuided to the Nobilitie, and the rest to the people in peeces: but the heads in steede of a trophy or signe of victory, are hunge vpon the boughes of certayne small trees a little way distant from the place of execution, where they are preserved for that purpose. Euery king nourisheth his appointed trees in a fielde neere vnto him, obseruing the names of euery hostile country, where they hange the heads of their sacrificed enemies taken in the warres (as our Commanders and Captaynes fasten the helmettes, colours, and such like ensignes to the walles of churches) as witnesses of their outrageous crueltie whiche they call victory. And whosoever should haue no parte nor portion of the sacrificed enimie, would thinke he shoulde bee ill accepted that yeere. But although they teare the domesticall sacrifice in peeces after the same manner, and order, yet they vse it otherwise beeing deade: they reuerence all parts thereof, and partly bury them beefore the dores of their temples, as the feete, handes, and bowels, which they cast together into a gourd, the rest (together with the hartes, making a great fire within the view of those hostile trees, with shril hymns, and applauses of the Priestes) they burne among the ashes of the former sacrifices, neuer thence remooued, lying in that fielde.

The manner of
their sacrificing.

The seuenth Chapter.

NOW when the people perceiue by the accustomed murmur, and whispering of the Priestes, that the gods lippes are rubbed, they vtter their vowes, and prayers, & desire the fertilitie of their ground and plentie of other fruits, salubrity of the ayre, & peace, or if they are to fight, victory and euery one through torment of minde earnestly intreateth them to driue from them the flies and locustes, and to remoue inundations, and drought, and violence of wilde beastes, and all aduersitie. Not content with these sacrifices, the King, Priestes, and Nobles, sacrifice to one Idoll onely with their owne bloude. This Idoll fastened to the toppe of a speare of three cubites longe, the elder sorte authorised thereunto with great pompe in the face of heauen out of the Temple, where it is religiously kept all the yeere: and it is like the infernall goddes, after the same manner that is paynted vpon the walles to terrifie men. The mytred Priestes goe before, and a multitude of people following after carry euery one their banners of wouen cotton painted with a thousande colours, with the images & representations of their diuels. From the Priestes shoulders, couered with diuers linnen clothes, certaine belts more then a finger thicke, hange downe vnto the ancles, at the fringed endes whereof seuerall purses are annexed, wherein they carry sharpe rasors of stone, and little bagges of powders made of certayne dried hearbes. The king, and his Nobles followe the Priestes behinde in their order, and after them the confused multitude of the people to a man: none that can stand on his feete may bee absent from these ceremonies. Being come vnto the appoynted place, first strawing sweete smelling hearbes, or spreading sheets or couerlettes of diuers colours vnder them, that the speare may not touch the ground, they make a stand, and the priestes supporting the same they salute their litle diuel with their accustomed songes, and hymmes: the young men leape about it tripping, & dancing with a thousande kindes of antique sports, vaunting their agiility, and nimblenesse of body by the shaking of their weapons, & targets. The priestes making a signe vnto them, euery one taketh his rasor, and turning their eyes vnto the Idoll, they gash and wound their owne tongues, some thrust them through, and the most part cut them, so that the blood issueth forth

An Idoll where-
unto the King
Priestes & No-
bles sacrifice
with their owne
bloude.
This may be
called the diuels
procession.

forth in great abundance all of them (as we sayd in the former sacrifices) rubbe the lippes and beard of that foolish Idol: then presently applying the powder of that hearbe, they fill their woundes. They say the vertue of that powder is such, that within few houres their vlcers are cured, so that they seeme neuer to haue bene cutte. These ceremonies ended, the Priestes bowe downe the speare a litle, at what tyme, the king first, then the Nobles, and lastly the people whisper the Idoll in the eare, & euery one vttereth the turbulent and tempestuous outrage of his minde, and bending the heade to one shoulder, with reuerent trembling, and mumbling they humbly beseech, that luckily, and happily he would fauour their desires. Being thus deluded by the Priestes, they returne home again. While they applyed theselues to the diligent search of these, and such like other idle toyes, beholde, first one, then another, and after that, many spies or scouts came, who brought tidinges that Diriangen was come, armed: for he came not onely with a purpose to take againe that which he hadde giuen, but also to kill our men, presuming vpon the small number of men which he had discouered, and with an hope to possesse that which our men had with them: for euen they themselues loue golde, though not as money and coyne, but for the making of Iewels, for ornament sake: hee came therefore with a great troope of men accompanying him, armed after their manner, hee setteth vpon our men, whom, if he had found vnprovidd, he had killed them euery man. So they fought fiercely vntill the night.

The eight Chapter.

HEre hee reporteth many things, which I omit, least we should be troublesome, I vnto you, & you vnto his Holinesse, and your friends: & therefore you may collect the rest. Our small company of men ouercame their great armies: hee reciteth religiously and with feare & trembling that God, who is the Lord of hostes, was present with them, and brought them safely out of that danger. Nicioianus the king left behinde, vnto whom he was constrained to returne, following the change of fortune, practised to slaughter them, & to take away from them the golde which they caryed. Ægidius Gonsalus suspecting the same, did not committe himselfe to Nicioianus. Therfore setting his men in battaile array, and so keeping them, and placing the weake wounded men, & the gold in the midst of the array of footemen in the battaile, with those 4. horsemen, and 17. shot, and bowmen, he sustained the fury of the warriours, and slewe many. That night hee slept not, at the first dawning of the day, they desire peace, and peace is græted. So they returne to the hauen of S. Vincent from whence they departed. Where they found the shippes returned, whiche had now sayled about 300. leagues to the West of an vnknowne sea, while the Admirall Ægidius made diligent search within the country. But they returned, as he saith, to repaire their ships againe in that hauen, which were bruised, and battered after many monethes wandring and sayling. Hee describeth the borderyng country of Nicoragua after this manner. On the very inner side of the Court of Nicoragua he sayth he found a lake of fresh water whiche extendeth it selfe so farre, that they coulde not discouer the ende thereof, whereupon he thinketh it may be called a sea of freshe waters, for those causes: and he further saith, that it is full of Ilands. The borderers being demanded, whether it should runne, and whether those waters were emptyed into the neighbouring sea three leagues distant thence, they plainly declared that it had no issue out: especially to that South Sea neere vnto it, but whether it fell into the other sea, hee saith, hee left them doubtfull. Therefore hee plainly confesseth, as hee himselfe reporteth by the opinion of maisters and pilottes, that they holde it for a certainty, that this is that heape or gathering together of waters, correspondent to the North Sea, and that the streight so much desired, might there bee founde. If you desire to knowe what I thinke in this case, I thinke it spoken to excuse himselfe, because hee founde not the strayght: both by reason of the nature of those potable waters, as also for that the borderers are ignorant whether those waters haue any issue out, we ought to be disquieted and tormented with the same desire, whether any strayght diuide those huge countries.

The

Diriangen with a great troope armed after their manner sets vpon the Christians.

The Christians with a small company ouercame Diriangen his great army. Nicioianus practiseth slaughter. Ægidius with his handfull of horse & foote slayes many of his men.

Ægidius returns to the hauen of S. Vincent.

A supposed Sea of fresh water.

The ninth Chapter.

STay awhile, after these letters, The letter carrier yet tarrying and almost putting on his Hat to be gone, Diecus Arias the sonne of Petrus Arias the gouernour came vnto me, & brought with him that Licentiatu Spinosa whom I mentioned before. Spinosa saith, that Petrus Arias the gouernour, & himselfe, were defrauded by this Ægidius Gonsalus, who affirmeth, that those tracts and coasts were long since discovered by them both, & that in their progresse they left the kings (who inhabited the same) in amity & peace with them. Both parties shal be heard. What Cæsar shall think good to be decreed in our Senate, such as are desirous of these things yet vntouched, shall vnderstande thereof hereafter for your sake: and so let this suffice for the present. And when occasion shall giue opportunitie, present many kisses in my behalfe to the feet of our most blessed Clement. The Spaniards will esteeme his Holines to be of so great value & price, as he regardeth you, whom for your long conuersation with them, they thinke worthily to be most highly respected of the best, and greatest. The iudgements & censures of men are often deliuered, from the elections and choyce of Princes in their ministers, and seruants.

Receiue now the third thing that came to light, while the post yet stayed, which as I suppose will be very acceptable & delightfull to his Holines to know. In that Decade directed vnto Adrian, where the description of the Ilandes of the Maluccas ingendring spices appeareth, mention is made of a controuersie that arose betweene the Castellane discoverers and the Portugalles, concerning these Ilandes being found. And we thinke it to bee so certayne a thing within our limits assigned by Pope Alexander, that for preparation of a new voyage, with no meane charge, we haue builde 6. newe ships in the Cantabrian hauē of Bilbauus & furnished the with all necessary prouision of victual, & determined, they shuld set sayle about the vernall Equinoctiall, out of the Clunian Gillecian hauen which you know, is appointed for the trading, & marchandise of spices, because for all marchants comming from the North coasts, it is much neerer, and more commodious, & a safer way, then if they should be constrained to goe to Siuill (appoynted for the Indian affaires) called the house of trafficke or trading, or into Portugall, by diuers and long windings & turnings of the shores. The Portugalles seeing almost the present ruine & ouerthrow of their estate, earnestly besought vs with their whole indeuour, that they might not sustaine so great losse, their interest & right not being first vnderstoode, for that they perswade themselues, those Ilands of y Maluccas were hitherto found out, & traded by their marriners, & y they lay within their limits, & not within the bounds of the 300. & 70. leagues assigned to the Emperor, without the Ilandes lying towards Caput Viride so called, which by Ptolomy is called the Risardinian Promontory, supposed by vs to be the Gorgones. Cæsar, as he is a louer rather of that which is right, and iust, then of riches, with a King of his kindred, especially who is his cousin germaine, & peraduenture (if the rumor spread abroad be true) should shortly become his sisters husband, granted their requestes, that the matter should bee deliberated what right they had. The ships are stayd, the preparation gaineth nothing, and the men and officers chosen for that seruice mutter thereat. Whereupon it was decreed that menne skillful in Astronomy, Cosmography, and Nauigation, and learned Lawyers also on either side, should meete together to discusse the matter in the city Pax Augusta, which the Spaniard commonly calleth Badaiozum, because that place is the bounde of Portugall and Castele. Our men went, and they came. From the Calendes of April, or thereabouts the property began to be sifted and discussed. The Portugalles who thought it not expedient to consent any iot, admit no reasons which our men brought. The Castellanes wil that the assignement of the 300. and 70. leagues should begin from the last Iland of the Gorgones called S. Antony lying to the West, & they say that it is nine degrees of longitude and an halfe distant from the knowne Meridian of the fortunate Ilands: on the contrary, the Portugalles obstinately vrge that it ought to be accounted from the first of the Ilandes, called the Ilande of Salt, which distace containeth 5. degrees of longitude. The Castellans proue their matter thus. If any Arbitrator chosen to decide controuersies betweene neighbours

A report of one Licentiatu Spinosa challenging the first discovery of the last mentioned countries to Petrus Arias and himselfe.

He reporteth a controuersie betwixt the Castellanes and the Portugalles for the title of the Maluccas.

The matter put to Committees.

The Castellanes what they alledge.

The Portugal his clayme.

contending for their boundes, shall so censure that from the known and long possessed inheritance of Iohn, his neighbour Francis shoulde haue an hundred paces, no man will doubt, that the measure is to begin from the furthest limit of the inheritance of Iohn. For if the measure be to be taken from the beginning of the mannor, or inheritance, of necessity Iohn must loose the possession of his inheritance, because by that meanes he includeth his inheritance in the couenant. Therefore the Castellanes say, either discharge the soueraignty & dominion which hetherto you haue had ouer the Ilandes Gorgones, els you must needs consent, that this question or matter of controuersie is to bee measured from the furthest shoare of those Ilandes. They stode long vpon it: but nothing concluded: because if the Portugalles shoulde haue consented to the opinions of the Castellane Iudges, they must needs confesse, that not onely the Malucca Ilandes bordering vpon the Sinenses, & the great gulfe and Promontory of the Satyri, and Gillola (whereof I spake in the Decade to Adrian) by Ptolemy as many of them thinke Catigara, a 100. and 75. degrees from the fortunate Ilandes, and 150. from the lyne diuiding the boundes of eyther King: but also Malucha it selfe, long time vsurped by them, as the Castellanes say. For the Castellanes vaunt that the Portugalles are conuicted by the authorities of Ptolomey, and other authors disputing about the longitude of degrees. The Portugalles hearing this shake their heads thereat: our mariners also returning from that vast and long nauigation, brought letters, and excellent presents from the chiefe King of those Ilandes (where they laded 5 shippe called the victory with cloues) as an euident argument of their obedience yeeled. But the Portugalles shewe no league or couenant made with any king of those Ilands: yet they say, that the name of the Portugalles came to those Ilandes, and that Portugalles were scene there. Whereunto our men answer and confesse, that they founde one Portugall, but a fugitiue, fearinge iudgement for his wicked acts committed, but none els, nor any signe or token of any other kinde of trading. What shalbe decreed by Cæsar, whereof consultation was had in our Senate before, is yet vknowne. It will be very hard for the Portugalles to be intercepted of their accustomed actions and trading, nor will it be pleasing vnto vs to loose the occasion of so great a discouery. God be present with vs. Now fare you well, from Burg the 14. day of Iuly 1524.

The tenth Chapter.

BY reason of diuers Pirats, and hostilitie with the French King, the iniury of the times barred vs of all trauailes by lande, and sea voyages. I sende therefore vnto you (after two maners) requiring the same, suche newes as came to light concerning the newe world, a fewe thinges only being added. Foure & twentie approued men of euery facultie six, to wit, Astronomers, Lawyers, Cosmographers, and Nauigators were sent with the Portugalles to the consultation of the foresaide controuersie. Few of these are known to you: but to the Popes Holynesse none. They all returned: and in the name and behalfe of others yeeled a larg account of their acts in that meeting, first to our Senate, and next vnto Cæsar. Don Fernandus Colonius the seconde sonne of Christophorus Colonius, the first searcher and discouerer of these tractes and countries, a learned man, and three lawyers, the rest being hearers, Licenciatus a Cunna, and Licenciatus Emanuelus, the one auditor of the Kings Senate, and the other, likewise of the Valledoletane Chauncery, and also Licenciatus Perisa chiefe Iudge of the Cranatensian Chauncery, as the report goeth, brought the Aduocates backe againe. What I mentioned before, was inacted, and nothing more. At the day appoynted by Cæsar, which was the last of May, the Castellane arbitrary Iudge appointed for that purpose, vpon the bridge of a riuer called Caia, diuiding Casteelle and Portugall, deliuered their sentence: nor could the Portugalles obtaine (to whome euery delay was beneficiall) that they shoulde deferre their sentence for a day or an houre: which they deliuered in this manner. That the Malucha Ilandes both by the iudgement of yong and olde, should be vnderstoode to be situate 20. degrees and more within the Castellane limits, it is so decreed. Neither doe they exclude Malucha and Taprobana, if that bee it, which the Portugalles call Zamatra. The Portugalles therefore returned hanging down their heades, and taxing whatsoever was done,

The names of
the Committees.

The sentence of
the Iudges
touching the
controuersie be-
twixt the Castel-
lans & Portu-
galles.

The Portugalles
discontented.

done, not purposing to forsake their auncient actions. And wee haue hearde that a mightie fleete is nowe sent from that young king: and they secretly giue out that they will drown and destroy ours, if it come. But we, the day before the Calends of Iuly, haue thought good in our Senate of Indian affaires, that Cæsar should decree, that before the next month of August comming, be ended, our fleete of sixe shippes should set sayle, nor shall they be commanded to fight together: if the Portugalles being more mightie, shall presume to provoke them, it is in Cæsars power to auenge himselfe by lande, if they attempt disobedience at Sea. For Portugall, as you very well knowe, is an angle or corner of Castele, and howe great a portion of Portugall, seeing in Portugall there are famous cities Metimna of the playne, a notable Mart towne, Salmantica, together with Abula, Segouia, Zamora, Taurus, & the fortunate kingdome of Toledo, and many besides, inclosed within the riuers Aua and Doria, as I often declared in my olde Decades: that countrey sometimes was a county of Castele, freely transferred and beestowed by a bountifull king vpon his nephew, by the name, and title of a king. It is also decreed, that one Stephanus Gomez, (who also himselfe is a skillfull Naugator) shall goe another way, where by betweene the Baccalaos, and Florida, long since our countries, he saith, he will finde out a waye to Cataia: one onely shippe called a Carauell is furnished for him, and he shall haue no other thing in charge, then to search out whether any passage to the great Chan, from out the diuers windings, and vast compassings of this our Ocean, were to be founde.

Of the king-
dome of Portu-
gall.

Portugal once
a County of
Castele.
Stephanus Go-
mez to be set
out for Cataia.

FINIS.

Soli Deo Laus & gloria.

The Seuenth Decade of the same Peter Martyr, dedicated to the Vicecount Franciscus Sfortia, Duke of Millaine.

AScanius the Vicechauncellor your Excellencies vncke, sometimes a most woorthy, and famous Prince amongst the Cardinales, and inferiour to none, obtayned the first front of my Decades, concerning the newe found world, because through his importunate suite, & often requestes hee commanded me, to signifie vnto his Excellency, what accidents fell out in these Western coastes, and countries. Hereof I present you this famous witnesse, indued with all vertue, and experience Marcus Caraciolus, the Apostolicall chiefe Secretary, at this present chosen the Emperor Charles his Catinensian Embassadour with you, who then was your vnckles Secretary, when the Ocean first opened her gates vnto vs, which before, vntill these times, from the beginning of the worlde, were shutte. And at that time, he saith, in his maisters behalfe he receiued my letters, and made mee suche aunswere as his maister willed him to write. Ascanius being deade, and I growing slothfull, no manne inciting, and stirring mee vp, King Fredericke (beefore his fortune was changed from a milde and gentle mother, into a cruel stepdame) hadde receiued my second Editions by the hands of his cousin germaine, the Cardinall of Aragon: then, the Popes, Leo the tenth, and his successor Adrian the sixt, inciting me by their letters, and parchment patents, vsurped the body of my scattered Decades, perswading me, not to suffer a matter of so great woorth, iniuriously to lye buried in obliuion. And you most Noble Prince, lately borne, and lately aduanced to the kingdome of your Auncesters, vnderstād what lately happened. Camillus Gelinus your excellencies Secretary, beeing Petitioner to the Emperour, I diuert these Narrations from other Princes, to your Excellencie the Lady, and mistres of my birth day. Among so many turbulent affaires, wherewith your Excellencie is incumbred, hee once or twice plainly protested with an oath, that it would be a most acceptable ease, & solace of your cares. From the first, and large bountye of the Ocean, raised by Christopherus Colonius, whatsoever went before, euen vnto these narrations, Iacobus Pierius carried in one bundell to his maister the chiefe Secretary, elected Catinensian Embassadour (when hee departed from this legation vnto you in Cæsars behalfe) to be presented to Pope Adrian: whiche were partly published by the Printers meanes, and partly written by his owne hande, out of my first coppies, and

4 K 2

examples.

The fruitfulness
of the Ocean.
He falls into
the prayes of
Hispaniola la-
maica & Cuba.

The largenes
of the supposed
Continent.
The situation
thereof.

The multitude
of Ilands on the
North side of
Hispaniola and
Cuba.

40000. Indians
caried into cap-
tivity to digg
gold.

Iucaii.

The leafe of
the trees of
these Ilands
neuer fall.

Of the tree
Iaruma and of
the wonderfull
nature thereof.

examples. He remaineth with your Excellencie vnder the same maister. For the thinges past, demaunde account of him, which if hee yeeld you not, he shall be accounted but a badde fellowe. Lette vs now briefly recite what newe thinges the pregnant Ocean hath brought forth, a short epilogue (of what is past) going beefore. For this our Ocean is more fruitfull than an Albanian Sowe, whiche is reported to haue farrowed thirtie pigges at one time, and more liberall then a bountifull Prince. For euery yeere, it discouereth vnto vs new countries, and strange nations, and exceeding great riches. Concerning Hispaniola the Queene of that huge, and vast country, where the Senate remaineth giuing lawes vnto the rest, and of Iamaica and Cuba, by a new name called Fernandina, and the rest of those Elisian Ilands, reaching vnto the æquinocctiall, within the Tropick of Cancer, wee haue now sufficiently spoken: where none of the people vnderstand the difference of day & night all the yere long, where there is neyther hard and vntemperate Summer, nor cold and frosty winter, where the trees also are greene all the yeere, laden with blossomes, and fruite together, nor all the yeere long are all manner of pulse, gourdes, melons, cucumbers, or other garden fruites wanting, where flockes, and herdes of Cattle being brought thither (for no fourefooted beast naturally breedeth there) more fruitfully increase, and grow taller, and larger bodied: as also of the supposed Continent, which in length from East to West, thrice exceedeth all Europe, no lesse also somewhere extended from North to South, although elsewhere it be comprehended within narrow straights of land. That land of the supposed Continent is extended from 55. degrees of the Pole Arctick diuiding both Tropickes, and the æquator, to 54. degrees of the Antarcticke Pole: where, at what time the Orcaides haue their Summer, they quake, and tremble for frost and Ice, and so contrary. These things your Excellency may gather by a relation to Adrian the Pope, by mee compiled, and brought vnto the city with the rest, and plainly set downe in a short parchment mapp, which I deliuered to your Secretary Thomas Mainus, when hee departed hence. Therein your Excellency shall finde the situation of all those coasts, and countries, with their bordering Ilandes. Now, let vs hasten to relate thinges which more lately happened. On the North side of Hispaniola, and Cuba, otherwise called Fernandina, of Fernando the King, so great a multitude of noble and ignoble Ilandes lie, that I my selfe (to whose handes whatsoever commeth to knowledge, is brought) dare scarcely beleeeue the number of them, which are reported. Of those within these twentie yeeres, and more, in which the Spaniardes (inhabitants of Hispaniola and Cuba) haue had to doe with them, they say, they haue passed through 400. & carried away forty thousand of both sexes, into seruitude, to satisfie their insatiable desire of gold, as wee shall heereafter speake more at large. These they call by by one name Iucaia, and the inhabitants Iucaij. Many of these Ilands consist of trees, growing of their owne nature, which are marueilous profitable. The leaues neuer fall from them, or if any fall through age, yet are they neuer left bare, for new begin to bud forth, beefore the olde leaues wither, and fayle. Nature hath giuen them two excellent trees, most worthy to bee remembred aboue the rest, the one they call Iaruma, to the other they gaue no name. This Iaruma is like a figtree, not solid, after the manner of other trees, nor hollow, and empty, like a reede: but rather like fennell gyant, or the elder tree. It yeeldeth a kinde of fruite of a spanne and an halfe long, of the softnes of a figge, sauory, and medicinable for the curing of woundes, the leaues wherof worke wonderfull effects: as certaine men of authority proued, by one example. Two Spaniards brawling, fought together, one of them, with one blow of a sword cut of almost the shoulder and arme of his aduersary, a little thin skin vnder the arme hole, where it is ioyned to the flanke, scarce sustaining the member. Whereuppon an old Iucaian woman runneth vnto him, and stayeth vp the member fallen from his place, & layeth thereon the bruised leaues of that tree, without applying any other kinde of medicine, and within few dayes after they testifie, and affirme, they saw him whole, and sound. Who so seeke knots in rushes, let them champe, and ruminat hereon at their pleasure: but wee determine to beleeeue, that this, and greater things in nature, may be done. They report, that the barke of this tree is slippery, and smooth, which not being solid, but full of pith, with little scraping is easily emptied, and made bare. Whereuppon your

your Excellency shall heare an accident most worthy the reporting, but vnhappy to the artificer, and contriuer thereof. The Lucaij being violently taken away from their habitations and places of abode, liue in despaire: and many idle drones, refusing meate, lurking, and hiding themselves in the vnfrequented vallies, desert woods, and close, and darke rockes, gaue vpp the ghost: others ended their hatefull life. But such as were of a stronger courage, vpon hope of recouering liberty, desired rather to liue. Many of these, peraduenture the wisest, if they had opportunity to escape, went vnto the more northerly partes of Hispaniola, from whence, the winds blew from their country, so that they might see the North pole a farre off: there, stretching out their armes, and with open mouth, they seemed to desire to sucke in their country breath by fetching of their wind, and many of them, breath sayling, fainting through hunger, felle downe dead. One of these more desirous of life, being a carpenter, and built houses in his countrie (although they want Iron, and steele, yet haue they axes, but made of stone, and other instrumentes and tooles, for that purpose) tooke vpon him a hard and difficult peice of worke, to bee beleeued. Hee cut of the body of the tree Iaruma, and scraping out the pith, made it empty, and hollow, hee stuffed it with the graine Maizium, and gourdes filled with water, and kept a little without, for prouision of victuall, and so filled and stopped eyther front or ende of the tree, and casting the beame into the sea, gate vp vpon it, and admitteth another man, and a woman skilful in swimming, who were of his kindred, and affinity, and with oares they driue the raft towards their country. This miserable man began that excellent inuention vnluckily, about some 200. miles off, they light on a shippe returning from Chichora, whereof wee will speake in his proper place: the Spaniardes draw the mournfull pray into the shippe, brought the beame to Hispaniola, for a witnes and prooofe of so strange a thing, and vsed that miserable store which was piled and heaped vp: many men of authoritie say, they both saw the beame of timber, and spoke with the Architect of that frame, & deuise: we haue now spoken sufficiently of the tree Iaruma, and the circumstances thereof. There is another tree very like vnto a Pomegranate tree, & no bigger, but more full of leaues, of the fruit thereof, they yeeld no reason, of the barke which is taken from the tree, (as the corke tree which is rinded euery yeere to make slippers, and yet withereth not, nor dieth, or ceaseth to beare fruit as is reported also of the Cynamō tree) almost incredible things are spoken: yet I beleue them who bitt, and tasted the barke brought from Hispaniola where this tree also groweth euery where, of the fruite whereof I sent to Ascanius Sfortia your vncke, when Colonus the first discoverer of these tractes and coastes, returning from his first voyage and nauigation, made mee partaker of many straunge things. In the ende of the second Chapter of my first Decade, your Excellencie shall finde mention made heereof: that barke resembleth the taste or smacke of Cynamon, the bitterness or biting of Ginger, and the sweete smell, and odour of Cloues. Out of our dulnesse, wee seeke strange spices, which we should not want, if such as commonly grow in our llandes, were in vse, and request: as without doubt they wilbe heereafter. The cruell and vnsatiable hunger of gold, hath violently transported the minds of the Spaniardes to the onely loue thereof: other things being contemned, although worthily precious, and profitable, are reiected as vile, & contemptible. Behold, what I report of our pepper, sent to Ascanius together with the rest, which like mallowes and nettles with vs, groweth euery where in great plenty, which being bruised, & stamped, and the bread being infused, and mingled with water, all the Ilanders eate, whereof they say there are fiae kinde. This pepper is hotter then the Malabarian and Caucasean pepper, & where twenty graines of Malabarian and Caucasean pepper would not suffice, fiae of these are enough, and they make the fleshe pottage of these fiae more sweete, and delicate, then of those twentie. The madnes of mankinde is so great, that what things he obtayneth with more difficulty, hee thinketh them to be more sweet, and profitable. This tree is famous onely for the barke, it sendeth forth for many furlonges, sauory, and pleasing smelles, and refreshing sauours, it reacheth out his broad boughes, and in the Lucaian Ilands, it is very common. So great a multitude of Doues builde their nests among the boughes thereof, that of the next borderers the Bimini great Iland, and the Inhabitantes of the countrie of Florida, passing ouer thither to catch

The desperate conditions of the captiue Indis, enticed by the cruell Spaniard.

A most strong aduenture and inuention of an India slau.

Glandes. Of the barke of a tree there, certaine rare vertues.

Auri sacra famet.

Pepper.

Doues building in trees.

Doues,

The beauty of
the women of
Lucaia.

The cleere &
spectable habit
of maides.

Ciuill obedience
against nature
and reason.

The kings care.

The golden age.

The kings
pleasure a law.

Of certaine pre-
ciour stones
found in shellfish
and sea snailles.

Doues, carry away whole shippes laden with their young: their woods are full of wild vines climbing vp the trees, as wee haue else where sayde of the woodds of Hispaniola. They affirme that the women of Lucaia were so faire that many Inhabitants of the bordering countries allured through their beauty, forsaking, & leauing their owne priuate houses, chose that for their country, for loue of them. Wherefore they say that many of the Lucaian Ilands, liue after a more ciuill manner, then in those countries which are further distant from Florida, and Bimini, more ciuill countries. It is a pleasant thing to heare how the women behaue them in attyrring themselues: for the men goe naked, but when they make warre, or vpon solemne holy daies giue themselues to dauncing, and tripping, and then for elegancy, and ornament they put on garments of diuers coloured feathers, and tufts, or plumes of feathers. The women while their childish yeeres continue, before the pollution of their Menstrua, weare nothing at all. But after that, they couer their priuities with small meshed nets of bombasine cotton, wherein they put certaine leaues of herbes. When the Menstrua begin to come, as if she were to bee brought to a man to be married, the parents inuite the neighbours to a banquet, and vse all signes, and tokens of ioyfulness, and while they be marriageable, they couer no other parte at all. But being deflowred, they weare breeches down to the knee, made of diuers stiffe, and tough herbes, or of bombasine cotton, which naturally groweth there, of which they drawe thrids and spinne, and sewe, and weaue them in: although they bee naked, yet for ornament of their beddes, and necessitie of their hanging cabbins, they make sheetes or couerlets, which they call Amacas. They haue Kings whom they so reuerently obey, that if the King commaund any to leape downe headlong from an high rocke, or top of any steepe hill, alleadging no other reason, but I command you to cast your selfe downe, he executeth the commandement of the King without delay, but within what bounds the regall authority is included, it is a sacred thing to be heard. The King hath no other care, but of the seede time, hunting, and fishing. Whatsoeuer is sowed, planted, fished, hunted, or effected by other artes, is done by the kings commandement: so that at his pleasure he diuideth these exercises and imployments man by man. The fruites being gathered, are stored and layd vp in the Kings garners: and from thence, to the vse of the people, are diuided to euery one according to their families, all the yeere long. The King therefore as the king of Bees, is the distributor, and steward of his flocke, and people. They had the golden age, mine, and thine, the seedes of discord, were farre removed from them: the rest of the yeere from seede time, & haruest, they gaue themselues to tennis, dancing, hunting, and fishing: concerning iudiciall courts of Iustice, suits of law, & wrangling, and brawling among neighbours, there is no mention at all. The will & pleasure of the King was accounted for a law. The like was obserued in the other Ilands, in all of them, they were contented with a little: they find a certaine kind of precious stone vnder the water, among the redd shellfish, greatly esteemed of thē, which they bring hanging at their eares. But they haue another more precious out of the great sea snailles, whose flesh is dainty meate, they finde redde translucide flaming stones in the braine of euery Sea snaille: such as haue scene any of them, say, they are no worse then the redd Carbuncle, cōmonly called the Rubie: they call the shellfish it selfe Cohobus, and the stones thereof they call Cohibici. They gather also bright and cleere stones vpon the land, of a yecallow, & blacke colour, of these, they bring chaines, & Iewels for ornamēt of the armes, neckes, and legges, although they went naked, when they were Lucaians. I will now speake of the situation of their cōtrie, and shortly touch their ruine and ouerthrowe.

The second Chapter.

The Lucaia sup-
posed to be
sometimes ioyn-
ed to the rest of
the great Ilandes.
The Messan-
sian straight be-
tween Sicily and
Italy.

OVR menn suppose by coniecture that the Lucaia were sometimes ioyned to the rest of the great Ilandes, and that their auncestors so thought, the Inhabitantes themselues plainly confesse. But through violence of tempestes the earth beeing by little and little swallowed vppe, they were diuided each from the other, the Sea cōming betweene them, as Authors are of opinion concerning the Messanensian straight, diuiding Sicilia from Italia, which in times past ioyned together. Wee see, and that euery where, that land ariseth in many places, and dayly

f wild vines
iola. They
g countries
se that for
lands, liue
om Florida,
men behaue
re, or vpon
gancy, and
of feathers.
Menstrua,
ed nets of
strua begin
the neigh-
e marriage-
nes down to
ch naturally
them in:
ir hanging
whom they
om an high
to cast your
within what
ng bath no
d, planted,
so that at
uites being
to the vse
eere long.
locke, and
re farre re-
themselves
uits of law,
The will &
lands, in
icious stone
ng hanging
whose flesh
Sea snail:
h, comonly
f they call
& blacke
nd legges,
ituation of

rest of the
inely con-
swallowed
authors are
th in times
laces, and
daily

daily increaseth and driueth backe the Sea, as appeareth by the cities Rauenna, and Patauim, which had the Sea neere vnto them, but now farre remoued: and that the Sea is now in many places, where land was wont to be. By a present similitude therefore wee may make coniectures of things absent. They report that the greatest part of these Ilands were sometimes most happy and blessed with diuers commodities, and profits arising out of the earth, I say they haue been, because at this present they are desolate and forsaken, as shal be remembred in his place. They say that euery one of the Lucaian Ilands are from 12. to 40. miles in circuit about, & that ther is none greater, as we reade of the Strophades, & Symplegades of our Sea, assigned to the exiled Romans, with Giara, Seriphus, & many smal Ilands besides. But they confesse these were sometimes filled with inhabitants, yet nowe desolate, for that they say, from the thicke heape thereof the miserable Ilanders were brought to the grievous seruice and labour of the gold mines of Hispaniola, and Fernandina so that the inhabitants thereof sayled, about some twelue hundred thousande men being wasted and consumed, both through diuers diseases, and famine: as also through too much excessiue labour and toyle. It grieueth mee to report these things, but I must speake truth: yet the Iucians were afterward auenged for their destruction, by slaughtering them who violently carryed the away, as in my former Decades I mentioned at large. Through the desire therefore of hauing the Iucians, after the maner of hunters who pursue wilde beastes through the woodes of the mountaines, and marsh grounds, so certaine Spaniardes in 2. barkes built at the charge of seuen men, passed ouer sea three yeeres since, out of the towne called the Hauen of Plate, situate on that side of Hispaniola, which looketh towardes the North, to the Lucaian Ilandes to take men. Although I now write these things, yet was I requested by Camillus Gilinus, to search out some thinges (not yet published) out of the printers presses concerning these discoueries, to bee directed to your Excellencie. They therefore went, and diligently searched all these Ilandes, but found no pray, because their bordering neighbours, hauing thoroughly searched the, had wasted, and depopulated them long before. And least their consortes should deride them, if they returned empty to Hispaniola, they directed their course to the North of Charles wayne. Many say they lyed, who sayde they chose that way of their owne accorde, but they affirme by a suddaine tempest arising, and continuing for the space of two dayes, they were violently carried within the view of that lande, which wee will describe, hauing seene an high Promontorie a farre off. When our men made to the shoare, the Inhabitautes astonished at the miracle and strangnes thereof, thought some monster came vnto them, because they want the vse of shipping: at the first through the greedie desire of gasing, they runne flocking together in troopes vnto the shoare, and presently (our menne landing with their boates) they all fledde away swifter then the winde, and left the shoare desolate: our menne pursue them hasting away. Certayne more swifte and nimble younge menne goe beefore the Troope, who making more speede, tooke two of them, a man, and a woman, who ranne more slowly then the rest, and bringeth them to the ships, appareleth them, & let them go. Perswaded through that liberalitie, the inhabitants fill the shoares againe. Their King also vnderstanding how bountifully our men had dealt with them, and beholding the strange, and costly garments neuer seene before, for that they cloth themselves with the skins of Lyons or other beastes for the most part, sent fifty of his family vnto our men, laden with their country prouision. And whē they came a land, hee friendly and honourably receiued them, and beeing desirous to see the country neere there abouts, gaue them guides and companions to conduct them. Where-soeuer they went, the inhabitants of the kingdome came woondering forth vnto them with presents as it were vnto the Godds which are to be adored, especially when they saw them bearded men, and clothed with linnen and silken garments. But what? The Spaniardes at length violated the fidelitie of hospitalitie. For by craft, and diuers subtill deuises, after they had diligently searched out all, they practised, that on a day many of them should come together to see the shippes, so that the shippes were filled with beholders: and as soone as they had them full of men and women, weying ancor, and hoysing sayle, they brought them away mourning into seruitude. So of friendes, they left all those countries enemies, and of peaceable

The Iucian
Ilandes viterly
depopulated by
Spanish tyranny.

Homo homini
lupus, and they
be beastes: who
hunt for men as
beastes.

2. ships set out to
take men.

The Barbarians
astonished at the
viewe of the men
and shippes fled
away.

The Spaniards
pursue and take
a man & a
woman and ap-
parell them.

Men clothed in
lions skins.

The barbarous
King sds pre-
sents of his coun-
trie prouision &
friendly receiues
the.

The trechery of
the Spaniardes
which they vse
towards these
kind barbarians.

One of the 2.
ships lost.
A note of diuine
iustice in not
suffering trechery
to escape unpunished.

Of the Bac-
chulagos.

Of the Chicanos, their manners and fashions.

Lucas Vasquez
Aiglionus.

A Chicorone christened Francie.

Envy the page
of vertue.

peaceable men, much disquieted, and discontented, hauing taken the children from the parents, and the husbands from their wiues. But of those two shippes, one onely escaped, the other was neuer any more scene: they coniecture it was drowned with the guilty and guiltles, because it was an olde shippe. That spoyle was very offensiue and greiuous to the Senate of Hispaniola, yet they left them vnpunished. And hauing consulted to sende the booty backe againe, nothing was put in execution, the difficulty of the matter being obserued, especially that one was lost. I learned certaine particulars of these thinges, of a wise man skilfull in the law, a priest, called Baualarius Aluarus a Castro. This Priest, for his learning, and honest behauiour was made a Deane of the Priory of the Conception in Hispaniola, who beeing Vicar, and Inquisitor also of heresie I may giue the better credit vnto him in these thinges. As Pliny in the description of Taprobana, the dominion of Claudius, hearing of the fame of the Romans, saith that hee must giue credit to the Embasadour, called Rachia sent from that King with three companions, so I also in these thinges whereof I doubt, giue credit to men of authority. This Priest also sayth, that after diuers complaints of those rauishes, that the women brought from thence were apparelled with the skinnes of Lyons, and the men with the skinnes of other wild beastes whatsoever. Hee sayth, those kinde of men are white, and excede the statute of common men. And beeing let goe at libertie, he sayth they were found among the dunghilles betweene the trenches before the walles seeking the rotten carion of dogges, and Asses to eate, and at length the greatest part of them died through greife, and anguish of minde: the rest that remainned, were distributed among the Cittizens of Hispaniola, to vse them at their pleasure, eyther at home, or in the gold-mines, or tillage of the grounde. Now let vs returne to their country, whence wee digressed: or to the Bacchalaos, discouered twenty sixe yeeres since from England by Cabotus, or Bacchalaais, whereof wee haue else where spoken at large, I suppose those countries ioine together. I am therefore to speake now of their celestiall situation, ceremonies of Religion, profits and commodities of the countrie, and of the manners and customes of the people. They affirme, that they lie vnder the same altitude of Degrees, and the same parrallels, vnder which Andaluzia of Spaine lyeth. They thoroughly searched the cheife Countries Chicora, and Duhare in fewe dayes space, and many of them farre extended into the lande ioyning together, where they cast ancor. They say, the Chicoranes are halfe swart or tawne, as our husbandmen are, burnt and tanned with the summer Sun. The men nourish their blacke haire downe to the girdle, and the women in longer traces round about them, both sexes tie vp their hayre. They are beardless: whether by nature, or by arte by applying some kinde of medicine, or whether they plucke of their hayre like the people of Tenustitan, it remaineth doubtfull: howsoeuer it bee, they are delighted to shewe themselves smooth. I cite another witness of lesse authority among the laitie, then that Deane among the Clergie: his name is Lucas Vasquez Aiglionus a Licenciante, a Cittizen of Toledo, and one of the Senatours of Hispaniola, partner of the charge of those two shippes: who being sent Procurator from Hispaniola came vnto our Senate of the affayres of India, and hath bene a long suiter to haue leaue to depart againe vnto those Countreys, to builde a Colony there. He brought one of the Chicoranes with him (which were brought thither) to waite vpon him, whom, being baptised he called Francis, and gaue him the surname of Chicora, of his natieue Countrey. While he staid following his affayres, I sometimes hadd both Aiglianus the maister, and Chicora his seruant my guests. This Chicorane is no dull witted fellow, nor meanelly wise, and hath learned the Spanish tongue indifferently well. Such things there as Aiglianus himselfe the Licentiate shewed vnto me set downe in writing by report of his fellowes, and which the Chicorane by worde of mouth confessed (very strange and admirable) I will heere recite. Let euery one diminish or adde to the credit of the thinges I will report, according to his inclination. Enuy is a naturall plague bred in mankind, which neuer ceaseth to scratch, and compelleth to seeke brambles in other mens fields, although they be very cleane. This infectious disease cheifly raineth in them, who are dull witted, or exceeding wise, who like vnprofitable burthens of the earth haue lead an

idle and slouthfull life, without the study of learning. Leauing Chicora therefore, they went vnto the other side of that Bay, and tooke the Country called Duharhe: Aiglianus sayth the Inhabitants thereof are white, which also Franciscus the tawny Chicorane with yeallow long hayre downe to the ancles, affirmeth. These people haue a King of a gyant like stature, and heighth, called Datha, and they say, that the Queene his wife, is not much shorter then himselfe. They haue fiue sonnes borne of them both: in steede of horses the King vseth tall young menn, who carry him on their shoulders running to and fro, to the places and lodgings hee desireth. Heere diuers reporters compelled mee to doubt, especially the Deane, and Aiglianus, nor did Francis the Chicorane who was present, free vs from that controuersie. If I shall bee demaunded what I thinke, I should not suppose that so barbarous, and vnciuill a nation hath any horses. There is another country neere vnto this, called Xapida. This, they say, ingendreth pearles, and another kinde of precious stone of the earth, which they highly esteeme, much like vnto a pearle. In all the countries which they passed through, are hearde of Deere, as of oxen with vs: they faune at home, and reare them at home, and being loosed they wander through the woods as long as light lasteth, seeking pasture, and at euening they returne to visite their young, kept in the house, and suffer themselues to bee shutte vpp within pennes, (and hauing fedd their yong) to be milked. They haue no other milke, or cheese made of other milke. They nourish many kindes of foule to bee fatted, as henns, ducks, geese, and such like. Their bread is made of Maizium, as with the Ilanders: but they haue not the roote Iucca, whereof Cazabi is made which is the food of the Nobility. The graine Maizium is very like to our Panick of Iusubria, but in bignes equalleth the pulse of pease: they sowe also another kinde of corne, called Xathi, they suppose it to bee Milium or Millet: nor doe they certainly affirme it, especially, because few of the Castellanes vnderstand what milium is, seeing they neuer sowe it in Castile. They haue some kindes of Batatas, but very little. Batatas are rootes to bee eaten, as radishes, carrots, parsnepps, turnepps, and rape rootes with vs: of these, and Iucca, and the rest seruing for foode, I haue abundantly spoken in my former Decades. They name many other countries, which they thinke to bee vnder the gouernement of one and the same King: Hitha, Xamunambe, Tihe. In this country they make report of a priestly attire differing from the people, and they are accounted for priests, and are had in great reuerence by the other bordering countries. The inhabitants heereof cut their haire, leauing onely two curled locks hanging downe from their temples, which they tye vnder their chinnes. When (as the pestilent custome among men is) they go forth to warre against the borderers, either party sendeth for them to the campe, not that they shoulde fight, but to be present at the battaile. Now when they are ready to come to handy strokes, & to incoüter, they compasse them al sitting, or lying along vpon the ground, & wett and besprinkle them with the iuice of certain herbs chewed w their teeth: (as our priests going to diuine seruiue, sprinkle the people with a wett bough or branch) which ceremony performed, they suddenly sally forth, & inuade the enemy. But they are left to guard the campe. The fight & cõflict being ended, they cure aswell wounded enemies, as frends without any difference at all & carefully apply themselues to bury the dead corses of the slaine. These people eate not mans flesh: the conquerors haue those that are taken in battaile for their bondslaues. The Spaniardes traualled through many Countries of that greate Prouince, whereof they named these: Arambe, Guacaia, Quohathe, Tanzacca, Pahor, the Inhabitautes of all which are somewhat tawny and swart. None of them haue any letters, but an hæreditary memorie of antiquities left them from their ancestors, which they celebrate, & solemnize in rimes, and songes. They exercise dauncing and skipping, and are delighted with the play of the ball, wherein they are very nimble & skilfull. The women sewe, and spinne, and although for the most part they are clothed with the skinnes of wilde beastes, yet haue they Gosampine cotton, which our Insuber called Bombasine, and they make threede of the inner rindes of certaine tough herbes, suche as hempe or flaxe is with vs. There is another Country called Inzignanin. The Inhabitautes by report of their auncestors

The Inhabitants of the country of Duhare white.

Of Datha their gyant like king.

Xapida where are pearles.

Of Deere that are naturally tame as oxen and kine.

Deeres milke, and cheese made thereof and no other.

A kind of corn called Xathy.

Rootes for eating.

Hitha, Xamunambe, Tihe. A priestly order.

Eare lockes (a pestilent custome) heere in vse.

A ceremony (of besprinkling their priests) much like the Popish holy water.

He writes this as a wonder. Arambe, Guacaia, Quohathe, Tanzacca, Pahor.

Their celebration of antiquities in rimes and songes.

Their threede made of the inner rindes of herbes.

A fabulous
tradition of
men with long
tayles.

say, that a people as tall as the length of a mans arme, with tayles of a spanne long, sometimes arriued there, brought thither by Sea, which tayle was not moueable or wauer-
ing, as in foure footed beastes, but solide, broad aboue, and sharpe beneath, as wee see
in fishes, and Crocodiles, and extended into a bony hardnes. Wherefore, when they
desired to sitt, they vsed seates with holes through them, or wanting them, digged vpp the
earth a spanne deepe, or little more, they must conuay their tayle into the hole when they
rest them: they fabulously reporte that that nation hadd fingers as broad as they were
long, and that their skinne was rough, and almost scaly. And that they were accustomed
onely to eate rawe fish, which sayling, they say all dyed, and that they left no posterity of
them behind them. They reporte, these, and many such idle vaine things were left them
by tradition from their grandefathers, and parents. Now let vs come vnto their religious
rites and ceremonies.

The third Chapter.

Where Kinges
Pallaces are
honoured as
Churches.

Adoration of
images & their
maner therein.

Offering to
Images.

Their emulation
in giuing.

THEY want Temples, so that Kinges Pallaces are honoured of them as Churches: where-
of they bring one example: wee sayd that in the Prouince Duhare, there is a Gyant King
called Datha: in whose stone Court (for other houses are built of slender timber, and
couered with reede or grasse) they found two Images male, and female, of the bignes of
a childe of three yeres old, which they call by one name Inamahari. In this pallace there is
a receit for Images. They are seene twice euery yeere, once in the time of sowing, that
the seede time may be well, and happily begun, and prosperously succede, they deuoutly
pray: the second time, concerning the fruits of the haruest, in thanksgiuing if it fell out
well, if otherwise, that they may more luckily succede, & that aswaging their anger, the
gods would carry themselues more peaceably towards them the next yeere. The Images
are carryed forth with solemne pompe, and frequent concourse of the people: but after
what manner, it will not bee vnfit to bee heard. The night before the holy day of ado-
ration, the King himselfe, hauing his bedd made in the Images chamber, sleepech before
the Images. The day beginning to appeare, the people run vnto him. The King himselfe
bringeth the Images in his armes close vnto his breast: and sheweth them on high vnto the
people, which Images together with the King, the people kneeling or prostrate on the
ground with reuerent trëbling and feare, and loude voyces, salute. Then presently the
King departing, bindeth them to the breasts of two old men of approued authority, with
linnen clothes after their manner fairely wrought of cotton. They bring them out decked
with garments of feathers of diuers colours, and accompany them vnto the open fielde with
hymnes, and songs, or with dauncing and skipping of young men and maidens. And at
that time it is not lawfull for any to stay at home, or to bee else where: not onely hee who
should bee absent shoulde be taxed with the sinne and fault of heresie, but also hee who
should exercise this ceremony coldly, or disorderedly. The men accompany them the
whole day, and the women all the night long with the Images, shewing all signes of ioy-
fullnesse, and arguments of adoration, sleepe not at all. And lastly, the next day, they
are carryed back againe vnto the Pallace after the same order that they were brought forth.
Thus much be spoken concerning their Images, from which they thinke they shall obtaine
fertilite of the fieldes, health of their bodies, and peace, or victory if they be in battayle,
if they reuerently and rightly sacrifice vnto them. They sacrifice as they did in old time,
with cakes made of corne: and they thinke their prayers shall be heard for the increase and
fruites of the field, especially if they be mingled with teares. There is another holy day
euery yeere, wherein they place a rude wooden statue, or Image in the field, vpon an high
pole fastened in the earth, accompanied with the same traine that the former were, &
hauing pitched lesser stakes, they goe about the former greate pole. And vpon these stakes
the people (euery one according to his ability) hang gifts of diuers sorts vnto the Idoll,
which at night the nobles diuide among them, as our priests doe the cakes or wafers which
women offer, or other giftes whatsoever. He that bestoweth the best oblations vpon the
Idol, is accounted more honorable. Witnesses stand by to receiue them, in steed of
Notaries,

Notaries, who (when the holy ceremonies are ended) recite what euery one hath giuen. Moued through that ambition, neighbour striueth earnestly to exceede neighbour. From Sunne rising vntill the Euening, they leape, and skip about the Idoll with much shouting, & clapping of hands for ioy, and in the first twilight of the night, hauing taken it from the pole, if they bee borderers vppon the Sea, they throw it headlong into the Sea, if of the Riuers, they drowne it in the riuers, and it is no more seene, so that euery yeere they make a new one. They haue a third festiuall day, wherein hauing taken the bones of a certaine old dead corser out of the graue, they erect a wodden pauillion in the field, after the maner of a tent. But the top being open, that they may behold heauen, laying a floore of boordes in the middle space of the pauillion, they sett vpp the bones which they had taken out of the earth. Women only stand about them mourning, and euery one of them according to their wealth and abilitie offer answerable giftes. The next day, they are carryed backe againe vnto the graue, and are accounted for an holy relique: the bones being buried, or readie to be buried, the chiefe priest playing the parte of an Orator, out of a pulpit in the midst of the throng of people standing round about, preacheth and discourseth many thinges of the prayse of the dead, and then presently, more of the im-

to the colde Northerne partes, and to the countreyes congealed with snow, and are expiated and purged with a King (who is Lorde of all the earth) called Mateczungua: and after that, they turne another way to the South countreyes, vnto the iurisdiction and dominion of another great Prince called Quexuga, who being milde and bountifull, yet lame, offereth them a thousande delightes and pleasures: where they perswade the people, the soules inioy eternall delightes, among the dancings, and songes of young maidens, and among the embracements of their children, and whatsoever they loued heeretofore, they babble also there, that such as growe olde, waxe young againe, so that all are of like yeeres full of ioy and mirth. These thinges are deliuered by worde of mouth and tradition from the Elders to the younger, for a most sacred and true hystorie, insomuch as he who but seemed to thinke otherwise, shoulde bee thrust out of the society of menne. They thinke also that men liue vppon the wheele or orbes of the heauens, and make no doubt of the Antipodes. They beleue there are Godds in the Sea, and boldly play the children as lying Grecia did, who fable of the Nereides, and Sea Godds, Glaucus, Phorcus, and the rest. These thinges thus ended by a sermon, hee seemeth to purge the people departing, and absolue them from their sinnes, applying the fume of certayne herbes vnto their nostrils, breathing and blowing vpon them, and whisperinge somewhat vnto them. Heereuppon the people returne home ioyfully, beleueing that the fained deuises of that cosening deceiuer are profitable not onely for the ease and comfort of the soule, but also for their bodily health. They also beguile the ignorant and sottish common people with another deceit, their cheife Prince dying, remouing all witnesses from him when hee is readie to giue vpp the ghost, they stand about him, and by their subtill deuises secretly faine, that when his last breath issueth out, sparkles of fire, & hot imbers come forth, as frō firebrands shaken, newly taken out of the burning fire, or from sulphury papers cast vpon high for sport and pastime. These counterfeit the dauncing and skipping Roebuckles, or wilde goates, which the people suppose to be shooting starres, running hither and thither in the ayre, and presently vanish: for at what time hee yeeldeth vp the ghost, that sparkling flame ariseth vp with a horrible cracke, three armes lengths high, & there vanisheth: that flame they salute for the soule of the dead, and giue it the last farewell, and accompany the same with lamentations, teares, and howlings, beeing so perswaded, they thinke it is departed vnto Heauen. Lastly wayling, and weeping they carry the dead corse to the graue. It is not lawfull for widdowes to marry any more, if the husband dyed a naturall death, but if he were put to death by sentence of the Iudge she hath liberty to marry. This nation loueth chastitie in women, and hateth lewde and dishonest women, and banisheth them from the company & society of the chaste. Princes are permitted to haue two wiues, the common people but one onely. The men diligently apply themselves to mechanicall arts, cheifly to the Carpenters trade, and dressing of wilde beasts

O miserable god that lasteth but a yeere and then is drowned.

Their conceit of the immortalitye of the soule and whither it goeth.

The priest absolue them from sinnes.

A policy vsed at their Princes death.

Widdowes heere may not marry againe if their husbands die a naturall death. Chastitie in women.

Their diuision of
the yeere the
same with ours.
Theeues and
robbers seuerely
punished.
No vie heere of
deadly and
damned money.
Their sports.

Feuers cured
with the iuyce of
herbes.

Choller expelled
with the herbe
Guacū.

There is rather
no want, in the
want of super-
fluities.

Natura paucis.

Their ridiculous
salutation of
their prince.

A maruelous
reporte.

skinner: the women are appoynted to exercise the distaffe, spindle and needle. They di-
uide the yeere into twelue moones, and they haue magistrates in these countries, for exe-
cution of Iustice. They punnishe wicked and mischeiuous malefactors, with seuerie iudge-
ment, especially theeues and robbers. Their kings are gyants, whereof I haue already made
mention: and all those countries are tributarie. Euery one of them pay tribute of their
profits, and reuenues, and beecause they are not cumbred with deadly and damned money,
they trade each with other by bartering, and changing their commodities. These people
are also delighted with sports and pastimes, especially with the play of the ball, or tennis,
and also with topps or giges driuen vpon tables, as likewise in shooting their arrowes at a
marke. Their nightly lightes are torches, and oyle of diuers frutes, although they plant
oliue trees. They are delighted in feasting one another: and liue long: and olde age is
strong in them. They easily cure feuers with the iuyce of herbes, and easily heale woundes,
so they be curable. They haue, and know many kinds of wholesome herbes, if any perceiue
himselfe oppressed with sharp choller, drinking the iuyce of a certaine common herbe called
Guacum, or eating the same herbe, hee vomiteth choller, & shortly recouereth health. And
they vse no other kind of medicine, or will haue any other phisitions, then experienced olde
women, or priestes skilfull in the vertues of secrete herbes. They also want our wanton su-
perfluities, and hauing not Arabian odours, perfumes, and strange spices, contenting them-
selues with such things as naturally grow in their country, they liue more cheerefully, in
better health, and are more lusty, and strong in their old age. They haue small care to
please appetite, with diuers and sundry daintie meates, little sufficeth them. They feruently
and zealously adore their gods whatsoever, wherof they make choyce. It is a ridiculous
thing to heare with what gesture the people salute their Princes, and howe the Prince being
saluted, intertaineth them, especially the Nobles. The Saluter, in token of reuerence lifteth
vp both his handes as high as his nose, and then presently stretcheth out his handes to his
forehead, and the forepart of the heade with a certaine shrill screeking bellowing almost like
a Bull. The Prince receiue the peoples salutation without any signe of courtesie, but an-
swereth the salutation of a Noble man, by bowing downe his heade to his left shoulder, not
speaking a worde. But your Excellencie shall heare an incredible inuention. I mentioned
that the chiefe tyrant or lord of those countries, was of a giant-like stature. Aiglionus the
Licenciate a graue man, and of authority, (of whom I made mention beefore) as hee had
heard by them who were partners with him in the charge of building the ships, and Francis
his housholde seruant by report of the borderers, being demanded, why he alone and his
wife should attaine to that talnesse and height of body, and none of the people besides, say,
that this gift is not hereditary vnto the by nature, or from their birth, that they shoulde ex-
ceede others by that prerogatiue: but that it proceedeth from violent art, after this manner:
while the infants are in the cradell, and vnder the breastes of the nurses, the masters of that
art are sent for, who annoint the seuerall members of the infant for certayne dayes, with
medicines of certayne hearbes which mollifie the tender bones, so that the bones being pre-
sently conuerted into the softnesse of luke warme waxe, they so stretch them out in length
often times, that they leaue the poore miserable infant almost halfe deade, and after that
they feed the nurse with certaine meates of powerfull vertue. Lastly the nurse giueth it the
brest, while it lyeth couered in warme clothes, and refresheth and chcereth the infant with
milke gathered from substantiall meates: and after some fewe dayes of refreshing, they re-
turne to the dolefull seruice of wresting and winding of the bones againe. This Aiglionus,
and Francis his seruāt, the Chicorane, report. But the Deane of the Conception, of whom
I haue made mention beefore, tolde me that hee heard otherwise (of them who were stolne
away with the shippe which escaped) then Aiglionus his companions told him, both of the
medicines, and art augmenting the body: for he saith, it is not done by wresting of the
bones, but eating of a certayne stuffing meate verie nutritiue, made of diuers hearbes stamped
together fit for that purpose, especially when they begin to growe in yeeres, at what time
nature tendeth to increase, and the meates are turned into flesh, and bones. Surely it is
maruelous, these things notwithstanding considered, what straunge matters are reported of
the

the vertues of hearbes, if their secret power were rightly vnderstood, I shoulde thinke it might be possible. But, that kings onely may lawfully eate thereof, the reason is playne and easie. He should be accounted guiltie of high treason, who durst presume so much as to tast those delicacies, or woulde require the order or manner of that Composition of the makers and deuisers thereof, because he might seeme to desire to compare himselfe with kinges, for with them, it is an vndecent thing and without maiesty, that the King shoulde not exceede the common stature, who must looke downe from on high (vpon such as come vnto him) by being higher then they, or ouerpeering them. This they gaue vs to vnderstande, and this we signifie. Lette your Excellencie giue credite thereto as you please. Wee haue spoken sufficiently of the ceremonies of their religion, and of their manners and customes: let vs nowe come to the giftes of wilde nature growing in the fieldes. Wee haue already spoken of their breade, and sorts of flesh, it now followeth that we speake somewhat of trees.

The reason why
their kinges
should exceed
others in stature.

The fourth Chapter.

They founde there growing of their owne nature whole woodes of oake, Pines, and Cypress, and Chesnutt, & Almond trees, & wild vines blacke, & white, climbing vpon the boughes of trees, without the vse of wine pressed from them, for they make drink of diuers fruites. That country also yeeldeth figgetrees, and Oliue trees of diuers kinds: and being grafted leese their wildnes, as with vs, which without culture would retaine the rude tast of nature only. They plant orchards or gardens, & abound with diuers sortes of pot hearbes and are delighted with greene plattes of ground or gardens finely manured and dressed. They also nourish trees in their orchardes. There is a particular tree called Carito, which bringeth fourth a sauory fruite aquall in bignes to a small Melon: there is also another called Guacomine, whiche yeeldeth a kinde of fruite greater then a Quince, they say it is of an excellent, and pleasing sent, and very wholesome. They plant and regarde many others besides, and many other kindes of thinges: whereof, least by reporting all at once wee ouercharge and cloy your Excellencie, we will elsewhere speake. We caused Licentiatu Aiglionus the Senator to obtaine his desire: so that now he is sent away from vs and from Cæsars maiestie through our perswasion. Hee determineth to builde a newe flete in Hispaniola, to passe ouer to those coastes, to plant a Colonie: nor shall he want folowers: for all this Spanish nation, is so desirous of nouelties, that what way soeuer they bee called with a becke onely, or soft whispering voyce, to any thing arising aboue water, they speedily prepare themselves to flie, and forsake certainties vnder hope of an higher degree, to followe incertainties: which wee may gather by that which is past. With what stomacke they shalbe receiued of the inhabitantes so greatly weakened by rauishment of their children and kindred, time shall be ludge. The like accident commeth to minde (though out of order) not to be omitted, concerning the Iucaian Ilanders, brought by the Spaniards, inhabitantes of Cuba and Hispaniola, to the grievous seruice and slauery of the Goldmines. When the Spanyardes vnderstood their simple opinions concerning the soules, which (after their sinnes purged in the cold Northerne Mountaynes) should passe vnto the South to the intent that leauing their native country of their own accord, they might suffer themselves to be brought to Hispaniola and Cuba whiche lye to the southward of those Ilandes, they indeuoured to perswade those poore wretches, and did perswade them, that they came from those places, wher they should see their parents, & children, & al their kindred, & friends that were dead: & should inioy al kind of delights, together with f imbracements & fruition of beloued things. Being infected and possessed with these crafty & subtil imaginatōs, by their own cosening deceiuers, as I mentioned before, & after by the Spaniards, singing and reioycing, they left their country, and followed vayne, and idle hope. But, when they sawe, they were deceiued, and neyther met their parentes, nor any they desired, but were compelled to vnder-goe grievous soueraignty and commaunde, and to indure cruell and extreame labours vnaccustomed, becoming desperate, they either slewe themselves, or choosing to famish, gaue vpp their faint spiritcs, beeing perswaded by no reason, or violence, to take foode, as I haue elsewhere sayde.

Vines without
knowledge of
their vse.

The tree Carito.

The tree Guacomine.

The Spanyardes
earnest in pur-
suite of nouel-
ties.

The policie of
the Spanyard
wherby hee
brought the Iu-
caians into sla-
uery.

The Spanyards
pretend conuer-
sion but exercise
subuersion and
detestable cruel-
tie.

A recitall of cer-
taine decrees
well made but ill
observed by the
Spanyards.

The heades of
Hydra.

Whether libertie
be to be giuen to
the Indians.

sayde. So the miserable Lucaians came to their ende: of whome, the number with the Spanyards is nowe very small, as of the inhabitantes themselves. But I suppose, that at the complayntes and pittifull grones of those wretched innocents, some diuine power being prouoked, affirmed reuenge of so great a slaughter, and peace of so many nations disturbed, because they confessed they were moued vnder pretence of increasing religion, and yet without any regarde they turne them to ambitious auarice, and violence. For whosoever were the first attempters or inuaders, doing otherwise then their Kinges commaunded them, were eyther slayne by them that they oppressed, or shotte with poysoned arrowes, or drowned in the sea, or grienously afflicted, fel into diuers diseases: for the decrees of the Lawes giuen them (by my testimonie, who daily considered therof with my associates) were so framed according to æquitie and iustice, that nothing might be more sacred and honest. For it was decreede for many yeeres, that they shoulde deale courteously, mercifully, and peaceably with those straunge nations borne vnder the honour of age, and that the Kinges with their subiectes assigned to euery one of the Kinges bounty, should bee vsed like tributary subiectes, and ditionaries, and not in a seruile manner, and that giuing them a due portion of flesh and breade, they shoulde bee well fedde to sustayne labour: that all necessities shoulde bee giuen them, and for their digging and myning in the day, they shoulde rewarde them with clothing and appoynted ornamentes as mercenaries, that they shoulde not want lodgings for their nightly rest, that they shoulde not bee raysed before the sunne rising, and bee brought home beefore the euening, that at certayne times of the yeere being freed from the golde-mines, they should apply themselves to the setting of the roote luca, and sowing the graine Maizium: that vpon holy dayes they should cease from all worke, be present at the churches, and presently after the holy ceremonies of religion ended, they shoulde permit them to apply themselves to their accustomed sports, and dancings, and many thinges besides compacted and composed with prudent and humane reasons, by suche as were skilfull in the Lawe, and religious men. But what? falling downe through the descending Ocean (which imitateth the whirling course of the heauens) to so straunge, foraigne, and remoued worldes, far distant from their Generalles and Commaunders, carryed violently away through the blinde desire of golde, they who departed hence milder then Lambes, arryuing there, were chaunged into rauening Woolues: vnmindful of all their Kinges commandementes. Many of them are both reprooued, fined, and punished: yet the more carefully the heades of Hydra are cut of, we see them arise and bud forth the more. I rest in that prouerbe: wherein many offend, that remaineth alwayes vnreuenged. We now begin to make new Constitutions, & decrees, and purpose to send new Gouvernors: determining to try, what fortune will haue vs doe with them that are left. And whether they ought to be free, and no labour exacted of any of them vnwillingly, nor without rewarde, we make some doubt. For through the diuers opinions of graue men, wee are ambiguously distracted: especially through the opinions of the religious of the Dominican profession, who perswade vs to the contrarie by their writings vnder their owne handes: affirming that it will bee muche better, and more secure for them, & more profitable for the health of the body, and saluation of their soules, if they bee designed to a perpetuall hæreditary obedience, then if they bee putte to temporary seruices, because they to whome hitherto they haue beene commended, at the kings pleasure, and in the name and behalfe of another who was absent, handled the matter as mercenaries. And seeing they feared, least after some fewe yeeres they shoulde be taken from them, as it is vsually doone, hauing no rewarde of the benefite of those poore wretches contrary to the articles & summe of holy lawes and constitutions, they vexed and pined both sexes in the gold-mines euen vnto the death, without respecting their age, so they might satisfie their maisters thirst of gold, and their owne. They gaue them neither necessities to maintaine life, nor prouided for their health, if it so happened, that through vnaccustomed and too much labour they fainted, and fell downe. Contrarily they say, that he who vnderstandeth that the Indians are appoynted to be transfered ouer to his heire, will indeuour as in his proper substance, not onely that they be preserued in health, but also will carefully prouide that the number of them may be increased by the pleasures receiued

receiued of their wiues and children. But they vtterly deny to giue them liberty, by many examples alledged. That those Barbarians coulde neuer attempte the destruction of the Christians, but that they executed their purposes and deuises and when it hath beene often proued whether libertie might bee profitable, it is manifestly knowne that it bred their ouerthrowe and ruine. For being idle and slothfull, they wander vp & downe, and returne to their olde rites and ceremonies, and foule and mischieuous actes. The thirde particular cause is horrible and fearefull, whereby it is proued, that especially in the supposed Continent, they are not worthy of liberty. In a certaine parte of a great Prouince of the supposed Continent in the countrey called Chiribichi, the Fryars of the Dominican profession, some twelue yeeres since erected a tēple. Through a thousands miseries of labours, and hunger, they nourished and maintained the children of kings and nobles, and when they came to more yeeres they endeoured to drawe them to religion, exhorting, admonishing, and teaching them by intermixing faire and courteous vsage. And they had so instructed many of their children, that they ministred at the altars to such as had entred into religion, and had to doe with the holy misteries, and that not rudely, and vnaptly, and vnderstoode the Spanish tongue very well. But your Excellencie shal heare an horrible wicked act committed by them. Their childish yeeres being past, scarce attaining the age wherein the tender downe beginneth to budde forth two chiefe menne of them that were instructed, whom they thought they hadde nowe drawne from the brutish nature of their auncesters to the doctrine of CHRIST, and to humane rytes, determining to flie for succour, putting on their olde skinne lyke Woolues, receiued agayne their auncient and natie vices, and corruptions, and hauing procured a great army of the bordering neighbours, they beeing their Captaynes and guides, went and assaulted the Monastery, where they hadde beene brought vp with fatherly charity. The Monastery being vanquished, and vtterly ouerthrowne, they slewe them that brought them vppe, and their fellows euery manne. Omitting circumstances, that after my sharpe accusations, you may knowe the Spanyardes deserued some excuse, if they denie that liberty should be giuen them, your Excellencie may reade one of the letters deliuered in our Indian Senate by certaine Fryars which escaped, by reason they were absent at that time in seeking prouision of foode for the rest. And this letter or handwriting was presented vnto vs when we were assembled with the chiefe manne of our Senate Garsias Louiza, a learned man in Italy, the Osomensian Prelate and (to speake after the vulgar manner) Cæsars Confessor, of the order of preaching Fryars, elected generall maister at Rome for his desert, to whom your Excellency is neyther vnkowne, nor ill accepted: receiue it therefore in the Spanish language it selfe (for to any Latinist, or Italian, it will bee easie to bee vnderstoode by reason of the affinity and propinquitie of the tongues) and I purposed so to doe, least any might argue, that I hadde changed any thing from the sense of the thing, or intent of the sender, through my translation. Lette vs therefore heare the Fryar himselfe, called Fryar Thomas Ortizius speaking Viua Voce before the Senate, and writing in the name and behalfe of others.

Of a wicked
practise of cer-
taine young men
of the Indians.

Estas son las propiedades de los Indios, por donde no merescen libertades.

Comen carne humana en la tierra firme: son Sodometicos mas que generation alguna: ninguna lusticia ay entre ellos: andan desnudos, no tienen amor, ni verguenca: son estolicos, alocados: no guardan verdad, si no es a su prouecho: son inconstantes: no saben que cosa sea conseio: son ingratisimos, y amigos de nouedades. Se precian de embeudarse que tienen vinos de diuersas yerbas, y fructos, y granos, come Zerulea, y sidras, y con tomar fumos tambien de otras, yerbas que emborrachen, y con comerlas. Son bestiales, y precian se de ser abominables en vicios: ninguna obediencia, in cortesia tienen mucos a vieios, ni hijos a padres. No son capaces de doctrina, ni castigo: son traydores, crueles, y vengatiuos, que nunca perdonan, inimicissimos de religion. Son haraganes, ladrones, son de iuyzio, muy terrestres, y baxos: no gardan fee, ni orden. No se guardan lealtad maridos à mugeres, ni mugeres a maridos. Son echizeros, y augureros, y couardes come liebres. Son Suzios: comen pioios, y arrannas, y gusanos crudos, doquiera que los hallan: no tienen arte ni manna de hombres. Quando an apprendida las cosas de la fee, dizen, que essas cosas son para Castilla, que

que para ellos no valen nada, y que no quieren mudar costumbres: son sin barbas, y si algunas les nascen, pelan las y arincanlas. Con los enfermos no tienen piedad ninguna: esta graue el enfermo, a vn que sea su pariente, ô Vezino le desamparan, ô lleuan alos montes a morir, y dexan cabe el vn poco de pan y agua, y vanse: quanto mas crescense hazen peores: hasta diez o doze annos parece que an de salircon alguna crianca, y virtud, passando adelante, se tornan como bestias brutas. En fin digo, que nunca crio Dios tan cozida gente en vicios, y bestialidades, sin mistura alguna de bondad ô policia. Agora iuzgen las gentes para que pueda ser cepa de tan malas mannas y artes: los que los auemos tractado esto auemos experimentado dellos. Mayormente el padre fray Pedro de Cordoua, de cuya mano yo tengo escripto todo esto y lo plaucamos en vno con otras cosas que me callo, hallamos a oios vistas: son insensatos como asnos, y no tienent en nada matarse.

These, and such like other things daily offer themselves in controuersie, which although they bee diuersly disputed, haue almost fallen blouddily vpon the heades of the oppressors, as I sayde before, nor did the priuate grudges and dissentions arysing for soeueraigntie take away a smal number of the Spaniards themselves, whereof I haue discoursed at large in my former Decades, where I spake of the Pinzones, the inhabitants of two townes Palos, and Moguer, on the Ocean shore, in Andaluzia, who running hither and thither along the vast shores of the supposed Continent, and the bankes of that miraculous riuer Maragnon, were shotte through, and slayne with poysoned arrowes by the inhabitants who were Caniballes, and then dressed, and serued in, in diuers dishes, as delicates to bee eaten: for the Caniballes, otherwise called Caribes, are men eaters. Of Solisius to whō the same happened on the backe side of the supposed Continēt from whose horrible mischance name was giuen to that gulfe of the sea, where Magaglianus stayed a long time with his flecte in his iourney. After this of Alphonsus Fogeda, and Iohn Cossa who with a strong army of souldiers searching the countries of Cumana, Cuqui, Bachoha, Cauchietus, and Vrabia vnappily lost their liues. Of Diecus Nicuesa, commander of 800. men or therabouts, lost after these, while wandring from the western Bay of Vrabia, he searched the coastes of Beragua. Of Iohannes Pontius ouerthrowne by the naked Barbarians, and wounded vnto death in the country of Florida first founde out by him, who afterward lying long sicke, and languishing through that wounde, dyed in the Ilande of Cuba, and of many commaunders, and armies besides slaine through the might and fortitude of the Caniballs, to whom they made dainty banquettes with their bodies: for the Caribes were found with a flecte of Canowes, to haue sayled many leagues from their borders in warlike maner and battayle array, to take men: their Canoas are boats made of one tree or piece of tymber (in Greeke called Monoxulon) whereof some of them are capable of 80. rowers. Lastly of Diecus Velasquez gouernor of Cuba called Fernandina, from exceeding great wealth and ryches brought vnto pouerty, and nowe at length deade, and of Fernandus Cortes disagreeing with deadly hatred among themselves, I haue at large discoursed of all these, Cortes onely as yet flourisheth, who is supposed to haue heaped vp treasures (in that great citie of the lake Tenustitan, vanquished & destroyed) to the summe of thirty hundred thousande Pensa, and this Pensum exceedeth the Spanish Ducate a fourth part, or quadrant: for hee commandeth many cities and Princes, with whome there is great plenty of gold, both of the ryuers and Mountaynes, nor doe they want rich caues of gold mines, but in his case peradventure the generall prouerbe will preuaile, concerning his money, fidelity, and treasure, that much lesse wilbe founde, at his departure, then fame reporteth: which time shall discover. Iohannes Ribera, known to the Embassadour Thomas Mainus, and Guillinus Cortes his agent with Cæsar, brought vp with him from his youth and partaker of all his noble and worthy acts and attempts, saith that his master Cortes hath 300000. Pensa prepared to be sent to the Emperor. But being aduertised of the taking of so many ladē ships by the French Pirates, he dare not send them away. There are also in the supposed Continent, and Hispaniola, Cuba, and Iamaica, exceeding great riches prepared, of golde, pearle, suger, & Cassia fistula growing in the Ilands, of Corinian or Coccinean wood also, vsed for the dying of wooll (which the Italian calleth Versin, the Spanyarde Brasill) commodities ready prouided. There are thicke woods of those trees

He reporteth
diuers disasters
of the Span-
yardes.

The Caribes
Caniballes or
men eaters.
Of Solisius his
end.

Of Alphonsus
Fogeda and
Iohn Cossa.

Of Iohannes
Pontius.

The Caribes a
warlike people.

Of Diecus Ve-
lasquez.

Of Fernandus
Cortes his
heaped riches &
flourishing go-
uernment.

A prouerbe.

Three hundred
thousand pensa
prepared by
Cortes to be sent
to the Emperor.
Cassia fistula,
Corinian, and
Coccinean wood.

trees in Hispaniola, as groues of firre trees, or oake with vs. While we consulted in our Senate of the affairs of India (concerning the safty, and defence of these ships) what counsell might be taken for remedy, it was decreede, & through our perswasion prouided, and commaunded by Cæsar, that euery one of them shoulde meete together at Hispaniola, the heade and chiefe place of those countries, with such riches as they had heaped vp: wherby, the ships being gathered together, from al those countries, a stronge fleete might be made, so that they might safty defende themselues from the iniury of pyrats, if they met with them. What fortune shall befall them, is reserued in the armory and storehouse of the diuine prouidence. There are some, who say, that Cortes made two golden peeces of ordinance capable of Iron bullets, as bigge as a small tennis ball stuffed. It might be peraduenture for ostentation, because the softnes of gold (in my iudgement) is not apt to sustaine and indure, so great fury & violence, or els fabulously fained, through enuy: for his worthy acts are howerly wrested with enuious, and spitefull blowes.

Future things
with God.

The fift Chapter.

While I was thus writing these things, news were brought me that 4. ships from the Indies arrayued vpon our Spanish coasts, what riches they bring, we vnderstād not yet: letters are brought frō ſ Senat of Hispaniola vnto Cæsar, cōcerning a cruell and mischieuous accidēt which lately happened, & (by coniecture) some worse matter is feared hereafter. Concerning Franciscus Garaius gouernour of Iamaica, I haue discoursed many things in my books to Adria the Pope, brought vnto the city by Iacobus Pierius. Franciscus Garaius being about to erect a Colony vpon the riuier Panucus (from whence, both the country, & the king deriue their names, & the bordering country ioyning vpon the iurisdiction of Tenustitan) twice attempted the matter, & was as often repulsed and ouerthrowne almost by the naked inhabitants: the yeere past, hee vndertooke the same Prouince againe, with 11. ships, and 700. men, and more, and manie horsemen, presuming vpon the authority of the Kinges letters, whereby licence might be giuen him to erect the desired Colonie on the banke of that riuier. This riuier is famous for the channell, able to receiue ships of great burden, and is also in stead of an hauen, because that Prouince subiect to the iurisdiction of Tenustitan, is without hauens, and a wild, and vnsecure road for shipping. Beholde Garaius, and his consorts safely arrayued. A strong and mighty tempest troubled them at Sea, and the fortune of war abandoned them to all abuses on the land, for arrayuing he lost 2. of the fleete by shipwracke, and found the banks of the riuier possessed by the souldiers of Cortes, hauing erected a Colonie there, & ordained magistrates to gouerne the people, with the assent of ſ king Panucus (because he saith those countries are his, in the right of Tenustitan, & that the ryuer Panucus is included vnder the nāe of Noua Hispania, giuen to those countries by him, & cōfirmed by Cæsar) Garaius goeth to his Comprouincials the Spaniards, inhabitants of the place, & speaketh to them. He sheweth the kings letters patents, wherein he appointeth those banks of Panucus to be inhabited by him, & that he came for that purpose. He exhorteth, & admonisheth them to obey the kings commād, and giue place to him, or retaine their Pretorian authority in his name, & not in the name & behalfe of Cortes, & ſ they should receiue frō him, & obserue the rest of their lawes & constitutions, necessary for their good, & quiet gouernmēt: but al in vaine. Hauing heard this in a long Oration, without further premeditated speech, or making any doubt at all, they answer. That, that Colonie was appoynted & erected by Cortes, vppon the soyle sometimes in the subiection of Tenustitan, which lyeth within the limits of Hispania Noua, assigned by Cæsar: & therefore it would iustly come to pas that they might be charged with trechery & treasō, if they reuolted, & harkened to the demands of Garaius. Garaius citeth, and sheweth the Kinges letters agayne. They say, that they were falsely procured, and obtayned, by misinforming Cæsar: and that they were hadde and gotten agaynst Cortes, through fauour of the Burgensian Bishoppe, President of the Indian Senate, who is offended with him for Iacobus Velasquez Gouernour of Cuba his friende, and somtimes a familiar of his brother Fonseca, a most deadly enemy to Cortes. As touching their priuate dissentions and hatred, I haue sufficiently dis-

Franciscus Garaius about to erect a Colony vpon the riuier Panucus is twice repulsed.

Garaius pleadeth the kings letters to erect his Colony but is rejected.

coursed at large in the matters concerning them both, which of themselves, fill no smal volume. Resisting, Garaius proclaymeth them guilty of treason, if they obey not the kinges commaundement. They say, they will sticke the letters on their heade, after the Spanish manner, and accept the commaundement, as farre as they ought: but for execution thereof, they say, they will take aduise of the king, or the Indian Senate, that both parties being hearde, Cæsar the King might censure, what shoulde bee most beehouefull for them to obey, and say, that they thinke Cæsar will commaunde otherwise, if he vnderstoode to what daunger so great a matter may be subiect, through this innouation: for if the Barbarians, being but lately conquered, shall perceiue that discorde ariseth among the Christians, they will indeuoure to cast of the yoke of subiection. It was at length decreed betweene them, that messengers shoulde be sent to Cortes. They doe their indeuour, and goe, and signifie the matter to Cortes. He appointeth two of his Captaynes, to indeuoure to perswade that Garaius might haue accesse vnto him, in that great city of the lake Tenustitan, the head and chiefe city of that mightie Empire, being about some 60. leagues distant from the riuier Panucus. The messengers come to Garaius, and perswade him. Garaius goeth: for he confessed he was inferior to Cortes: Cortes taketh the sonne of Garaius to be his sonne in Law, by marriage of his bastard daughter. While these thinges were thus doing, whether it were doone by the secrete counsell of Cortes, or that the inhabitants moued of their owne accorde, sette vpon the forces of Garaius, and ouerthrewe them, the Senators of Hispaniola leaue it doubtfull, whosoer wrote these thinges particularly to their particular friendes, whether this way, or that way, it little skilleth in the matter it selfe. The whole army of seuen hundred menne was ouerthrowne, and two hundred and fiftie of them are reported to bee slayne, and they write, that Garaius himselfe is deade, whether hee dyed with Cortes, or elsewhere, and whether grievously troubled with a feuer, or holpen by the beeuigne and courteous prouidence of Cortes, who freedde the man from the troubles, and incumbrances of humane cares, that hee alone might inioy the sweetnesse of his tyrannicall profession, it is vncertainly signified. For we haue neither letters from Cortes, nor from the magistrates sent to those countries, nor from any of the consorts of Garaius, but from the Senate onely of Hispaniola, writing to Cæsar, and our Senate, that one Christopherus Olitus, one of Cortes his Captaynes, arryued at the furthest wester angle of Cuba (where that Ilande fronteth Iucatan) with 300. men, and 150. horse in no meane and contemptible fleete, and they say he goeth about to seduce and drawe an hundred other fresh men from Cuba it selfe. Who accompanying him, he giueth out, that hee woulde throughly searche those countries, which lye in the middle betweene Iucatan (not yet known, whether it be an Ilande) and the supposed Continent, and there, he is reported to haue sayde, he woulde erect a Colonie. The Senators say, they were certified hereof by the Notary of Cuba, together with the diuers misfortunes that befell Garaius. Withall the Senators themselues say, that they thinke, these reportes were giuen out among the common people by false rumours of the seducer Olitus, to the intent, that beeing out of hope of reuolting to Garaius, the wanderers, and straglers (whom hee desired to haue) might the more easily turne vnto him. In another clause of the Epistle, they say, that Ægidius Gonzalez is ready in the hauen of Hispaniola, to goe to the same place, of whose nauigation by the South sea, the Embassadour Thomas Mainus hath brought with him a coppie of the discourse, vnto the Consentine Archbishoppe, to be presented to Clement the Pope: the nauigation is direct, which, it is needfull to beholde, that it may be vnderstoode, what the intent of these Captaines is in seeking those countries, by the permission and commandement of Cæsar: for Ægidius beeing returned from the South Sea, where hee founde an exceeding greate and huge Sea of fresh waters, replenished with Ilandes, hee determined to search to the North what fortune woulde affoord, concerning the Strayght so much desired. Hee therefore came to Hispaniola with the Treasures spoken of in their place, leauing the southerne fleete, that hee might builde a new one in the North. For he supposeth that the flowing of that abundance and heape of waters, breaketh out betweene Iucatan, and the Continent, by some ryuer able to receiue shippes, as Ticinus out of the lake Verbanus, and Mincius out of Benacus, and Abdia out of Larius, and

Messengers sent
to Cortes.

Garaius goeth to
Cortes.

Garaius his army
ouerthrowne by
the Tenuatians.

Cortes suspected
to make away
Garaius.

Christopherus
Olitus arrived
at the West
angle of Cuba.

Ægidius Gon-
salez and of his
nauigation to the
South Sea.

and Rhodanus out of the lake Lemanus, are seene to issue forth, that they might conuey the waters (which they had swallowed) vnto the Sea. These thinges beeing vnderstoode, and that Petrus Arias Gouvernour of the supposed Continent, about to vndertake the same matter, hath taken the same way, hauing leuied an armie of horse and foote, of no small, and contemptible number: the Senate forbad Ægidius Gonzalez to goe, least if Olitus, and Petrus Arias, & Ægidius himselfe meete together, they should kill one another: by speedy messengers, and swift shippes they admonished Petrus Arias, Fernandus Cortes, and Olitus vpon paine of treason, that none of them take armes against the other, if they met, and protested, that if they did the contrary, they should be thrust out of their gouernment with ignominy, and disgrace. This iudgement and decree of that Senate, our Senate, alloweth, what shal succeed we will write. The earnest desire of seeking this straight is so great that they obiect themselues vnto a thousand daungers: for whosoever shall finde it, if it may bee founde, shall obtaine the great fauour of Caesar with high authoritie, because if from the South Sea a passage may bee founde vnto the North, the way to the Ilands of spices ingendring precious stones preuaile be the more easie. Nor shoulde the controuersie begun with the king of Portugall preuaile, whereof I haue sufficiently spoken in my former Decades: but concerning the strayght there is little hope, yet we dissent not from the opinion of Ægidius, but that the ryuer which receiueth those fresh waters may bee founde, running to the North, seeing they manifestly know, that those waters haue no fall to the South coast. Which if it so fall out, it is shewed, that the way from either sea will bee commodious enough, because from the bankes of the fresh waters, whiche bende towards the South, to the shoare of the South sea, the distance is onely three leagues, through a broad plaine: by which Ægidius saith, it will be an easie iourney for any waines, and cartes, and very shorte to the Æquinoctiall circle.

Gonzalez his purpose forbidden by the Senate.

The straight.

The sixth Chapter.

WEe suppose also (most noble and renowned Prince) relying vpon most assured arguments, that it will come to passe, that other newe Ilandes may be found, not many yeeres hence, both subiect to the Æquator, and also neere vnto it on this side, and beyonde, as the Maluchas which are already found, and the rest described in my former Decades. For if through the vertue of the sunne about the Æquinoctiall vnder a terrestriall disposed matter, apt to receiue a cælestiall benefite offered, that aromaticall tast is infused into those trees, and other Ilandes are next vnto them, enriched with sandie golde: who dare infect mighty and powerfull nature with so great a blemish, and deface it with such iniury, that in so shorte a space of the Maluchas, as it were in the little finger of a Giant (if we consider the whole circuite) he will affirme shee hath fully expressed her force, and spent her wombe (filled with an excellent progeny) vpon so slender and small an infant? This reason issued from my braine, in the Indian Senate among my associats one example being added, that the matter might more easily be vnderstoode. I suppose I wrote the same reason to Pope Adrian, but I doe not wel remember, because the last seuentith yeare, age, and cares haue dulled my memorie, nor doe such thinges repeated vse to displease, although they haue been elsewhere seene, with out the limittes of their grounde. For tenne yeeres together in the times of Sixtus & 4. & Innocentius the 8. I liued at Rome, with her neighbourhood. Being prouoked, & stirred vp through the fame of the Granatensian wars, I went into Spaine: comming from Rome, I trauailed through the rest of Italy: I passed ouer that part of France which our Sea washeth beyond the Alpes. In those 37. yeeres wherein (through the gracious promises, & honourable receiuing into familiarity of the Catholike Princes Ferdinandus, and Elizabeth) Spaine held me. I viewed it all round about. But you wil say (most noble Prince) to what end are these things fetched? Trauailing ouer these parts, I light vpon woods of oake, & then of pine, yet mountains, & champion places, & riuers, or marishes diuiding betweene either wood, & after y I met with wildernesses of diuers trees, growing of their own nature, which tooke vp great & huge countries, and mette with such like woodes of pine, and oake, and riuers, or lakes, and

An excellent read to proue the likelihood of newe discoveries.

A digression.

passed ouer plaines not vnlike vnto the former, the subiect matter of the countries receiuing those varieties. So (most renowned Prince) on this side, beyond, & vnder the Equinoctiall Circle, the Tropicke of Cancer vnto Capricorne (which space and distance, the greatest part of the Philosophers falsly supposed to be desolate, and forsaken, being molested with the heate of the perpendicular sunne) many huge countries of lande, and vast and spacious seas lye, because the space of this circumference is the greatest, seeing it goeth aboute the whole worlde, where it most enlargeth it selfe, with the length thereof. That Circle therefore is the broadest of all. If therefore in so short a distance of lands and countryes (as I haue said) the art of powerfull nature be so great, that what commeth forth and groweth in one part of the same region, may also be founde in another drawing the same influence, in that kinde of things, which that grounde hath brought forth, who doubteth, but in this aromaticall kinde, vnder so great a cælestiall vastity, manie other countries may be found capable of the same vertue, which is bestowed vpon the Maluchas and the neighbouring Ilandes, lying partly vnder the Æquator it selfe, and partly on both sides? One of the Colledge shruggde his shoulders, that he might bee accompted the wiser in infringing my argument. Behold (saith he) no mention is made of these things by our auncesters, if they stode vpon this matter, these things should be knowne to vs, or not vnknowne to any nation. Through ignorance of learning, especially of Philosophie, and by reason of his small experience, his obiection was easily ouer throwne, the great Chancellor who highly respecteth your Excellencie, and the rest of the associates, yeelding vnto me. For I sayde, that it was farre from all admiration, because we had notice of the Maluchas, and the bordering Ilandes, but none of the rest. For the Maluchas are almost within the view of India beyonde Ganges, and are almost adioyning to the countryes of the Sinae and the great Bay of Catigara, which are knowne landes, not much distant from the Persian gulfes, and Arabia falsly called the happie, whereby, by little and little they crept vnto them, and then vnto vs (since the luxury of Rome began to increase) to our no smal losse & dammage. For the mindes of menn growe faint and effæminate, their manly courage is extenuated, through such flattering delights of odors, perfumes, and spices. But concerninge the rest of the vnknown Ilands, the reason is easily yeilded why they haue bin vnknown to this daye, because the mayne Continentes next vnto them, through the same purpose of the diuine prouidence, haue lyen vnknowne, euen vntill our times. These things considered, which are most true, if those countryes be of great courtes of the world, if there be adherent or neighbouring Ilandes of those courtes, who could walke through the halles, or search the secret roomes, when the courtes, weere yet vnknowne? we haue therefore founde the courtes when wee finde so vast and vnknown countryes, that they thrice exceede all Europe and more, if as we haue elsewhere proued, wee shall measure what came to the knowledg of menn in our time, from S. Augustine the said poynt of our supposed Continent, to the riuer Panucus 60. leagues distant (or thereabouts) from Tenustitan, that great city of the lake: we haue elsewhere largely discoursed these things. We shall also finde the rest of the members of those courts: and wee are not farr from the assurance of fulfillinge this our desire. For we thinke it will come to passe, that Sebastian Cabot (who first founde the Baccalay, to whom about the Calends of September leaue was graunted (at his request) by authority of our Senate to search that nauigation) will returne in shorter time, & more luckily, then the shipp called the Victory, which only of her 5. consorts escaped, went about the world, and returned laden with Cloues: where of I haue spoakē at large in his proper place. Cabot required of Cæsars treasury a flecte of 4. shippes furnished with all things necessary for the Sea, and with conuenient peeces of ordinance, & saith he had found cōsorts at Siuil, & mart towne of all Indian marchandises, who vpon hope of great gaine, voluntarily offered tenn thousād Ducates towards the victuallinge of the flecte, & other necessaries. About the Ides of September Cabot was sent away from vs to offer bonde to the consorts who weere partners with him. If it fell out well hee shall haue part of the gaine of those that contribute their mōv, of euery one according to his rate. It remayneth (most noble Prince) that with some likely & probable

An other excellent reason.

Odors perfumes & spices that they effeminate mens mindes.

An Allegory very witty and significant.

Sebastian Cabot and of his intended voyege.

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& probable argumēt it be declared, why I sayd, he wold return in shorter time then the Victory, & why we should think this matter should more happily succcede, least moued with a windy breath wee seeme desirous to yeeld a reason of future euent. Cabot is about to depart the next moneth of August in the yeere 1525. and no sooner surely, because thinges necessary for such a matter of importance can neither bee prepared beefore, nor by the course of the heauens, ought hee to beginn that voyage before that time: for then he must direct his course towardes the Æquinoctiall, when the sunne (depruiuing vs of summer, and the length of ½ dayes) beginneth to goe to ½ Antipodes. For he is not onely to goe the direct way to the Tropik of Cancer and the Æquator, but also 45. degrees to the Antartick to the furthest bounde of Capricornes, vnder which the mouth of the Straights of Magellane lye, by a way traded at other menns charge, and with the death of many, and not by bywayes, and diuers delayes, and turnings about, as Magellane must needes doe, who through carefull labours, and diuers hard calamities spent three yeares, wandringe in that Nauigation, and of a flecte of fīue shippes, together with the greater part of his company, lost fower, and his owne life in the ende. Of these thinges I haue sufficiently spoken at large in the Parallell compassed, directed to Adrian the Pope. For this cause therefore hee will sayle it in a shorter time, for that he is to direct his course by coasts hetherto vnknowne, but now very well knowne. But in that we suppose it wilbe with more prosperous successe, & better fortune, we may gather from hence. At what time the dayes are shortest with the people of the North, Cabot shall haue them longest. He shall therefore commodiously runne alonge those shoares, while (hauinge passed the windinge Straight of Magellane, next to the Doggstarr) he direct his course to the right hande, on the backe side of our supposed Continent, whereof our former Decades dedicated to Ascanius, your vnclē, and the Popes, Leo, and Adrian are full, and shall returne by the Zone of Capricorne to the Æquator in which space hee shall finde an innumerable number of llands seated in that huge Sea. But whence the hope of great riches ariseth vnto vs, you shall heare. The flecte of Magellane, hauing passed through the straight, sought out with so great calamity of the men, leauing all the llandes they mett with, and sawe a farr of both on the right hand and on the left, directed their eyes, and their course alwayes to the Maluchas, for all their care was of taking the Maluchas. Searchinge by the way what euery one of the other llands brought forth he cursorily passed ouer: although in many of them hee landed for watering, & takinge in of wood or necessary barteringe of thinges for victualls, yet he made litle stay, and in that short abode, hee searched the commodities of euery lland (whereunto hee went) with signes, and beekes, as well as he could, and vnderstood that in some of them the sands were mixed with much gold. And he further learned that in other of them, shrubbes or smale bushes of the best Cinamom grewe, which are like to the Pomgranate, of which precious barkes (as Maynus and Guillinus can testifie) I got some smal peeces. He likewise heard of great pearls, & other precious stones, thinges of noe slight regard. He determined to deferr the better searching of these llands vntill a more conuenient time, with open mouth and panting spirite gaping only after the Maluchas: but plotting to attempt great matters in his mynde, cruell fortune violently draue him into the handes of a barbarous and almost a naked nation, to be slaine, as hath bin spoaken in his place. If therefore from a voyage and speedy nauigation, neuer open to any beefore this, they gather such probabilities of the excellency of those llandes, what is not to bee hoped, concerninge the procuring of a settled tradinge with those llanders? For they must be curteously handled, & dealt with, without any violence and iniury, and with curteous vsage & gifts, they wilbe inticed. For those ten thousand Ducates, which Cabot is to haue of his cōsorts are to be bestowed vpon ½ busines, that victuall for two yeres may bee prouided and wages giuen to 150. men, the other part remaining, shalbe employed vpō warrs, & marchandise such as they know wilbe acceptable to the llanders, to the intent, they may willingly giue such thinges as they lightly esteeme, naturally growing w thē, for exchange of our cōmoditis, vnknown to thē, for they know not the pestilent vse of mony, & whatsoeuer is

Cabot his intended course of saylinge.

The flecte of Magellan.

sträge,

sträge, & brought frō foraine cōuntries, every natiō accōuteth it a precious thing. These throughly viewed, & hādled w̄ prudēt diligēce, they will scoure alog all þ̄ South side of our supposed Continēt, & arriue at þ̄ Colonies of Pannama and Natā erected on those shores, the boundes of the golden Castele: thē whosoeuer at that time, shalbee gouernour of that Prouince (of the Continent) called golden Castile, will certifie vs of the successe. For wee thinke of the changinge of many Gouernours, least they wax insolent through to longe custome of Empire and soueraignty, especially such as were noe conquerers of the Prouinces, for concerning these Captaines, another reason is considered: whē wee shall vnderstande the fleete hath sett sayle we will pray for their happy and prosperous successe.

The seventh Chapter.

BVt first another fleete shall depart to goe for the Maluchas, that the possessiō taken, may be maintained, nor shall it be any impediment, that hee hath admitted the king of Portugall for his sonne in lawe, to whom Cæsar hath giuen Catharine his sister of the whole bloud to wife, borne after the death of his father, a most delicate young woman of seuentene yeeres old, & a most beautifull and wise mayden. It is a vaine & idle rumor of the people, that Cæsar hath agreed with the king of Portugall to discharge his handes thereof, by reason and occasion of her dowry, being so exceeding great, and rich an inheritance although hee complayne it will bee pernicious vnto him, and to the vtter destruction & vndoinge of his poore kingdome sometimes an Earldome of Castile, if hee bee deprived of that intercourse of trading. Besides, Cæsar (who is very wise) thinketh it meete to prouide that so great iniury bee not done to the kingdomes of Castele (which it concerneth) beeing the best sinewes of all his power. Let this digression suffice concerning the Iucaians Chicora, Duhare, the Tropickes Equinoctiall, and such like. Now let mee report some new thinges out of order, which Gillinus affirmed would bee acceptable vnto you. And let vs beginn with the most notable miracle of nature, wherein wee will first declare what is reported, next, what is the opinion of the Philosophers concerninge the same, and lastly what our dul iudgment conceiuethe thereof, as our manner is in all thinges whatsoever, hardly to bee credited. In my former Decades, which wander through the world in print, mention is made of the fame and report of a fountaine, and they say, the secret force thereof is such, that through drinkinge and bathinge therein, the vse of that water maketh them that are growne old, wax younge againe: I relyinge vpon the examples of Aristotle, and our Pliny, may presume to repeat and commit to writinge, what menn of great authority dare boldly speake. For neither did the one write of the nature of liuinge creatures, which hee hadd scene, but by the only report of them whom Alexander Macedo appointed to search the same at his great charge, or did the other note two and twenty thousand thinges woorthy the obseruinge without relyinge vpon others reports, and writings. But they whom I cite in my Decades (besides the letters of such as are absent, and their report by word of mouth who often goe, and returne hether) are, that Dene, Aiglianus the Senator a lawier before rehersed, and also the third, Licentiatu Figueroa sent to Hispaniola, to be Præsident of the Senate, and to require accompt of all the magistrates of their gouernment, and to direct at his pleasure things mis-carried, and maintaine that which was directly done, to fauour the good, and punish the euill. These three agree that they had heard of the fountaine restoringe strength, and that they partly beleueed the reportes: but they sawe it not, nor proued it by experience, because the inhabitants of that Terra Florida haue sharpe nayles, and are eager defenders of their right. They refuse to intertaine any guests, especially such, who goe about to take away their liberty, & possesse their country soyle. The Spaniards brought thether by ship from Hispaniola, & by a shorter cutt from Cuba, often determined to subdue them and set footing on their shoares: but as often as they attempted the matter so often were they repulsed, ouerthrowne, & slaine by the inhabitants, whō (though but naked) yet fight they with many kindes of darts, and poysoned arrowes. The Deane gaue one example heereof.

The wonderfull
vertue of a
fountaine in
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not bly dis-
coursed of.

heereof. Hee hath a Iucaian one of his household seruants surnamed Andreas Barbatus, for that hee hauinge a beard, escaped amonge his beardles countrymen. This fellow is sayde to haue had a father now greiuously oppressed with old age. Wherefore moued with the fame of that fountaine, and allured through the loue longer of lyfe, hauinge prepared necessary prouision for his iourney, he went from his natie Ilande neere vnto the country of Florida, to drinke of the desired fountaine, as our countymen doe from Rome or Naples to the Puteolane bathes, for the recouery of their health. Hee went, and stayd, and hauinge well drunke and washed himselfe for many dayes, with the appointed remedies by them who kept the bath, hee is reported to haue brought home a manly strength, and to haue vsed all manly exercises, and that hee married againe, and begatt children. The sonne bringeth many witnesses heereof, amonge them who were carried away from his country Iucaia, who affirme they sawe him almost oppressed with decrepit age, and after that flourishinge, and lusty in strength, and ability of body. But I am not ignorant, that these things are reported, contrary to the opinion of all Philosophers, especially Phisitians, who thinke that no returne may possibly bee from the Priuation to the Habit: in the aged I confesse, the watery, and ayery vapours of the radicall humor are either expelled, or at the least diminished, but the terrestriall predominant which is cold, & drye, hath power to conuert y substance of all meats & drinckes into her corrupt, & melancholy nature, I doe not assent, that dayly more & more euen to the corruption thereof, that dulnesse decayed increaseth, the naturall heate failinge. Therefore hee that dares not beleue any thinge but that which is probable, & vsuall it wilbe demanded, how this may be, which they say. Amonge the assertions therefore of these, and the powerfull arguments of the auncient wise menn, whether so great power (exceptinge diuine miracles) may bee giuen to Nature wee doubtinge thereof: not by the medicines of Medea wherewith the Grecians fable her father in law Eson was restored to youth: nor moued by the inchauntements of Circe, concerninge the companions of Vlysses transformed into beasts, and brought home againe: but taught by the example of brute beasts, we determine to dispute of this so strange a matter, and impossible in the iudgment of many, least wee iudge menn of so great authority to haue spoken altogether in vaine. First of the Egle renuinge her age, and then of snakes, wee reade that hauinge cast their old skinn, and leauinge the spoyle amonge the brakes, or narrow clefts of rocks or stones, they wax yonge againe. The same is also sayd of the Hart (if it bee a true narration) that hauinge sucked in an Aspe by the nostrels (which he hath long sought) lyinge hid in vnmortered walles, or within the limits of hedges, in the winter time, he waxeth soft and tender like sodden flesh through force of the poyson, and wholly changinge his old skinn, taketh new flesh, and new blood againe: what shall we say of Rauens, and Crowes abstayninge from drinke in sommer about the Solstitium, duringe the blastes of the furious doggstarr, beinge taught by the instinct of nature, that in those dayes the waters of fountaines, and riuers are vnwholsom, flowinge at that time from the menstruous wombe of the earth? And of certaine others beside, of whose prouidence, no foolish and ignorant authors haue deliuered many thinges to posterity to bee read. If these things bee true, if woonder working nature bee delighted to shew herselfe so bountifull and so powerfull in dumbe creatures not vnderstandinge the excellency thereof, as likewise vngratefull: what woonder is it, if also in that which is more excellent, it engender and nourish some like thinge in her fruitefull bosome so full of variety? Out of the properties of waters runninge through diuers passages of the earth, and drawinge thence diuers colours, odors, tastes, and qualities, as also diuers waighes, we see diuers effects produced. No lesse also is manifestly known, that diuers diseased are euery where cured by the rootes, bodyes, leaues, flowers & fruites of Treces. Aboudinge fleame also being killed, or to speake more properly destroyed, choler ariseth: & contrarily the goodnes of the blood being corrupted, the purifying thereof by diminishing the same, is founde to be the iuice of flowers or hearbes, or by eating thereof, or by bathes, & medicines appropriated for y purpose. Whereupon y humors being repressed, health is conuayed to y sicke by smiting y patient. If therefore, as it is manifest, these things fall out thus in them, why shall we maruell, but that Nature beeing also a prouident mother, may as well nourish some radicall humour

The father of
Andreas Barba-
tus an old man
becomes yong
againe.

Nature.

The Eagle &
Snakes renue
their age.
The Hart.

Rauens and
Crowes abstain-
ing from drink-
ing in the dog-
dayes.

A good argu-
ment.

Of priuation a
habit.

humour to repress that terrestriall part, so that the watery and ayery vapors beinge restored, the naturall heate decayed might bee renewed in the blood, which arisinge, the dull heauines itselfe may bee tempered, and all these beinge restored, an old house supported, by such helps, may bee repayred. I should not therefore so greatly woonder at the waters of that fountaine so much spoken of, if they bringe with them some secret vnknowne power to moderate that crabbed humor, by restoringe the ayery and watery vertues. Nor yet may your Excellency thinke that this is easily obtained or that these thinges ought to bee done without torture, and distance of time, without fastinge, and abstinence from pleasinge and delightfull meates and drinckes, or without drinkinge vnsauory potions vnpleasinge to the tast: they also who are desirous of longe life, suffer their difficulties, as they who seeke bathes, and such as desire to bee cured of the troblsome disease of the poxe, which some thinke to be the Leprosie. For heereby occasion of takinge Guacum a cōmon wood in Hispaniola, they abstaine thirty dayes from all accustomed meates and drinckes especially from wine, & the Phisitians bringe them to such a dulnes through that fastinge that I should thinke a thousande kindes of diseases might bee removed without drinkinge the decoction of Guacum, which for the whole space of that time they only vse. Let vs now answeere a secret obiection, which at the first sight may seeme legitimate and iust. Some haue sayd: we haue not at any time seene or heard of any man, who attained that gift of Nature, but both hartes, & snakes, and Egles, and other liuinge creatures of this kinde, by the iudgement of wise men renewinge their old age, wee see them euery where dye, after a fewe yeares of their age and surely they relye vpon no meane and foolish argument. To these I answeere as few men haue the gift to be sharpe witted & ingenious, or to knowe what wisdom is, so is it not permitted to all Egles, harts, and Rauens to enter into the knowledge of this secret. For the knowledge of thinges in brute beasts is diuers, as in menn and though they knowe a secret, it may not yet be granted, that they shall haue power to inioy it, seeinge they may bee terrified with the memory of torments past, and the discomforts of a longe life: so that they care not to returne to that shopp to buy such wares. It must needes bee an hard mater for the fourefooted beastes, and such foules to indure so many winter coldes againe so many scorchinges of the summer sunne, and often wantes of foode. But it is much more horrible for a man, by reason of the intermixed troubles, and vexation of the minde, which the dumbe beasts want, and for a thousand miseries, and casualties in the diuers interchangeable courses of humane affaires, whereto hee is subiect, and for the cause whereof, it often repenteth many that they euer came forth of their mothers wombe, how much more to desire longer yeares through the straight and narrow passages of fire and water. Who so desire the highest degrees in the wheele of fortune, more bitterly gnawe vpon these meates: prouident nature therefore hath appointed the terme & ende of life for a speciall benefit vnto men, least they should either be too much puffed vp in pride through long life, or fallinge into aduersity, they should despaire, and therefore reuile her with cursed speeches. But if peraduenture any haue deceiued nature by such like artes and deuises, in searchinge out her secrets, and puttinge the same in practise, so that they knowe how to prolonge life, it is to bee suposed, that happeneth but to a fewe, nor to those fewe in such excellent manner, that they can bee made immortall or permitted to inioy so rare a prerogatiue any longe time. Let this be sufficient and more than enough, that I haue wandered in these arguments: And let euery one collect, or reiect, from them at his pleasure. For these my writings, whatsoever they bee, yet are they to goe to Rome vnder your Excellencies name, to the intent I may bee obedient to honorable persons greatly desiringe the same. Let vs also report certaine other thinges, though not impossible to bee credited, yet to be admired, because not knowne to any European, or inhabitante of the world hether to discovered. In the llande of Fernandina, which is Cuba, a fountaine of pitchy water bursteth out, wee haue seene the pitch brought vnto Cæsar, and it is somewhat softer then the pitch of the tree, yet fit for the colouringe and beesprinklinge of the keeles of shippes and other accustomed vses: and my selfe pausinge a litle at the straungenes of the matter, seeinge wee haue the like euent euery where before hande in a differinge thinge, I cease to woonder. Omittinge the salt of the Mountaine, of the pitts, and of the Sea coast, if the waters, retained in

The manner of
the takinge of
Guacum.

An obiection
answered.

The miseries of
long life.

Short life the
prouidence of
nature rather of
the God of na-
ture.

Immortalia hic
ne speres.

A fountaine of
Pitchy water.
Such a fountaine
as this there is
in Shropshire at
a place called
Pitchford where-
of Camden mak-
eth mention in
his Britannia.

voyde

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voyde places (as happeneth in all the kingdomes of Castele) fallinge downe somewhere by the steeppe mountaines, be conuerted through the feruent heate of the scorchinge sunne into hard and congealed salt, who will woonder, but that by the same purpose of nature, the like may also bee done, concerninge the waters of that fountaine, brought by floodes to little trenches, and lowe receptacles without the Channell of the running riuer itselfe, or vnto a plaine plott of grounde may bee thickened, and incorporated into hard pitch, the vehement heate of the sunne fallinge thereupon? There is yet another thing not to bee omitted. In the same Ilande of Fernandina there is a mountaine which yeeldeth stone bullettes, which are so rounde, that they could not bee made rounder by any artificer, and these bulletts equall the waight of mettall, fit to fullfill the raging madnes of princes in the warres. That Licentius Figueroa, who (as I sayde) was made cheefe Præsident of all the magistrates of Hispaniola, to require an accompt of the gouernment administred by them, brought many, all which, wee sawe presented vnto Cæsar: from the arquebusse bullette, that mountaine ingendereth bulletts fitt for the Canon, and the Culuerin. I vse the vulgar woordes, and names seeinge the auncient Latine tongue wanteth them, and I may lawfully cloth such things with newe apparell, as newly arise, seeing (by their leaue that deny it) I desire to bee vnderstoode. We also sawe such as he brought, which are not lesser than a filberd nutt, nor bigger than a smale tennis ball. Yet hee affirmeth that both the lesser, and the greater growe there, of their owne Nature: wee gaue one of them to a smith, to bee broaken, to knowe whether that stony matter weere mingled with any mettall: the hardnes thereof is such, that it almost broake the smithes hammer, and his anuile, beefore it would bee beaten in peeces, which beeing broaken asunder they iudged there were some vaines of mettall therein but of what nature they made no further search. These bullets are kept in Cæsars Treasury. Certaine other things (not vnpleasinge) came into my minde. I suppose they wilbee acceptable to your Excellency, or to your Courtiers desirous to reade, especially such as liue without serious employment.

Of a mountaine
in Fernandina
engenderinge
stone bulletts.

The Eight Chapter.

IN my former Decades, mention is made of an huge Sea Caue in Hispaniola and the country Guacciarima, extending certaine furlonges within high mountaines, where it looketh towards the West: by the belly or bagg of this Caue they saile. In the furthest darke bay thereof for that the sunne beames scarce come therein, yet enter into the mouth thereof at Sunne sett, they who went into the same, sayde, their bowels weere griped with horrible terrour, through the fearefull noyse of the waters fallinge into that hole from an high. What the inhabitants beeleue concerninge the mystery of the caue, left in memory from their great grandfather, it wilbee a pleasant thinge to heare. They thinke the Ilande hath a vitall spirite, and that it bloweth backe from thence, and sucketh in, and that it is sedd, and doth digest, as an hiddeous and monstous monster, of the female kinde. They saye, the hollow hole of this Caue is the female nature of the Ilande, and thinke it to bee the fundament whereby it purgeth the excrements and casteth out the filth thereof: and for prooffe heereof, the country hath the name from the Caue, for Guacca is sayd to bee a country, or neerenes, and Iarima the fundament, or place of purgation. When I heare of these thinges, I remember what rude antiquitye iudged of that fabulous Demogorgon, breathinge in the wombe of the worlde, whence they supposed the ebbing and flowinge of the sea proceeded. But let vs intermingle some true reports with fables. How happy Hispaniola is in many things, & how fruitfull of many precious thinges, I haue often spoaken in my former Decades to Ascanius, and the Popes, Leo, & Adrianus. They finde therein daily more and more many sortes of medicinable thinges. Concerninge the tree, from whose cutt bodye, brought into powder potable decocted water is made, to drawe the vnhappy disease of the pox out of the bones and marrowe, I haue both sufficiently spoaken, and now the peeces of that wood wandering throughout all Europe, make triall thereof. It ingendreth also innumerable sorts of sweete smelling thinges aswell of herbes, as trees, and great plentie of manifold droppinge gummes, in the number whereof that sort is which the Apothecaries call Animæ Album, good for easinge the paine of the head, & giddines. A certaine liquor also almost

Of a huge Sea
Caue in His-
paniola and a
pleasant storie
thereof.

Demogorgon.

Hispaniola.

Of the tre that
cures the pox.

Animæ album.

A strange report of a fish a hunter of fishes worth the reading.

like oyle, issueth out of certaine trees. A certaine learned Italian named Codrus, traouailinge ouer those places, to search the natures of things, hauinge leaue graunted him (for noe stranger may lawfully doe it otherwise) perswaded the Spaniards that it had the force of Balsamum. Now let vs repeate a few thinges of the fish wherewith they hunt to take other fishes. This, sometime prouoked mee a little to choller. In my first booke of my Decades dedicated to Ascanius, if I well remember, amonge other admirable thinges, because they bee strange, and not vsuall, I sayd, the inhabitants haue a fish, an hunter of other fishes. Some at Rome who weere apt to speake euill in the time of Leo, scornfully made a mocke at this, and many other such like thinges, vntill Iohannes Rufus Foroliuiensis the Cusentine Archbishoppe (returninge from his 14. yeeres Spanish Legation for Iulius the Pope, & Leo who succeeded, to who whatsoeuer I wrote was well knowne) stopped the mouthes of manye by his testimonye, in defence of my good name. It seemed also very hard for mee to beeleeue it from the first beginninge. Hereupon I diligentlye inquired of the foresayde menn of authority, and many others beesides. What the matter might bee concerninge this fish: Who sayde they sawe it amonge the fishers, noe lesse common then wee pursue a hare with a French dogg, or chase a boare (brought into an inclosure) with a mastiffe, and that, that fish was sauory meat, and in the forme of an Eele, and beeing no greater, it durst assaile the bigger fishes, or Tortoysees greater then a target, as a weasell seisseth on a stocke doue, and a greater pray if hee may come by it, and leapinge vp on the neck thereof, causeth it to dye. But this fish by euery fisher is kept bounde in the side of his boate, tyed with a litle corde, the station of the fish is somewhat distant from the keele of the boate, that hee may not perceiue the brightnesse of the ayre, which by no meanes hee indureth. But that which is more admirable, in the hinder part of the heade hee hath a purse which holdeth very fast, wherewith after hee seeth another fish swimminge by him, hee maketh a signe by his motion of takinge the praye: the corde beeing loosed, as a dogg vnchained, hee assaileth the praye, and turninge the hinder part of his heade, casting that purse-like skinne vpon the necke thereof leapeth vpon the pray, if it bee a great fish, but if it bee a mighty Tortoyse hee seisseth on it where it lyes open from the shell, and neuer looseth his holde till drawing the cord by litle and litle he come to the side of the boate. Then if it bee a great fish (for the Hunter careth not for litle ones) the fishers cast their harpinge Irons or hookes into it, and kill it, and after they drawe it to the view or sight of the ayer, and then the Hunter looseth the praye: but if it bee a Tortoyse the fishers leape into the Sea, and lyft vp the Tortoyse, with their shoulders while the rest of the company may lay hande thereon. The praye loosed the fish returneth to his appointed place and remaineth fixed there while hee bee fedd with part of the pray, as an hauke rewarded with the head of a quaille which shee hath taken, or else, bee sent backe againe to Hunte. Of the education or traininge vp of this fish vnder his Maister I haue sufficiently spoaken in his proper place. The Spaniards call that fish Reuersus, because by turninge it selfe it setteth vpon the pray with his purse-like skinne, and taketh it. Concerninge the Matinianian Iland, which I sayd, not that woemen only inhabited after the manner of the Amazones, but reported that I had heard so: those witnesses leaue it doubtfull, as I did then. Yet Alfonsus Argoglius Cæsars priuy Counsellor in the affaires of Casteele, and collector of the reuenues of princely Margaret Cæsars aunt who traualled through those coasts, affirmeth it to bee a true story and noe fable. I deliuer what they declare. The same Deane told mee certaine other thinges, not vnworthy the reporting, many approuinge the same. There is another Iland distant from Hispaniola about some 700. myles, next adioyninge to the Continent, named Margarita for that an infinite number of pearles are gathered there, out of shellfish: thū myles distant from Margarita in the Continent lies a Bay in forme of a bowe, like a Cressaunt or new moone, like the Iron shooe of a mule, the Spaniard calleth such a Bay an Elbowe. In circuit it is about some 30. myles: and is very famous for two prerogatiues. Whatsoeuer is washed either by the flood or stormy tempests on the shoare thereof, is full of salt: yet the ebbinges, and flowinges are very smale in all those coasts, to the northward: but in the South coasts it is contrary. Another prerogatiue is this that there is so great a benefitt and so infinite a multitude

The Matinianian Iland inhabited by woemen after the manner of the Amazons.

Margarita an Iland of pearls. Of a bay neere Margarita which hath 2. excellent prerogatiues.

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tude of fishes, especially of Pollardes & Mulletts, in that Baye, that the shippes cannot sayle through the Baye by reason of the great number of them, without danger of ouerswayinge, amonge which the fishers lightinge, are stayed for the present: wherefore castinge out their netts they easily driue the scoole vnto the shoare. There they haue a triple order of seruiceable attendants: they who stande on the shoare vp to the knees in water reach the fishes (which they haue taken with their handes) to the slaughter menn standinge within the shipp, who hauinge bowelled them cast them into the handes of their fellowes of the third order, who season the fishes with salt gathered from the shoare, prepared for that purpose. Being so salted, they spread them in the sunne vpon the sandy plaine, so that in one dayes space they are saued, and preserued, for that the sunne beames are exceedinge hot there, both beecause they are next vnto the Æquinoctiall, and the plaine is compassed about with mountaines, into the which the wheeling sunne beames fall, as also for that naturally the sunne more vehemently heateth the sande, whereon it beateth, then the cloddy or turfie earth. Beeing dried they gather them euen to the ladinge of their shippes. Of salt in like manner: so y every one may freely lade their shippes with both commodities. They fill all the neighbouringe cōtries with those fishes: nor doth Hispaniola it selfe the generall mother of those countries, almost vse other salt fish, especially of that kinde. But concerninge pearles, how they bee ingendred, increase, and are taken, I haue at large declared in my former Decades. The same men of authority also (whom I haue often at home with mee by reason of the affaires wherewith they haue to doe in our Senate) say, there are two smale riuers in Hispaniola, and the Priorye of the Conception, the one called Baho, the other Zate, retayninge their auncient country names. Now the Spaniardes by reason of the medicinable properties thereof which I will declare, call them Conualentia, where they ioyn together. Through so long a voyage at Sea wherein from the straightes of Gades to the beeginninge of Hispaniola, they sayled little lesse then 5000. myles through the Ocean, in the view only of the heauens and waters, through the chaunge also of meates and drinkes, but cheifely of the ayer (for that Hispaniola and Iamaica are situated many degrees to the Æquinoctiall beyonde the Tropick of Cancer, but Cuba standeth in the very line of the Tropick which the Philosophers (some few excepted) thought to bee vnhabited through the scorching heate of the sunne) they say, that such as lately came vnto them, for the most part fell into diuers diseases, and they who went vnto the waters of the riuers Baho, and Zate, now intermingled in one Channel, with drinkinge, & washing therein, were purged and censed, in the space onely of fiftene dayes and in as many more were perfectly cured of the paine of the sinewes, and marrowe, and such also as had burninge feuers, & weere payned with the swellinge of the lunges, were healed: but if they indeouored to wash them selues, or vse them longer, they shoulde fall into the bloodie flixe. Thereupon, they who desire to gather golde out of the sandes thereof (for there is noe riuier that yeeldeth not golde nor any part of the earth without golde) dare not send diggers or labourers into the Channels of those riuers before noone or suffer them to drinke those waters, though they bee pleasant, and well relishinge, beecause they easily procure the flixe, especiall in such as bee healthy and sounde. The same menn also say, that in the North angle of the country of Guacca Iarima of Hispaniola, many llandes of a smale circuit lie together in a short tract, which they thinke were sometimes ioyned. One of these excelleth the rest for notable fishing called Iabbaque producinge the last sillable saue one: the sea betweene those llandes in some places is very shallowe, and full of shoulds, but heere and there betweene, lie deepe pitts, and huge and many whirlepooles. They say, the pitts or deepe places, are filled all the yeere with diuers fishes, as it were, gathered together into a safe place of succour as the owner may sweepe heaped corne out of the floore, so (they affirme) such as goe thither may after the same manner deale with the fishes and with litle trouble, and paines they may lade their shippes. It is a pleasant thinge to heare, what they report concerninge certaine sea foules, eagles, and great vultures, by their speaches I coniecture them to bee the raueninge foules called Onocrotaly: For (they say) they haue a wide and large throate so that one of them swallowed halfe a rugge whole, wherewith a soldier couered himselfe, which hee cast vpon the foule seisinge vpon him with

Of their catch-
ing and saltinge
of their fish.

Baho & Zate
two riuers in
Hispaniola me-
dicinable waters.

Cuba situate in
the lyne of y^e
Tropick which
the Philosophers
thought to be
inhabitable.

Marke this
parenthesis.

Guacca Iarima.

Iabaque an lland
of excelēt
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Whirle pooles
of fishes.

Of deuouring
Sea foules a
pleasant relac^t.

open mouth in the sight of all the standers by, and (they say) it was plucked out of the throate of the deade foule, without any losse or harme done vnto the garment. It is reported shee deuoured liuinge fishes of fīue pounce waight at one swallowe, and greater. But when they are fedd with fishes, it will not bee amisse to tell, after what manner they get the pray swimminge vnder water in the Sea, seeinge they diue not as other seafoles Geese, Duckes, & cormorants do: wheeling about and mountinge aloft into the ayre like Kites, and wanton sportinge foules, they watch when the fish commeth to the brimme of the water to the bright ayre. For there is a great flocke of them that flye houeringe about, so that sometimes many of them furiously cast themselues downe together to take the praye, insomuch as the sea it selfe is opened an armes length and an halfe wide: with that great noyse the fish floteth amazed, and suffereth himselfe to bee taken. Two of the company for the most part take one fish: then is it a delightfull and pleasinge spectacle to beehold their conflict from the ships, if they happen to bee present, or else to looke vppon them from the shoare: neyther of them leaueth the pray, while hauing torne it in peices, each of them bring away their parte. They say it is a birde with a bill of a spanne and an halfe long, & more hooked and crooked, then any other rauening foule hath, with a very long necke, and with much more wide and spreading wings, then an Eagle or Vultur, but so carrion leane, that it scarce equalleth the flesh of a Ringdoue. Therefore to sustaine the waight of her huge throate, prouident nature hath giuen her great winges, seeinge shee had no neede thereof to carry her light body: the Spaniards call these fowles Alcatrazes. Those countries abound with many other fowles besides, vnknowne to vs: but especially Parrats of diuers colours, and bignes of body, which equall cocks, and excede them in greatnes, and which are scarce so bigge as a little sparrow, are found there: and great multitudes of Parrats are no lesse commonly ingendred there, then Rauens and layes with vs: and it is there generall foode, as blackbirdes, and Turtles are with vs, and they nourishe Parrats at home for delicacy and delight, in steede of Linnets, or Pyes. There is also another gift of nature not to bee concealed.

The description
of a filthy fowle.

Parrats of diuers
Colours.

The ninth Chapter.

The Colony of
Zanana.

IN Hispaniola there is a Colony full of Hauens, called Zanana, because it lyeth in Zanana, that is to say, a moorish and grassie plaine, commodious for the nourishing and feeding of Oxen, and horses, for the Spanyarde calleth the like plaine Zanana: this Colonie hath a famous riuer. At certaine times of the yeere, it receiueth such store of raine water into the channell, that it filleth all the plaine (though very large) the letts of hilles and limitts withstanding, that the waters cannot haue their free course into the hauen: and that flood bringeth with it so great plenty of Eeles, that the riuer returning to the channell, the Eeles remayne a farre off on the dry land as it were intangled among the marish weedes, and thicke canes, whiche naturally grow there. At report and fame thereof, the Mariners with the consent of the borderers, if at any time they went in due season, might lade their shippes with that fish if they pleased: but if after the flood, (as it often falleth out through the diuers disposition of the heauens) such as seeke Eeles prolong or deferre their comming, or if impatient of delayes they purpose to be gone, because they went before them, least the inhabitants exceeding abundance of putrified Eeles, corrupt the ayre, they driue heardes of swine into the plaine, & make a dainty feast to the hoggs, whereof (of a fewe carried thether from hence) there is an incredible multitude in those llandes. By the nature and inclination of the heauen, all foure footed beasts are eyther great with young, or giue sucke to their young, all the yeere long, and oftentimes both: they affirme that young Cow-calues, & Marefoles conceiue the tenth moneth, and often bring forth two at one burthen, and that they liue longer then else wher vnder the ayre of our climatts. And this they proue by one example. The Deane, of whom I haue often spoken, is reported to haue transported a Cow to Hispaniola sixe and twenty yeeres since, which is yet liuing, and by testimony of the borderers, yeerely calueth, and hee vaunted before me (for he is yet with vs) that by that Cow onely, & her calues calues, and successiue offspring, hee hadd gotten heardes of aboue 800. head of cattle. They report the same of all fowles, that beeing scarce driuen out of the nest, and but yet growing, they go to ingender new posteritie. Hee is woorthy of another commendation

Fruitfulness of
Cattle.

The Deane of
the Conception
his Cow.

Fruitfulness of
fowles.

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commendation among the Inhabitantes of the Priory of the Conception, the scate of his creanery, that he was the first that planted the trees of Cassia fistula, the former by liuing Deatures, the other, by planting himselfe whereby they say, they grew to haue such plenty of those trees (as great as Mulbery trees) in Hispaniola, Cuba, and Iamaica, (whose rich abbilike Priory gratiuous Cæsar lately gaue me) that within few yeeres we may thinke, a pound thereof will be valued at that price for which the Apothecaries now sell an ounce. But there ariseth no sweet or liquerish thing in humane affaires, but it bringeth some cockle with it. So great abundance of ants runneth to the smell of these trees, that whatsoever is sowed among them, or neere about them is deuoured by them, so that they now become very troublesome to the Inhabitants. They report pleasant stories concerning the coddles of this tree, or rather sheathes by reason of their length. The windes blowing, especially when they begin to ripen, there is such a conflict betweene them, that a thousand flockes of geese and duckes seeme to make a noyse or gagle among them. By that concourse, through the quality of the tart or ripe iuyce, or through the waight of the small seedes, and marrow or substance of the codd, they say that sweete melodies of diuers sounds are caused. Concerning the tree, which I might rather call a stalke or stem of an herbe, because it is pithy, like a thistle, not solid, although it arise to the heighth of a bay tree, many things are to be repeated: but heereof mention is briefly made in my former Decades. They who inioy this tree, call it a Plane tree, although it differ very muche from a Plane tree, and hath no resemblance or affinity with the Plane tree. For the Plane tree is a solid tree, full of boughes, and more full of leaues then other trees, barren, high or tall, and long lasting. I suppose your Excellencie, hath sometimes heard. But this, as I sayd, is almost bare, and empty, yet fruitfull, a little branching, dull, and brickle, with one twigg onely, without boughes, contented with a few leaues an armes length and an halfe from the top, and two spans broad, from the bottome sharpe, very like the leaues of canes or reedes, when they become weake through the cold of winter, they hang their heades, and bowe themselues downe to the ground, drawne with their own waight, and this tree is so prodigall and lauish of her vegetatiue life, that it withereth, waxeth olde, and dyeth the ninth month from the time it beganne to growe, or when it continueth longest, the tenth. It suddenly groweth, and being growne vp, it nourisheth a few clusters or bunches of berries, from the body thereof. Every cluster bringeth forth thirty coddles, and sometimes a few more. These, in the Ilands grow in the clusters to the very precise forme and bignes of a garden cucumber, and so become greater, but in the Continent much bigger: the greene ones are sower, and tart, but being ripe they waxe white, or shining. The pulpa or substance thereof is very like freshe butter, both in softnes, and tast, it seemeth vnpleasant to him that first tasteth it, but to such as are accustomed thereunto, it is most delightfull. The Egyptian common people bable that this is the apple of our first created Father Adam, whereby hee ouerthrew all mankind. The straunge and forraine Marchantes of vnprofitable Spices, perfumes, Arabian effeminating odours, and woorthlesse precious stones, trading those Countries for gaine, call those fruites the Muses. For mine owne part, I cannot call to minde, by what name I might call that tree, or stalke in Latine. I haue read ouer certaine Latine Authors, and haue questioned some of the younger sort, who professe themselves to be best Latinists, but no man directeth me. Plinie maketh mention of a certaine fruit called Mixa. One (not vnlearned) sayth, it should be called Mixa, because it seemeth to differ little from Musa in the diuersity of the word, or sound. But I conseat not vnto it, because Plinie sayth, that wine is made of Mixa. But it is absurd to thinke that wine might be made of this. I haue seene many of these, and haue not eaten a fewe, at Alexandria in Ægypt, when for my Catholike Princes Fernando and Elizabeta, I executed my Soldanian Legation. It is farre from my iudgement and conceit, that wine may be wronge out of it. Now let vs declare whence this tree came to the Spaniards the Inhabitants of those countries, and why it is now so little regarded and accepted. They say, it was first brought from that part of Æthiopia commonly called Guinea, where it is very familiar, & common, and groweth of the owne accord: being set, or planted, it is enlarged to such a growth and increase, that many

Antes.

The melody that the winds make in the Cassia tree.

The Plane tree.

The Cassia tree grows vp and withereth in nine moneths.

The opinion of the Egiptians.

The Cassia thought to be first brought out of Guinea.

repent

The Cassia
where it is
planted maketh
the earth barren
and cannot be
killed.

A tree.

A tree that
carrieth wooll.

Bexucum a tree
whereof ropes
are made.

The deuils de-
part, the Spa-
niardes come in,
which is worst.

A discourse of
gnats and how
they are caught
by the Cucuij.

repent that euer they nourished or planted it in their country farmes: wheresoeuer it is once planted, it maketh the earth vnpromisable for the increase of other things (contrary to the liberality of Lupines, which fatten the ground with their twisted grasse or stalkes) it nourisheth and spreadeth the rootes thereof more abundantly then the fearn of the mountaines, so that the field that hath receiued it can neuer any more be purged or cleansed with any plow-share, or mattock, but through the perpetuall growth thereof, arising from euery little or hayry roote, new sprouts bud forth againe, which so suck the liuing mother, when they come forth from the bottome of the body of the tree, that they drawe out all the strength thereof, and bring it to vntimely destruction. The like also happeneth afterward to the sprouts themselves, as it were in reuenge of their impietie towards their mother, that hauing yeelded fruite, they presently dye: it is so bricke, and frayle, that although it swell to the bignes of a mans thigh, and grow to the heighth of a Lawrell tree, as hath beene sayd, yet it is easily ouerthrowne or cut downe with the stroke of a sword, or cudgell, like the plant of fennell gyant, or of a thistle. There is a tree in Hispaniola (and in the iurisdiction of an olde king called Mocarix, from whom the country retaineth yet the name) which equalleth the broad spreading Mulberry tree ingendring gosampine cottō at the endes of the boughs thereof, no lesse profitable then that which is sowed euery yeere, and yeeldeth fruite. Another tree bringeth forth wooll, as with the Seres, fit for the making of threed, and for weauing. But they haue no vse thereof at all, because now they haue exceeding great plenty of sheepes wooll, yet haue they no workemen to this day, who apply themselves to the making or spinning of wooll. By little and little they will augment the Mechanicall arts, as the people increase. Nor is it to bee omitted, by what meanes nature of her owne accord giueth them ropes, and cordes. There is no tree almost, from whose rootes, a certaine herbe like Verben spouteth not, they call it Bexucum, it climeth vp like hoppers by the body of the tree, holdeth faster then Luie, reaching to the highest boughs, and windeth and twisteth it selfe about the tree in such a multitude of wreathes, that it couereth it, as it were a friendly helpe, and a little shadow, to secure it from the heate. Nature seemeth to haue ingendred it to binde great burthens together whatsoeuer, or to sustayne ponderous and waighy thinges, and also to fasten and tye beames, and rafters of houses together: they say that the ioynts set together with Bexucum, are more safely bounde, then those that are fastened with Iron nayles: because it neuer either rotteth with the showers of raine, or waxeth drie with the heate of the Sunne, and that it giueth way a little without breaking, if the house happen to be shaken with the fury of a violent whirlewinde, beeing all of timber. (The Inhabitantes call those raging boysterous windes Furacanes, which vse to plucke vp huge trees by the roots, and often ouerthrow houses:) such as were compact and set together with nayles, the nayles being plucked out, fell a sunder, but such as the knotty bandes of Bexucum tyed together, wagged, and wauered onely when they were shaken, and after returned to their place, the ioynts beeing closed againe. They say, they were greatly vexed with these furious whirlewindes after our manner, from the very first beginning that Hispaniola was inhabited by our menne, which blowing, infernall deuils were often seene. But they affirme, that horrible calamity ceased, since the Sacrament of the Eucharist was vsed in the Iland, and that the deuils were no more seene, which familiarly vsed to shew themselves to auncient people in the night: therefore they themselves made their Zemes, that is to say, their Idols which they adored, of wood, or of Gosampine cotton stuffed to the hardnes of a stone, in the likenes of walking spirites, as paynters vsed to drawe hobgoblins vpon the walles to terrifie and affright men from errors. Amonge other things I sent two of those Zemes (brought thence by Colonius the first discoverer of the secrets of the Ocean) to Ascanius your vnclē, while his fortune was a mother. Of Bexucum, as many cubits as one hath neede of for his present vse, euery one may draw out as it were by one continued threed. Let this suffice for Bexucum: now let vs endeouour to declare another admirable benefitt of nature. In Hispaniola and the rest of the Ocean Ilandes, there are plashy and marish places, very fitt for the feeding of hearded of cattell. Gnattes of diuers kindes, ingendred of that moyst heate greiuously afflict the Colonies, seated on the brinke thereof, and that not onely in the night, as in other countries: therefore the inhabitants

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inhabitants build low houses, and make little doores therein, scarce able to receiue the maister, and without holes, that the gnats may haue no entrance. And for that cause also they forbear to light torches, or candels, for that the gnatts by naturall instinct follow the light, yet neuerthelesse they often finde a way in. Nature hath giuen that pestilent mischeife, and hath also giuen a remedy, as she hath giuen vs cates to destroy the filthy progeny of mise, so hath shee giuen them prety, and commodious hunters, which they call Cucuij. These be harmeles winged wormes, somewhat lesse then backes or reeremise, I shoulde rather call them a kinde of beetles, because they haue other winges after the same order, vnder their hard winged sheath, which they close within the sheath when they leaue flying. To this liuing creature (as we see flyes shine by night, and certaine sluggish woormes lying in thicke hedges) prouident nature hath giuen foure very cleare looking glasses: two in the seate of the eyes, and two lying hid in the flanke vnder the sheath, which he then sheweth, when after the manner of the beetle, vnsheathing his thin winges, he taketh his flight into the ayre, whereupon euery Cucuius bringeth foure lights or candels with him. But how they are a remedy for so great a mischeife, as is the stinging of these gnatts, which in some places are little lesse then bees, it is a pleasant thing to heare. Hee, who eyther vnderstandeth he hath those troublesome gueses (the gnattes) at home, or feareth least they may get in, diligently hunteth after the Cucuij, which hee deceiueth by this meanes and industry, which necessity (effecting wonders) hath sought out. Whoso wanteth Cucuij, goeth out of the house in the first twilight of the night, carrying a burning fier-brande in his hande, and ascendeth the next hillocke, that the Cucuij may see it, and swingeth the fier-brande about calling Cucuius aloud, and beateth the ayre with often calling and crying out Cucuie, Cucuie. Many simple people suppose that the Cucuij delighted with that noyse, come flying and flocking together to the bellowing sound of him that calleth them, for they come with a speedy and headlong course: but I rather thinke the Cucuij make hast to the brightnes of the fier-brande, because swarmes of gnatts fly vnto euery light, which the Cucuij eate in the very ayre, as the Martlets, and Swallowes doe. Beholde the desired number of Cucuij, at what time, the hunter casteth the fier-brande out of his hande. Some Cucuius sometimes followeth the fier-brande, and lighteth on the grounde, then is hee easily taken, as traualyers may take a beetle (if they haue neede thereof) walking with his winges shutt. Others denie that the Cucuij are woont to bee taken after this manner, but say, that the hunters especially haue boughes full of leaues ready prepared or broad linnen cloathes, wherewith they smite the Cucuius flying about on high, and strike him to the ground, where hee lyeth as it were astonished, and suffereth himselfe to bee taken, or as they say, following the fall of the flie, they take the praye, by castinge the same bushie bough, or linnen cloath vpon him: howsoeuer it bee, the hunter hauinge the hunting Cucuius, returneth home, and shutting the doore of the house, letteth the praye goe. The Cucuius loosed, swiftly flyeth about the whole house seeking gnatts, vnder their hanging bedds, and about the faces of them that sleepe, whiche the gnatts vse to assaile, they seeme to execute the office of watchmen, that such as are shutt in, may quietly rest. Another pleasant and profitable commodity proceedeth from the Cucuij. As many eyes as euery Cucuius openeth, the host enioyeth the light of so many candels: so that the Inhabitants spinne, sewe, weaue, and daunce by the light of the flying Cucuius. The Inhabitantes thinke that the Cucuius, is delighted with the harmony and melodie of their singing, and that hee also exerciseth his motion in the ayre according to the action of their dauncing. But hee, by reason of the diuers circuits of the gnatts, of necessity swiftly flyeth about diuers wayes to seeke his foode: and our men also read, & write by that light, which alwayes continueth, vntill hee haue gotten enough whereby he may be well fedd. The gnats being cleansed, or driuen out of doores, the Cucuius beginning to famish, the light beginneth to fayle, therefore when they see his light to waxe dim, opening the little doore, they endeouour to set him at libertie, that hee may seeke his foode. In sport, and meriment, or to the intent to terrifie such as are affrayd of euery shaddow, they say that many wanton

The manner of
taking the
Cucuij.

wanton wild fellowes sometimes rubbed their faces by night with the fleshe of a Cucuius beeing killed, with purpose to meete their neighbours with a flaming countenance, knowing whether they ment to goe, as with vs sometimes wanton young men, putting a gaping toothed visard vpon their face, endeuour to terrifie children, or women who are easily frighted: for the face being anointed with the lumpe or fleshy parte of the Cucuius, shineth like a flame of fire, yet in short space that fiery vertue waxeth feeble, and is extinguished, seeing it is a certayne bright humour receiued in a thin substance. There is also another wonderfull commodity proceeding from the Cucuius: the Islanders appoynted by our menn, goe with their good will by night, with 2. Cucuij tyed to the great toes of their feete: (for the traualer goeth better by direction of the lights of the Cucuij, then if hee brought so many candels with him, as the Cucuij open eyes) he also carrieth another Cucuius in his hand to seeke the Viæ by night. Viæ are a certayne kinde of Cony, a little exceeding a mouse in bignesse, and bulke of bodie: which four-footed beast they onely knewe, before our comming thither, and did eate the same. They goe also a fishing by the lights of the Cucuij, vnto the which art they are chiefly addicted, and exercised therein from the cradell, that it is all one with eyther sexe of them to swimme, and to goe vpon the drie land: and it is no wonder, the childe birth of those women considered, who when they know it is time to bee deliuered of the childe being ripe, they goe forth vnto the neighbouring wood, and there taking holde of the boughes of any tree with both their handes, they are disburdened without the helpe of any midwife, and the mother herselfe speedily running, taketh the childe in her armes, and carryeth it vnto the next riuier. There shee washeth herselfe, and rubbeth, & dippeth the childe often, and returneth home againe without any complaint, or noyse, and giueth it sucke, and afterwarde as the manner is, shee washeth herselfe, and the childe often euery day. All of them doe the like after one manner. There are, who say, that the women being ready to bee deliuered, goe forth to the waters themselues, where (as they report) they stay with their leggs wide open, that the childe may fall into the water. Diuers report diuersly concerning these things. While I was writing this discourse of the prety Cucuius, a little before noone, accompanied with Camillus Gillinus (whom I make my continuall companion, both because hee is your Excellencies seruant, as also for his pleasing disposition and behauiour) Iacobus Canizares the doore-keeper of Cæsars chamber, came vnto me vnexpected, who also from the first beginning of these things (together with no small number of Palatines, the familiar frindes of the Catholicke Princes Ferdinando and Elizabeth, young men desirous of nouelties) went with Colonus himselfe, when hauing obtayned the second flecte of 17. shippes, hee vndertooke the matter or discouery of the Ocean: whereof I haue sufficiently, and at large discoursed to Ascanius. He declared many things in the presence of Gillinus, while wee were at dinner. Who when he saw I had made mention of the Cucuius, sayth, that in a certaine Iland of the Canibals, in an exceeding darke night, when they went a shoare and lay on the sandes, hee first saw one onely Cucuius, which comming forth of a wood neere vnto them, so shined vpon their heads, that the company might perfectly see, and know one another: and hee affirmed with an oath, that by the light thereof, letters might easily bee read. Also, a citizen of Stiull, a man of authority, called P. Fernandez de las Varas, one of the first inhabitants of Hispaniola who first erected an house of stone from the foundation, in Hispaniola, confesseth the same, that by the light of a Cucuius hee had read very large letters. Nor will I omitt what hee reported concerning certayne small slender Greene snakes very dangerous. Hee sayth, that these serpents speedily creepe vnto the trees neere vnto the wayes, and when they perceiue any traualer about to passe that way, they take holde of a bough with their tayle, hanging thereat, and loosing themselues from the bough, they assaile the traualer vnawares, and leape against his face, that they may hitt him on the eye, and hee sayth that their property and nature is, to ayme at no other place, saue the bright luster of the eye: but fewe fall into that mischeife, by reason that long experience hath made them wary, to take heede howe they goe to neere suspected trees as they passe by: this woorthie manne reporteth that one of them leaped downe

The great benefit inhabitants haue by the Cucuij.

Viæ a kind of Conies little bigger then mice.

The manner of the childe-birth amonge their womenn very strange.

Another notable report of the Cucuij.

Of a small Serpent with a dangerous & strange propertye.

downe vppon him, which somewhat astonished him, and hadd hurt him, if (admonished by an Ilander who was his companion) hee hadd not stretched out his left hand against it descending vppon him. They say that the sting of this Serpent is hard. They also adde moreouer that it is true which is reported concerning an Iland replenished only with women archers, who are eager and stout defenders of their shoares and that at certaine times of the yeere the Caniballes passe ouer vnto them for the cause of generation, and that after they be great with childe they endure the companie of a manne no longer, and that they sende away the Male children, and retayne the Females: whereof, I made mention in my former Decades, and left it supposed to bee halfe fabulous. A little before, I declared, that Alphonsus Argoglius the Secretary sayde the same that Canizares didd, heere I learned an excellent poynt, omitted then, beecause ample mention was made concerning the Religious rites and Ceremonies of the Ilanders: for neyther doth hee who runneth on horsebacke, attayne to the ende of the goale or race at one leape, nor doe shippes passe ouer the whole Sea, with one blast of winde.

Hee againe
confirmeth the
report formerly
made of the
Ilands of wo-
men.

The tenth Chapter.

While the estate and condition of kinges florished the King on certaine dayes by messengers, and common cryers commaunded the subiectes of his dominion to bee called to celebrate their sacred and religious rites. At which time, neatly dressed after their manner, and painted with diuers colours of herbes, as we reade the Agathyrsi sometimes did, all the men came, especially the young men: but the women resorted thither naked, without any kinde of colouring or painting, if they had neuer beene defloured, but such as hadd knowne a man, couered their priuities with breeches onely. Both sexes in steede of belles, filled their armes, thighes, calues of their leggs, & ancles with shelles of certaine shellfish fastened vnto them, which made a sweete rattling sound at euery motion, as for the rest, they were all naked. Being thus laden with shelles, shaking the earth with their feete, tripping, singing, and dauncing, they reuerently saluted their King, who sitting in the entrance of a gate, beating on a drumme or taber with a stick receiued them comming vnto him. When they were about to sacrifice to their Zemes, to their Idoll (I say) like the infernall spirites as they are painted, and to the ende that beeing purged they might bee more acceptable to their godd, euery one thrusting the hooke (which alwaies on these dayes they carry in their handes) downe into their throat euen to the weesell, or vuula, they vomited, and voyded their glorious ostentation, euen to the emptying of themselues. Afterwardes they went into the Kinges court, and all sate before their princely Zemes, in a rounde circle or ring, after the manner of a Theater, as it were in the turning circuites of a Labyrinth, with their feete vnder them like a Tayler, almost trembling through pietie and feare, they beheld their Zemes wry necked, bending their heades to one shoulder, and praied that their sacrifices might not be displeasing to their godd. While these thinges, were thus done in the court of their drumming king the women were busily employed in another place, in offering cakes, a signe giuen by the Bouiti, the women crowned with garlands of diuers flowers, dancing, and singing their hymnes (which they call Areites) offer cakes in baskets very fairely wrought and platted in. In their entrance they began to compasse them that sate, who (as though they had beene raysed by a suddaine leape) together with the women (by their Areites) extolled their Zemes with wonderfull praises and commendation, and singing, recited the renowned actes of the ancestors of their King. And after this, they gaue their Zemes thanks for benefits past, and humbly besought him to prosper their future estate, and then at length both sexes kneeling offered cakes vnto their godd, the Bouiti hauing receiued them, sanctified them, and cut them into as many small little peeces, as there were men there. Euery one brought home his portion vntouched and kept it the whole yeere for an holy relique. And by the perswasion of the Bouiti, they thought that house to bee vnlucky, and subiect to many dangers of fire, and whirlwindes which they call Furacanes, if it wanted the like little peece of cake. But your Excellency shall heare another ridiculous matter of no small moment: after their oblations, hanging with

A discourse of
the blind cere-
monies & su-
perstition of the
Ilanders.

The Bouiti the
name of their
priests.



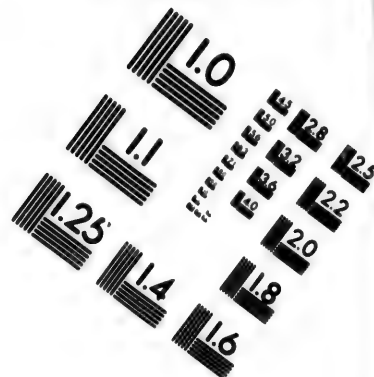
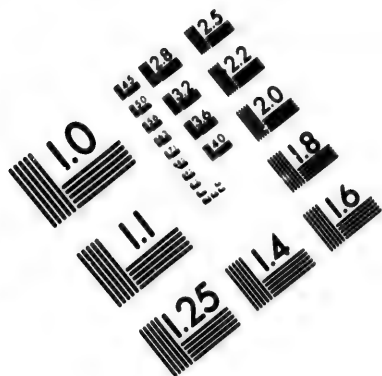
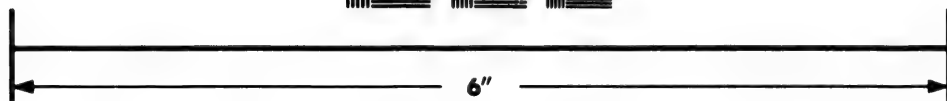
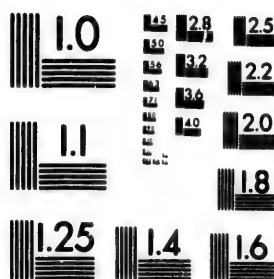


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open mouth they expected answers from their wooden, or bombasin cotton stuffed Godd, as simple antiquity did from the Oracle of Apollo. And if eyther by winde included, or deluded by the Bouiti, they perswaded themselves that a voyce came from their Zemes, which the Bouiti interpreted at their pleasure, they went forth cheerefully singing, and making melody, lifting vp their voyces in commendation: and spent the whole day in the open ayre exercising sports, and dauncing. But if they went out sorrowfull hanging their heades, supposing their Zemes to be angry, & tooke that silēce for a greiuous and ominous signe, they feared diseases, & other losses would follow thereon, and if war assayed them, they greatly feared vnhappy successe. Both sexes going forth sighing, with their hayre hanging loose, & with aboundant shedding of teares, casting away their ornaments, pined theselues with fasting, & abstinence frō sweet & pleasant meats, euen to extreme faintnes, vntil they thought they were reconciled to their Zemes. This Iacobus Canizares, & his cōpanions report. If you demand (most renowned Prince) what I think here of, I say, I should iudge they are deceiued by their Bouiti, priests, and Phisitions, through some Magicall or deluding arte. For they are greatly giuen to diuination euen from their ancestors, to whom infernall spirites often shewed themselves by night, and told them what they commaunded, as in my former Decades I haue at large declared. They are also in some place in the supposed Continent incumbred with vayne and idle ceremonies woorthie the reporting. The great and mighty Riuer Dabaiba, which as Nilus is sayd to fall into the Ægyptian sea by many mouthes, so runneth it into the Bay of Vrabia of golden Castile, and that greater then Nilus: what people inhabite the same hath beene sufficiently spoken in his place. Now let vs declare the rites & customes hitherto vnknowne, but lately reported vnto mee by the Inhabitantes of Darien. There is an Idoll called Dabaibe, as the riuer is, the chappell of this Image is about 40. leagues distaunt from Darien, whereunto the Kings at certaine times of the yeere send slaues to bee sacrificed, from very farre remooued countries, and they also adore the place with exceeding great concourse of people. They kill the slaues before their godd, and then burne them, supposing that flaming odor to be acceptable to their Idoll, as the light of a taper, or the fume of frankincense is to our Saints. They say, that within the memory of their greate grandfathers, all the riuers, and fountaines fayled, through the displeasure of that angry Godd: and that the greater parte of the men of those countries perished through hunger, and thirst, and such as remayned aliue, leauing all the montanous places, descending to the plaines neere vnto the Sea, vsed pitts digged on the shoare in steede of fountaines. Therefore all the Kings mindefull of so greate a destruction, through religious feare, haue their priestes at home, and their Chappels compassed with countermures, which they sweepe, and cleanse euery day, & are very carefull that no hoarenes, or mouldines, nor so much as an herbe, or other filth bee in them. When the King thinketh to desire of his particular Idoll, eyther sunshine, or raine, or some such like thing which the neighbourhood wanteth, hee with his priestes getteth vp into a pulpitt standing in his domesticall Chappell, not purposing to departe thence, vntill they haue obtayned their requests from the godd, ouercome by their intreaty: they vrge, and vehemently desire him with effectuall prayers, and cruell fasting, that they may obtayne their desires, and humbly pray that they may not be forsaken. Being demaunded to what god they poure forth their prayers, the Spaniardes who were present, reporte, they answered, that they prayd to him, who created the Heauens, the Sunne, and the Moone, and all inuisible thinges, from whom all good thinges proceede. And they say that Dabaibe, the generall godd of those Countries, was the mother of that Creator. In the meane space, while the King, and his companions continue praying in the temple, the people (being so perswaded) macerate themselves with greiuous fastinges for foure dayes space, for, all that time, they take neyther meate nor drinke. But the fourth day, least the stomacke shoulde bee oppressed, beeing pinched with so greate hunger, they onely supp the thinne broth of the liquid pulse, made of the flower of Maizium, that so by little and little they may recouer their decayed strength. But it is not vnfit to bee heard, after what manner they are called, and summoned to their religious, and sacred rites, or what instruments they vse. One day (the cursed thirst of gold prouoking thereunto) the Spaniardes

The Oracle.

The authors opinion of the Oracle.

Dabaiba compared to Nilus.

The Idoll Dabaibe.

A tradition of the anger of their god.

An answer not answerable to their Idolatry. Dabaibe the mother of the Creator.

Their summons to religious service by belles as ours.

Spaniardes hauing leui'd a strong power of armed menn, went to passe through the banks of that riuer Dabaiba. Heere they light vpon a King whom they ouerthrew, and hadd from him about fourteene thousande pensa of gold, brought into diuers formes, very fairely wrought, among which they found three golden trumpets, and as many golden belles, one of the belles weyed sixe hundred pensa, the other were lesser. Beeing demanded, for what seruice they vsed the trumpets, and belles, they answered (as they say) that they were wont to vse the Harmony and Concent of Trumpets to stir them vp to mirth vpon their festiall dayes, and times to sport, and that they vsed the noyse and ringing of belles to call the people to the ceremonies of their religion. The clappers of the belles seemed to bee made after our manner, but so white, and cleere, that at the first sight, saue that they were too long, our menne woulde haue thought they hadd beene made of pearles, or of the Mother of pearle, in the ende they vnderstoode they were made of the bones of fishes. They say, the eares of the hearers are delighted with a sweete and pleasant sounde, although the ringing of golde vseth to bee dull. The tongues or clappers moued, touch the lippes or brimmes of the belles, as wee see in ours. A thousand three hundred sweete sounding little belles of golde, like ours, and golden breeches, or cod-peeces (wherein the Noblemen inclose their priuities, fastened with a little cotton cord behind) were in this booty and praye. It is very necessary and expedient for their Priestes to beware of all luxury, and carnall pleasure, if any (contrary to his vowe and purpose of chastity) shall be found to bee polluted, hee shall eyther bee stoned to death, or burned, for they suppose chastity pleaseth that God the Creator. What time they fast, and giue themselves to prayer, hauing washed and rubbed their faces, (when at other times they walked alwayes painted) they nowe lifted their handes, and eyes to heauen, and abstaine not onely from harlots, and other venereous actions, but also from their owne wiues. They are such simple men, that they know not how to call the soule, nor vnderstand the power thereof: whereupon, they often talke among themselves with admiration what that inuisible and not intelligible essence might bee, whereby the members of men and brute beastes should be moued: I know not what secret thing they say, should liue after the corporall life. That (I know not what) they beleue that after this peregrination, if it liued without spott, and reserued that masse committed vnto it without iniury done to any, it shoulde goe to a certayne æternall felicity: contrary, if it shall suffer the same to be corrupted with any filthy lust, violent rapine, or raging furie, they say, it shall finde a thousande tortures in rough and vnpleasant places vnder the Center: and speaking these things, lifting vpp their handes they shewe the heauens, and after that casting the right hand down, they poynt to the wombe of the earth. They bury their dead in sepulchers. Many of their liuing wiues follow the funerals of the husband. They may haue as many as they please, (excepting their kindred, & allies) vnlesse they be widdowes, wherupon, they found them infected with a certaine ridiculous superstition. They childishly affirme that the thicke spott seene in the globe of the Moone, at the full, is a mann, and they beleue hee was cast out to the moyst, and colde Circle of the Moone, that hee might perpetually bee tormented betweene those two passions, in suffering colde, and moysture, for incest committed with his sister. In the sepulchers, they leaue certayne trenches on high, whereinto euery yeere they poure a little of the graine Maizium, and certayne suppinges or small quantities of wine made after their manner, and they suppose these thinges will bee profitable to the ghosts of their departed friendes. But your Excellency shall heare an horrible and shameful act more cruell then any sauage barbarousnes. If it happen that any mother giuing suck dyeth, putting the child to the breast, they bury it aliue together with her. But in some place a widdow marryeth the brother of her former husband, or his kinsman, especially if hee left any children. They are easily deceiued through the crafty deuises of their priests, whereupon they religiously obserue a thousand kindes of fooleries. These thinges are reported to be in the large countries of the great riuer of Dabaiba. But you shall heare other thinges of the same nature, (last related vnto mee by men of authority, who diligently searched the South shoares of that country) omitted by Ægidius Gonsalus, and his companions, yet woorthy to bee knowne: for besides Ægidius himselfe, others also haue searched

Trumpets.

Golden cod-peeces.

Chastity inioy-
ed to their
priestes.They are igno-
rant of the soule,
yet prattle of a
kinde of immor-
tality.Their manner of
buriall.A tale of the
man in the
moone.A horrible cru-
elty.

That their
kings & nobles
haue only im-
mortall soules
and no other.

Annall fune-
rales.

Inebriating
drinckes.

Speeches at Fu-
neralles.

Citreaun drinckes
not, & not made by
seawormes.

diuers coastes, and nations of those huge countries, with seuerall fleets, as I haue often spoken. Among the Kings of those parts, besides other foolish errors, they knewe them touched with one, neuer reade, or heard of before. They are informed in some places that the Kings and Noblemen haue immortall soules, and beleue that the soules of the rest perish together with their bodies, except the familiar friends of the Princes themselves, and those onely (whose masters dying) suffer themselves to be buried aliue together with their maisters funerales: for their auncestors haue left them so perswaded, that the soules of Kings, deprived of their corporal clothing, ioyfully walke to perpetuall delights through pleasant places alwayes greene, eating, drinking, & giuing themselves to sports, and dancing with women, after their olde manner, while they were liuing, and this they hold for a certaine truth. Thereupon many struiuing with a kinde of emulation cast themselves headlong into the sepulchers of their Lorde, which, if his familiar friendes deferre to doe (as we haue sometimes spoken of the wiues of kings in other countries) they thinke their soules become temporarie, of aeternall. The heires of Kings, and Noblemen in those countries, renue their funerall pompe every yeere after the old custome: and that funerall pompe is prepared, & exercised after this maner. The King with the people and neighbourhoode, or what Nobleman so euer hee bee, assemble together at the place of the sepulcher, & hee who prepareth this funerall pompe, bringeth exceeding great plenty of wine made after their manner, and all kinde of meats. There, both sexes, & it specially the women, sleepe not that whole night, one while beewailing the vnhappie fortune of the deade, with sorrowfull rithmes, and funerall songes, especially if hee dyed in the warres, slayne by the enemy (for they pursue one another with perpetuall and deadly hatred, although they lyue contented with a little) then they taxe the life, and manners, of the conquering enemy with rayling speeches, and outrageous contumelies, and call him a tyrant, cruell, and a traytor, who vanquished their Lorde, and wasted his dominion by subtile practises, and not by vertue of the minde or strength of the bodie (for this is their barbarous custome) Then presently they bring the Image of the enemy, and faining fight, they assaulte the Image in a rage with diuers incursions: and at length cutte it in peeces, in a vaine reuenge of their deade Lord. After this, they returne to eating, and drinking, euen to drunkennesse, and surfeting (For they make diuers potions of inebriating graynes, & hearbes, as with the Belgæ ale is made of hoppes, and corne, and with the Cantabri Sider is made of apples) After this, they come to dancing, and merry songes, euen till they be extreame weary, extolling the vertues of their Lorde with wonderfull commendation in that he was good, liberall, and very louing to his people, for that also he was carefull of their sowing, or planting, and of their standing corne, and to distribute all fruites for the benefite of the people. For this is the chiefe and principall care of Kings, that in military affaires hee bee a valiant and couragious souldier, and a wise commander. Returning againe to their mourning, they lift vp their voyces, and bewaile the deade with the rythmes wherewith they beganne, saying: O most famous, and Noble Prince, who hath violently taken thee away from vs? oh vnhappie day, which hath deprived vs of so great felicity, oh miserable wretches that wee are, who haue lost such a father of our country: these and such like thinges proclaymed, turning to the Prince that is present, they deliuer wonderfull commendations of his merits, goodnesse and other vertues, and compasse the king about with restles skipping and dancing like the furies of Bacchus, yet withall, looke reuerently vpon him, and adore him, and say that in him they behold a present & future remedie and solace of their afflictions, and so many euils past: and after the maner of flatterers, they call him more elegant and fine then the finest, more beautifull then the fairest, and more liberall then the most liberall, and singing all together with one voyce they proclaime him religious and gracious, and many such like. Now when the day beginneth to appeare, they cōe forth of the house, and finde a Canow (of the bodie of one tree, capable of 60. oars and more) with the image of the dead ready prepared there. For the trees in that place are of an exceeding length, especially the Citrons, the familiar and common trees of those countries, of whose excellent prerogatiues I lately learned one, vnkowne to me before. They say the Citrean plaunkes, besides the other auncient commendations thereof, because

because they are of a bitter tast, are safe from that mischieuous plague of Sea wormes, which eat through the pumpe of ships, whersoer the sea is full of mire & filth, and boare them worse then a pierced siue. These little sea-woormes the Spanyard calleth Broma. In the meane space while the maister of this funeral pompe cometh forth, the kings Stewardes, and officers, keepe the foresaide Canow of the deade ready prepared without, filled with drinckes, hearbes, & fruits, & fish, flesh and bread, such as he delighted in while hee was liuing: then they who are inuited comming forth, cary the Canow vpon their shoulders, going about the Courte. And presently in the same place, from whence they lifed the Canow vp to cary it, putting fire vnder it, they burne it with all the thinges included, supposing that fume to be most acceptable and pleasing to the soule of the deade. Then all the womenne filled with excesse of wine, with their hayre loose, and their secrets discouered, vntemperatly foming, sometimes with a slowe, and sometimes with a speedie pace, with trembling legges, somewhile leaning to the wals, and sometimes staggering, and raging, with shamlesse falles, & lastly taking the weapons of the men with noyse and outcries, they brandish, and shake the speares, & handle the darts and arrowes, and furiously running hither, and thither shake the court it selfe: and after this being weary, they cast themselues flatte vpon the grounde, not couering their secretes, and there sleepe their fill. These thinges are chiefly vsed in an Iland of the Sea called Cesuaco, wherunto our men went by the way vnder the conduct of Spinosa. But one other thing omitted, although but a homly tale yet it is not to be concealed. The young men earnestly buysied in these mad pastimes, exercising their Areites with songs, these are their sports, they perce the middle of their priuie members with the sharpe bone of a fish, which the Spanyardes and Latines call Raia, in Greeke Bitis, and mouing, and exercise themselues with skipping & dancing they bedew the pauement of the court with streames of flowing bloude. At length casting a certayne powder thereon, found out by the Bauti for remedie therof, who execute the office of Surgeas, phisitions, & priests, within 4. daies they cure the woundes giuen vnto themselues. In those countries also there are subtil and craftie Magitians, and Soothsayers, so that they neuer attempt any thing, without consulting with their Augures: for whether they purpose hunting, or fishing, or to gather golde out of the mines, or determine to seeke for shell-fishe where the pearles growe, they dare not stirre one foot, vnles the maister of that art Teque-nigna (which is a name of dignitie) first signifye by his appoyntment, that the time is now fit. No degree of affinitie or other kind of kindred is forbiddē with thē, though elsewhere they abstaine, the parents vse the act of generatiō with their daughters, and brothers with their sisters (the wiues of the parentes, although they bee mothers by hereditary right procure heires with other faculties) yet they say, they are filthie, and publicly inclined to preposterous venerie. There is also another custome else-where, whiche is much vsed in our Ilandes Hispaniola, Cuba, and Iamaica. That womanne is accounted more liberall, and honourable, who beeing able to receiue a manne admitteth most to abuse her, and most excessively prostituteth her selfe beeyonde measure. Heereof they yeelde manie examples, but one of them is gracious and well to bee lyked. Certayne Spanyardes intermixed with the barbarous Iamaicanes crossed ouer the Sea from Iamaica to Hispaniola, amonge the womanne one was verie beautifull, who hadde kept her selfe vntouched tyll that day, and was a louer of chastitie. The Spanyardes of purpose turning vnto her, began to call her nig-gardlie, and desirous to preserue her honour after an euill manner. The lasciuious disposition and scurrilitie of those wanton young men was such, that they made the young maiden almost madde, thereupon she determined by prostituting herselfe, to expect as many as woulde abuse her. This mayden who nicely resisted that conflict at first, shewed her selfe most liberall to such as desired to imbrace her. The name of auarice in both sexes, is odious, and infamous in these Ilandes. But in the Continent in many places it is contrarie. They are louers of the chastity of their wiues: and hereupon they are so iealous, that the wiues offending therein, are punished by cutting their throates.

Wee conclude your portion (most noble Prince) with a prodigious monster. What remaineth, or if any newe matter arise in the writing hereof, the Pope by his parchment patent

The brutish behaviour of their women.

A foolish and filthy pranks of young men.

A people as incestuous as beastes.

A woman the more common the more commendable.

Let the papists number this among their glorious conversions.

A strange tale
of a prodigious
monster.

The taking of
the monster.

tent lately brought vnto mee, commaundeth to be dedicated vnto himselfe. The next countrey to the fountayne or heade of the riuer Dabaiba is called Camara producing the last syllable. In the memorie of menne yet liuing it is reported, that in that countrey a violent tempest of blustering whirlewinds arose from the East, which plucked vp by the rootes whatsoever trees stood in the way, and violently carryed away many houses and tossed them in the ayre, especially such as were made of timber. Through that violent tempest, they say two foules were brought into the country, almost like the Harpies of the Ilands Strophades so much spoken of, for that they had the countenance of a virgin, with a chinne, mouth, nose, teeth, smooth brow, and venerable eyes, and faire. They say one of these was of such huge bignes, that no bough of any tree was able to beare her lighting thereon, but that it would breake: and further they also say, that through her exceeding waight, the verie print of her talons remayned in the stones of the rockes where shee went to perch all night. But why doe I reapeate this? she seised on a traualer with her talons, and caryed him to the high toppes of the mountains to eate him, with no more difficultie, then kites vse to carry away a little chicken. The other, for that it was lesse, they suppose to bee the young one of the greater. The Spanyardes, who traualled through those countries about foure hundred leagues, caryed by shippe from the mouth of this riuer, say plainly that they spake with many, who sawe the greater killed, especially those approued men whom I often mentioned, the Lawyer Corrales, and the Musitian Osorius, and Spinosa. But howe the Debaibensian Camarani freed themselves from suche and so great a plague and mischief, it will not be vnfit to bee hearde. Seeing necessitie quickeneth and procureth wittie inuentions, the Camarani deuised a way (worthy the reporting) howe to kill this rauening foule. They cutte a great beame or peece of tymber, and at one of the endes therof they carue the Image and resemblance of a manne (for they are skilfull in all Imaginary art) then digging a trench in a cleere moone-light night they fasten the peece of tymber in the next way to the passage, where the prodigious foule came flying downe from the top of the Mountaynes to seeke her pray, leauing onely the shape and proportion of a manne appearing aboue grounde. Next vnto the way stoode a thicke woode, wherein they lay hidde with their bowes and dartes to smite her vna-wares. Beholde a little before the rising of the Sunne the fearefull monster rouseth her selfe, and commeth violently flying downe from the loftie skie, to her vayne and idle pray: shee seisseth vpon the carued Image, taketh and gripeth it, and so fastened her talons, that she could not free her selfe, vntil the Barbarians issuing from the secret places where they lay hid, shot her through with their arrowes, so that she escaped pierced more then a siue. At length geting loose she fel down dead neere vnto the: then binding & hāging her on long speares they who killed her carryed her vpon their shoulders through all the neighbouring townes, to the ende they might ease their mindes of the feare they conceiued, and that they might knowe the wayes were safe whiche this outrageous rauening foule made vnpassable. They who killed her, were accounted as Gods, and were honourably intertained by those people, and that, not without giftes and rewardes presented vnto them, as it happeneth with many nations, when presentes are giuen by the neighbours to him that carryeth the signes or tokens of any Lyon, Beare, or Woolfe slayne, who expected losses by those wilde beastes. They say her legs were thicker and greater then the great thygh of a manne, but shorte, as in Eagles, and other rauening foules. The younger, the damme beeing killed, was neuer seene againe. Nowe, I bidde your Excellencie farewell, to whom I wish a quiet and peaceable lyfe in the kingdome left you by your Auncesters.

FINIS.

The eight Decade of Peter Martyr a Millanois of Angleria, chiefe Secretary, and one of the Emperours Counsell, dedicated to Pope Clement the Seuenth.

The first Chapter.

MOst blessed father, I receiued vnder S. Peters signet (after the manner of Popes) a parchment Bull from your Holinesse, which contained two principall points: the one laudatiue,

tiue, concerning the matters of $\bar{y}$ newe world by me directed to your predecessors, the other imparatiue, that I suffer not the rest $\bar{y}$ succeeded to be swallowed in the huge gulfe of obliuion. I will not denie but that I deserue prayse for the desire I haue to obey: as for my rude and homly maner of deliuey, if I merit no commendation, yet shall I deserue pardon at the least. These discourses being of so great importance, and such quality, would require Ciceronian spirites, as I haue often protested in the relation of my former Decades, but because I coulde not get silke, or cloth of golde, I haue attyred the most beautifull Nereides (I meane the Ilandes of the Ocean ingendring precious stones vnknowne from the beginning of the world) with vulgar and homly apparell. Before that commandement of your Holinesse came to my hands, I hadde directed many aduertisements (succeeding those of Pope Adrian which your Holinesse hath read) to the Vicecount Franciscus Sfortia Duke of my natiue country (when his fortune freedde him, from an vtired minde of a most Christian King) and that at the earnest requests of his Agents with the Emperor. But now purposing to sende my painefull labours to your Holinesse, I thought it needefull to fortifie and strengthen these present discourses with the examples of thinges past, though dedicated to another: and as a troope of Prelates and Princely Cardinales of the Church vseth to goe beefore the Pope walking abroade, so shall that Decade presented to the Duke open the way. What hath beene declared next after them, from diuers partakers of thinges, concerning the aduentures of menne, of fourefooted beastes, birdes, flies, trees, hearbes, the rites & customes of people, of the art of Magicke, of the present state and condition of newe Spayne, and diuers flectes, your Holinesse shall vnderstande, from whose commaundement none liuing may safely departe. And let vs first rehearse what befall Franciscus Garaius, the Gouvernour of Iamaica, by a newe name called Saint Iames (whose Abby-like Priory Cæsars bountie lately gaue mee) who contrary to the will and pleasure of Fernandus Cortes, went about to erect a Colonie at the ryuer Panucus, which at length brought him to his ende: next, where Egidius Gonsalus arryued seeking the strayght so much desired on the North, and Christopherus Olitus, of whom wee touched a few things in the former Decade to the Duke. Then will wee speake somewhat of Petrus Arias Gouvernor of the supposed Continent, seeking the same. And presently after, wee will recite Licentiatu Marcellus Villalabos, Iudge of the Indian Senate in Hispaniola, & his familiar Iacobus Garsias Barrameda, who comming lately from Fernandus Cortes gouernour of Noua Hispania, reported certaine great and strange matters vnto me. Many others also shalbe called into this void plot, among whō Fryar Thomas Hortizius (one of the 2. coloured Dominican Fryars, a manne of approued honesty) shall be brought forth, who was long conuersant with the Chiribichenses the inhabitantes of the supposed Continent. Nor shall Iacobus Aluarez Osorius be omitted, being nobly descended, a priest of the Priory of Darien, and for his worthinesse a Chaunter, who also himselfe vnder the conducte of Spinosa through that vastity of the South Sea spent many yeeres with great extremities and daungers, and that in searching the countries of Dabaiba. From the large volumes of these, and such like menne of authoritie beeing absent, and by woorde of mouth of those that come about their affayres, I gather those thinges, which three Popes, and other Princes commaunded me to signifie vnto you. Let vs therefore place the life, and the vnhappy death of Garaius in the first front of our narration. In the former bookes directed to Adrian the Predecessour of your Holinesse, I thinke, in manie places it is sayde, that there was secret hatred betweene Fernandus Cortes the Conquerour of newe Spayne, and the great Prouinces thereof, and this Garaius, by reason that Garaius seemed desirous to possesse the Panucan countries bordering vpon the Dominions of Cortes. Wee haue also said that Garaius himselfe with great losses was twice ouerthrowne by the almost naked inhabitants, who dwelt vpon the greates Ryuer Panucus, and wandring like a fugitiue arryued as often within the power of Fernandus Cortes, and was by him relieued, and often refreshed with necessities, when he wanted, as appeareth at large by Cortes his writings, and myne, wandring through the Christian worlde. Foure shypes are arryued from the Indies, and wee haue receiued letters from those who were partakers of the paynefull labours, and miseries, and also haue the discourse of Garaius, by woorde of mouth from them who returned. Bee-

He rehearseth more at large the story of Garaius mentioned in the former Decade.

ing

*Zona Torrida
falsly so called.*

Garaiana.

*Alphonsus Men-
doza.*

*Fernandus Fi-
gueroa.*

*Gonsalus Ouag-
lius.
Iacobus Cifon-
teus.*

*The ryuer of
Palmetrees.
Gonsalus Do-
campus.*

ing about to possesse (by Cæsars permission) the bankes of the great ryuer Panucus nowe discovered, to the intent hee might plant a Colonie there, whereof hee hadde long considered, the eighteenth of the Calendes of Iune, he departed from Iamaica (by a newe name called the Ilande of S. Iames, whiche hee gouerned a long tyme) with a fleete of 11. shyppes, whereof sixe were of the burden of a hundred and twentie and a hundred and fiftie tunnes, two were of that kinde which the Spanyard calleth Carauelles, and as many Brigantines with two ranges of oares: the number of his souldiers were, 144. horse, 300. archers footemen, 200. shotte, 200. bearing swoordes and targettes, and with this armie he sayled towardes Cuba called Fernandina. The Tropick of Cancer diuideth Cuba. Iamaica lyeth more to the South from it, with'n the Zone falsely called Torrida by auncient writers. Cuba is almost twice as long as Italie, the furthest West angle whereof full of hauens, called the Heade of the Currentes. Garaius tooke, and purposing to take in freshe water, woode, and grasse to feede the horses, hee aboade there some fewe dayes. That angle is not very farre distaunt from the first limittes of Noua Hispania, which Cortes in Cæsars beehalfe, commaundeth, whereby hee vnderstoode that Cortes hadde erected a Colonie vpon the banke of Panucus. Garaius sendeth for the Centurions, they consult, and deliberate what was needfull to bee doone. Some thought it fitte to seeke newe countries, seeing manie lay open vnto them, and that the fortune and greatnesse of Cortes was to bee feared, others aduise and counselled, that the waighty charge they hadde vndertaken was not to be forsaken, especially beeing confirmed by Cæsars letters patents, whereby he consenteth the Prouince shoulde bee called Garaiana. Their suffrages and consent preuayled, who tooke the wooser parte: so that the pernicious opinion of his consortes pleased Garaius well. Hauing sounded the mindes of the Centurions, and Commanders, hee excercised a vaine shaddowe and counterfeit shewe of erecting a Common-wealth, and diuideth the places of Magistracy, and authoritie, among them, to the intent that hauing offered honour and prefermentes vnto them, hee might cause the chiefe menne to bee more readie and prompt. And of this shaddowlike & Imaginary Colonie he createth gouernors, Alphonsus Mendoza, the nephewe of Alphonsus Pachecus sometimes Maister of the Spatensians, and ioyned as fellowe in office with him Fernandus Figueroa a citizen of Cæsars Castle of no meane and base parentage, and two others brought away from the Iland of Cuba. But the chiefe Gouvernour of the cittie hee created Gonsalus Ouaglius, a noble mann of Salamantinum, neere kinsmanne of the Duke of Alba, and Villagranus his olde familiar of the kings house, and Iacobus Cifonteus, one of the common people, but industrious and wise. Out of the vulgar sorte also hee created Executory souldiers, whiche the Spanyard calleth Alguazillos, and Ediles or clarkes of the Markettes to looke to the waights, and measures. All these, Garaius bindeth to him by oath, agaynst Cortes if peraduenture it shoulde come to armes, or other violent courses. So, deceiued with vayne hope, beeing not experienced in the casualties of fortune, nor well acquainted with the crafte and subtiltie of Cortes, they sette sayle: if they hadde knowne the good happe proffered, fortune offered them her blessed browe. Suddenly from the South a tempest arose, which deceiued the Pylottes. The shyppes comming neere the lande fell into a ryuer somewhat lesse then Panucus, whiche they suppose to bee Panucus. This ryuer lay to the Northwarde from Panucus, whether the violence of the winds trāsported them, peraduenture about some 70. leagues towards the lande of Florida lately knowne and discovered. The twenty-foue of Iune vpon whiche day, Spayne celebrateth the solemnitie of Saint Iames their protector with GOD, they entred the mouth of that ryuer, and cast anker, in the shoare whereof they finde Palme, or Datetrees, whereupon they call it the ryuer of Palme trees. The buysinesse or charge of searching the bordering countrey, is committed to Gonsalus Docampus the sisters sonne of Garaius, for whiche seruice they send from the Fleete a small Brigantine whiche drewe little water. Docampus sayled fiftene leagues vppe the ryuer, spent three dayes, and ascending vppe the ryuer by little and little, he found other ryuers were receiued into that greater ryuer, and hauing his cies fixed on Panucus, hee falsely reported that the country was vnmanured, vnprofitable, and desert. For they learned afterwarde that this Prouince was pleasant, and well blest, and stored with

with people. But credite was giuen to a lyar, wherfore they determined to proceede on their voyage towardes Panucus. The horses were nowe faint with famine, therefore they tooke them out of the ships together with manie footemen. The Marriners are charged to sayle alwayes within viewe of the shore, as if they hadde power to commaunde the sources, and waues of the water. Garaius himselfe taketh his iourney by lande towardes Panucus, in battayle array, least if any violence of the inhabitantes suddenly assailed them, they shoulde be founde vnprepared. The first three dayes they founde no manured lande where they marched, but all barren and rude, because moorish, and myerie. They meete with another nauigable ryuer in the way, compassed with high Mountaynes, thereupon they called the ryuer Montaltus. They passed ouer that ryuer partly by swimming, and partly vpon raftes or great peeces of timber ioyned and fastened together, so that at length with great danger and labour, beyonde that riuer a far of they saw an exceeding great towne: then they orderly range the army, and march softly forwarde, placing the Arquebuss shotte, and other souldiers (to hit them farre of) in the front of the Battayle. Our menne comming towardes them, the townsmen left the towne, and fledde away, where, finding their houses full of the country prouision, Garaius recreateth and refresheth the souldiers, and horses nowe faint with hunger, and wearyed with trauayle of the iourney. And with that which remained, he carrieth prouision of victuall with him.

Montaltus a
riuer.

The second Chapter.

THE Barbarians fill their barnes or store-houses with two kinds of food with their coutry graine called Maizium (as we haue often sayde) much like the graine Panicke of Insubria, & with apples, of an vnknowne sent to vs, and of an eager sweete tast, apt & profitable for the stopping and restraining of fluxes, as wee reade and finde by experience of the berries of the Seruice, and Corneile trees, which are no lesse then an Oringe or a Quince, and that kinde of fruite the inhabitantes call Guaianas. Beyonde the ryuer inclosed with Mountaynes marching through rude and barren countries, they light on a great lake, whiche by a deepe streame no where shallowe, emptyeth the waters thereof in the neere bordering sea. They ascende vpp the bankes of this lake thirtie leagues from the mouth of the riuer, they trye and search the shallowe places, because they knewe that manie ryuers fell into the lake below, and with great labour and perill halfe swimming they passe it. A broad playne offereth it selfe to their viewe. They see a great towne a farre of. And least as the former moucd through feare fled away, Garaius commandeth the armie to make a stande, and pitch their ancients in the open ayre, then sendeth he interpreters before, neere neighbours to these coutries whom he had gotten the former yeere, who were now skillful in the Spanish tong. Offering peace by them, hee draweth the inhabitantes of the towne to entertayne amitie and friend-shyppe. Heereupon, the inhabitantes lade our men with breade of the graine Maizium, foules of that Prouince, and fruites. By the way they light on another village, where hauing hearde by reporte that our menne abstained from wrong and iniurie, they securely expect them, and giue them prouision of victuall, but not plentifully to their satisfaction. Thereupon a tumulte almoste arose agaynst the Generall Garaius, for that hee woulde not suffer them to spoyle the village. Marching further, they meet with the thirde ryuer, in passing whereof they lost eight horses violently carryed away with the force of the current. Trauailing thence they founde huge myerie marishes with noysome gnatts, full of diuers sortes of Bexucum, beeing certayne hearbes or long grasse whiche holde fast, infoulding, and intangling the legges of trauaylers. Concerning this prouidence of nature touching the Bexuca, I haue at large discoursed in my proceedinges to the Duke. The footemenne couered with water vppe to the wast, the horsemenne to the belly, passed ouer halfe fainte and tyred. Nowe they came into countries inryched with a fruitefull soyle, and therefore inhabited, and beautified with many villages. Garaius suffered no damage or iniurie to bee doone to anie. A certayne seruaut of Garaius neere about him, escaping from so great a slaughter, as hereafter wee will describe, writeth a large Epistle to Petrus Spinosa Maister or Stewarde of the house of Garaius, and his sonnes after his death, nowe Agent

A strange kinde
of sple.

A great lake.

A riuer.

Marishes full of
Bexucum.

The lande of
misery.

Garaius com-
meth to Panucus.

A great towne
destroyed by
Cortes.

Chiglia a great
towne destroyed
by Cortes.
Saint Stephen a
towne.

The fruitful-
nesse of the
country of
Panucus.

The ambitious
nation thwarts it
selfe and hinders
his owne endes.

He returnes to
Garaius.

with Cæsar, wherein full of greife, yet after a wittie and conceited manner, hee deliuereth these merrie iesting woordes in Latine, concerning the difficulties of that iourney. Wee came (sayeth hee) to the lande of miserie, where no order, but euerlasting labour, and all calamities inhabite, where famine, heate, noysome Gnattes, stinking Woormes or Flyes, cruell Battes, arrowes, intangling Bexuca, deuouring deepe ditches, and muddie lakes most cruelly afflicted vs. At length they attained to the bordering cuntry of the riuier Panucus the vnhappy point or period of their iourney, where Garaius stayeth expecting the ships, but founde nothing fitte for foode. They suspect Cortes had caryed away all prouision of victuall, that finding nothing for themselues, or their horse, they shoulde bee constrainned either to depart backe againe, or perish with hunger. The fleete which caried their necessities of prouision deferred their coming. Where fore Garaius and his companions dispersed themselues through the townes and villages of the Barbarians to gette food, & nowe Garaius beganne to suspect that Cortes was not well inclined vnto him: he therefore sendeth Gonsalus Docampo his sisters sonne to proue howe the Colonies of Cortes stode affected towardes him, Gonsalus returneth seduced or deceiued, and fained that all was safe, and that they were ready to yeeld obedience to Garaius. Vpon the report of his sisters sonne, and his associats sent with him, by euill destinie, hee approacheth neere to Panucus. Heere let vs digresse a little, to the ende these thinges, and that whiche followeth may the better be vnderstoode. Vpon the banke of this great riuier Panucus, not far from y^e mouth, which conueyeth the waters thereof into the sea, stode a great towne of the same name, consisting of 14000. houses of stone for the most parte, with princely Courtes, and sumptuous Temples, as the common reporte goeth. That towne Cortes vterly ouerthrewe, and wholly burnt it, because it refused his commande, not suffering any thing to be huilt vpon that grounde any more. He dealt after the same maner with another towne seated vp the ryuer, about some 25. miles distāt frō this, greater thē Panucus, they say it cōsisted of 2000. houses, which also (vpon the same occasion) he laide flatte with the grounde, and burnt it. This towne was called Chiglia. Aboue Chiglia ouerthrowne, Cortes erected his Colonie about some three miles, in an excellent plaine, but vpon a little rising hill, and this hee called the towne of Saint Stephen. Shippes of burden may come vppe the channell of this ryuer for many myles together. The people of this Prouince ouerthrewe Garaius twice, as in the former Decades hath beene sufficiently and at large declared, but they coulde not resist Cortes, who ouerthrewe all he mette with. They reporte that those countries are very wealthie and fruitfull, not onely apt for the nourishing of anie thing sowed, and the increase and fruite of trees, but they say it maytaineth hartes, hares, conies, and bores, and many other wilde beastes, and that they also yeelde and ingender water foule, and other wilde foule: they haue verie hygh mountaines within view, some where couered with snow. Beyond those Mountaines, reporte goeth that goodly cities, and excellent townes lye in an huge playne, which those mountaynes diuide from these, bordering on the Sea, and they also shall be subdued, vnlesse the boying and vaine glorious disposition of the Spanyardes withstand it, who seldome agree in mind, for the desire they haue to aduance their owne honors. Howe much euery one indeuoreth to attribute to himselfe in this blinding meale of ambition, wherein none indureth the soueraigntie and commād of another with quiet spirit, I haue sufficiently and at large declared in those relations which went before, where I spake of the priue hatred and dissentions arising betweene Iacobus Velasquez the gouernour of Fernandina, which is Cuba, and Fernandus Cortes, then, betweene Cortes himselfe, and Pamphilus Nabaezus, and Grisalua, from whom a riuier in the Prouince of Iucatan receiued the name, next, of the reuolt of Christopherus Olitus from Cortes, after that betweene Petrus Arias gouernour of the supposed Continent, and Ægidius Gonsalus, and in the last place of the generall desire of seeking the Strayght or narrowe passage from the North Sea to the South: for Commanders and Captaynes who inhabite those countries in the kinges name came flocking from all partes. These thinges partly related in their places, what arose on these contentions shall bee declared. Nowe lette vs returne to Garaius from whom wee digressed.

Approach-

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digressed.
Approach-

Approaching to the borders of Panucus, hee found all the countrey impouerished, and knewe manifestly that his sisters sonne hadde made a false reporte concerning the inhabitants of the village of Saint Stephen, because hee sawe no friendly dealing. The followers of Garaius say, that the seruantes of Cortes hadde carryed away all prouision of victuall out of the townes of the Barbarians, to the ende that beeing compelled through famine they might eyther departe, or bee constrayned to disperse their forces through the neighbouring townes to seeke necessary foode, as it fell out, nor came the shippes, detained in the vnfortunate and aduerse sea. In that countrey there is a great towne named Naciapala consisting of about 15000. houses, in that towne the Cortesians tooke Aluaradus, Commaunder of fortie horse of Garaius, together with his companions feeding his horses there, as an vsurper of anothers soyle, and brought them bounde to the Colony of Saint Stephen, by them erected in the name and behalfe of Cortes. Miserable and wretched Garaius therefore remayned there still betweene Sylla and Charybdis expecting the fleete. Now at length the companie of the fleete arryue at the mouth of Panucus, of eleuen 3. some say foure, the rest perished by ship wracke. Two of Cortes his Commanders of that Prouince, Iacobus Docampo gouernour of the citie, and Valegius leader of the souldiers, caryed by boat, enter the Admirall of that fleete, they easily seduce the souldiers and quickly drawe the rest into the power of Cortes, so that the shippes are caryed vp the ryuer to the Colony of S. Stephen. While Garaius was in these extremities, he vnderstoode the bordering countrey of the riuer of Palmes was a rich and fruitfull soyle, contrary to the deceitfull speech of Gonsalus Docampo his sisters son, yea, and in some places a more blessed and fertile countrey then the boundes of Panucus. There had Garaius planted his Colonie, fearing the fortune of Cortes, if the obstinacy of his sisters sonne had not deceiued him. Garaius being thus distressed, knewe not what counsell they should take, the more he repeateth that that Prouince was designed and allotted him by Cæsar, shewing his letters patentes, his matter succeeded the worse. Through perswasion of the Gouer-nour Iacobus Docampo, Garaius sendeth messengers vnto Cortes, one named Petrus Canus, the other Iohannes Ochoa, this, one of Garaius his olde familiars, the other newly admitted, sometimes a familiar friende of Cortes who was well experienced in those countries, both of them are seduced by Cortes, as the Garaianes reporte complayning. Petrus Canus returneth, and Ochoa remayneth still, for it was agreede that Garaius shoulde goe to Cortes. I haue elsewhere sayde, when, by vncertayne reporte, the Senate of Hispaniola wrote those thinges to Cæsar, and our Colledge of Indian affayres. Nowe although miserable Garaius almost behelde his owne destruction, yet hee dissembled that hee woulde willingly goe, and seeing hee must goe though hee were vnwilling, through so great violence and compulsion, hee pacified his minde, and yeilded to the requestes of Cortes whiche brought power and authoritie with them to commande. Accompanied with Iacobus Docampo hee goeth to Cortes, who chose his seate in that great citie of the lake Tenustitan, otherwise called Mexico, the heade and Metropolis of manie kingdomes. Garaius is receiued with a ioyfull countenance, but whether with the like mind, let him iudge whose propertie it is to search the harts. Hearing of the calamitie of Garaius, and the departure of the Gouer-nour, the Barbarians sette vpon the souldiers dispersed through their houses, and finding them straggling, they kill about two hundred and fiftie, some say more. With their slaughtered bodies they make themselues sumptuous, and daintie banquets, for they also are menne eaters. Cortes vnderstanding of this discomfiture, sent Sandoualus (a woorthie man of his Commaunders) with fortie horse, and a conuenient and necessarie number of footemen for the purpose to take reuenge for so foule and hainous a fact. Sandoualus is saide to haue cutte a huge number of the slaughterers in peeces, for they durst not now lift vp a finger against the power of Cortes or his Captaines, whose names they feared. He is reported to haue sent 60. kings to Cortes (for euery village hath his king) whereupon Cortes commandeth that euerie one send for his heire, they obey his commande. Then making an exceeding great fire, he burned all the kings, the heires looking thereon. And presently calling the heires, he demandeth whether they saw the effect

Naciapala a great towne.

Shipwracke.

The Admirall reuolteth to Cortes.

Garaius sends messengers to Cortes.

Mexico

A pretty saying.

The Barbarians slaughter 250. of Garaius his men.

Cortes reuengeth

Cortes burneth 60. kings.

The vanitie of
reposte.

Suspicious vpon
Garaius his
death.

Jamaica an
Elisian fland.

He compareth
Jamaica with
Adams Para-
dise.

of the sentence pronounced against the slaughterers their parents. After that, with a seuer countenance he chargeth them, that being taught by this example, they beware of all suspicion of disobedience. Beeing thus discouraged and terrified, he sent them euery one awaie to their aunient patrimonyes, yet subiect to tributes. This they report, others, somewhat after another maner. For report is varied euen from the next neighbour, how much more from another worlde. Nowe Cortes commendeth Garaius to be guest to Alphonsus surnamed Villanoua, sometimes footeman to Garaius, (and thrust out of seruice for deflouring his Maisters mayde) then chamberlaine to Cortes, and commanded he should be honorably intreated, and that the bond of amitie might be the firmer, Cortes taketh the legitimate sonne of Garaius to bee his son in law to match with his bastard daughter. Behold vpon Christmas day at night, Cortes and Garaius goe together to heare morninge mattens after our manner. Seruice beeing ended at the risinge of the sunne, they returne, and found a dainty breackfast prepared, Garaius comminge forth of the church, complained first that hee was oppressed with a certaine kinde of windy colde, yet hee tooke some smale sustenance with his companyons, but returninge to his appointed lodginge hee lay downe, the disease increased till the third day, some say, the fourth, at what time hee yeelded his borrowed spirit to his Creator. There are some, as I haue elsewhere sayd, who suspect whether there were not a worke of charity in it, to tintent he might free him from the foule prison of vexation and cares, being subiect to so great calamities, least wee should iudge that olde prouerbe to bee vainly spoken, that a kingdome receiueh not two, or, that there is no assured fidelitie or trust in the Competitors and companions of a kingdome. Others say, hee died of the grieve and paine of the ribbes, which the Phisitians call a Plurisie: howsoeuer it bee Garaius dyed, the best of the Gouvernours of those countries: which way soeuer the matter happened, it little skilleth, his sonnes, kindred, and freinds of rich menn beinge now fallen into pouerty. The miserable wretched mann dyed, who peraduenture might haue liued a long and quiet life if hee had bin contented with the olde Government of Elisian Iamaica, by a new name called the Ilande of S. Iames, where his authority, and loue of the people were great (but with an obstinate spirit he went the contrary waye, who knewe very well that his neighbourhoode would bee most offensiue and troblesome to Cortes) or if hee beinge like towe or course flax, woulde haue sett footing elsewhere on the riuier of Palmes farr off from the flaminge fire, whether the violence of the winds happily droue him, if hee had taken hold of the hairy forelocke of that occasion, or elsewhere in a riuier found out further towards Florida called the riuier of the Holy Ghost, which riuers containe exceeding great countries, fruitefull, and replenished with people. So had the destinies decreed, so must it be done. But seeinge I haue presumed to call Iamaica an Elisian country, which Garaius commaunded many yeeres, it is meete that I beinge the husbände of this comly Nymph, should render a reason of the beauty, and goodnes thereof. Behold therefore the example of preferringe the same.

The third Chapter.

THat remoued and hidden part of the worlde, wherein wee beleue, that God the Creator of all thinges formed the first mann of the slime of the earth, the sage and prudent woorthies or fathers of the old Mosaicall lawe, and of the new Testament call earthly Paradise, because in that place there is none, or almost no difference betweene the day and night all the whole yeere. No terrible scorchinge heate, nor rough colde winter are there to bee founde, but an wholesome temperate ayre, bright fountaines, and cleere riuers. Nature like a beenigne and gracious mother, hath beautified this my spouse with all these ornaments. Diuers fruitefull trees (besides those which are brought thether from our countrye) are very familiar and common there, which inioy a perpetuall Springe, and Autumne, for the trees carry leaues, and flowers together all the yeare longe, and beare fruite, and shewe them ripe, and sower or greene at one time. There, the earth is alwayes full of greene grasse, and the meddowes allwayes flourishinge and (to conclude) their is

no

no part of the earth which enjoyeth a more gracious and mild temper of the heavens: Therefore my spouse Iamaica is more blessed and fruitfull then the rest. It extendeth it selfe in length from East to West 60. leagues some others add tenn more, and it enlargeth it selfe in breadth 30. leagues, where it is broadest. But concerninge seedes sett, and sowed by the industry of man, woonderfull things are reported: and although it be at large declared in my former Decades, when I used the like speech concerning Hispaniola, & the same also concerninge garden herbes or plants, yet to reapeate many of these will not prouoke loathing, or contempt chiefly to Popes, vnder whose throanes all these things dayly more & more increase & growe: & tast of precious things is sauiory at all times, because especially those places of my former Decades paraduenture shall not bee brought to your Holinesse his handes. Of breade (without which other dainty delicates are nothinge worth) they haue two sortes, the one of corne, the other of rootes, their corne is gathered twice, and for the most part thrice euery yeare, they want breade of wheate. Of three quarters of a pint of that graine which they call Maizium, sometimes more then 200. times so many pints are gathered. That of rootes is the better, and more excellent breade made of the roote Iucca bruised smale, and dried, which beeing brought into Cakes which they call Cazzabi, may safely bee kept two yeere vncorrupted. A certaine maruelous industry of Nature lieth hidd in the vse of this roote Iucca. Beeing put into a sacke, it is pressed with great waights layd thereon after the manner of a wine presse, to wringe out the iuice thereof. If that iuice bee druncke rawe, it is more poysonous the Aconitum, & presētly killeth, but being boyled it is harmles, & more sauery the whay of milke. They haue also many kindes of othere roote, they call them by one name Batatas, I haue elsewhere described eight sortes thereof which are knowne by the flower, leafe, and shrubb. They are good boyled & no lesse roasted, nor are they of an euill tast though they bee rawe: and they are also like to our Turneps in shewe, or like our rape Roots, Raddish, parsnepps, and Carretts, but of a differing tast, and substance. At what time I wrote these things some plenty of Batatas were giuen me for a presēt, whereof I had made your Holinesse partaker, but that the distance of places withstood my desires, and your Holinesse his Embassadour with Cæsar deuoured that portion. This man amonge the worthy & noble men, in & opinio of all good Spaiards, a rare Cusertine Archbishop to whō these things are very wel known through his 14. yeares cōuersation, if so it please your Holinesse, may sometimes rehearse and shew them vnto you by word of mouth. For these cōferences & discourses are wont oftētimes to grace & latter endes of feasts with great Princes. I haue sufficiently spoken concerninge the tēper of & ayre, trees, fruites, corne, bread, and roots: & haue also likewise oftē spokē of gardē fruits fit for food, at what time of & yeere you may gett melons, gourds, Cucumbers, & others like these lyinge on the grounde: I haue extended the skirts of the ornaments of my Spouse with too amorous, and louinge affection, yet true: therefore I now bidd her farewell, and let others left behinde, come in her place. Another woorthy mann also lately came vnto mee, whose name is Christopherus Perez Herenensis, executioner of Iustice a longe time in Iamaica, a soldier vnder Garaius, the Spaniard calleth those kinds of Magistrates Alguazil. This mann was alwayes a companion with Garaius, and was present when hee dyed: who confesseth, that what other reported concerninge Garaius, and the successe of the whole armye, was true. And returninge from that ouerthrowe, into Iamaica, hee brought letters from Petrus Canus Secretary to Garaius, directed to Petrus Spinosa, Agent with Cæsar for Garaius and his sonnes, in the ende whereof he exhortheth, admonisheth, and instantly requireth him to leaue all these European countries, and forsake all buisines what soeuer and returne into that happy country as if hee should perswade him to flye from vnhappy and barren sandes, to most fruitfull & wealthy possessions: repeating, that he should shortly become rich, if he would obey his wordes. This Alguazil addeth many things, not to be omitted. That Panucus, and the riuier of Palmes breake forth into the Ocean almost with the like fall, and that the mariners get fresh & potable waters of both, nine myles within the sea. The third riuier, which our men call the riuier of the Holy Ghost, neerer to

Bread of corne
and breade of
rootes.

The excellent
bread made of
the roote Iucca.

A secret in the
the nature of
Iucca.

Of the roote
Batatas.

Christopherus
Perez Herenensis

Note this ex-
hortation.

The riuier of
the holy ghost.

country

country of Florida, hath a more streight & narrowe channell, yet very rich & fruitfull countries lying round about it, & well replenished with people. Being demanded whether by chance, violence of tempestuous stormes, or of sett purpose, the fleete of Garaius arrived at the riuer of Palmes, he answered, they were driuen thether by the mild and gentle southerne windes, and the fall of the Ocean, which as I haue elsewhere sayd runneth alwayes to the West, imitatinge the turninge or wheelinge motions of the Heauens. This Alguazill therefore (that I may vse the Spanish woord) saith, that the pilotts themselves and masters who gouerned and directed the fleete, beinge deceiued for the causes beefore alledged, tooke the riuer of Palmes for Panucus, while entringe the mouth there of, they vnderstoode the difference of the banckes and hee affirmeth that Garaius hadd a purpose to stay and erect a Colony there, if his companions and consorts hadd not withstood him: for they intended, and aduised that the banckes of the riuer Panucus discovered, and the fruitfull countries thereof already known were to bee imbraced. Garaius touched with an vnhappy praesage assented to his consortes, yet sore against his will, especially when they added, that those Panucan countrys were assigned him by Cæsar, & that by the kings letters patents it was graunted, they should bee called the Countries of Garaius by an eternall name. While they laye at anchor in the mouth of the riuer of Palmes, and expected Garaius his sisters sonne against the streame, many in the meane time goinge out of the shippes, wandered vpon the banckes of the riuer, searchinge what the nature of countries might bee, and light vp on many new and strange things but of smale moment.

A strange beast.

Yet will I add one thinge: This Alguazill in the fildes a little distant thence, found a four-footed beast feedinge, a little greater then a catt, with a foxes snowt of a siluer colour, and halfe scalye, trapped after the same manner that a compleate armed mann beeing ready to fight, armeth his horse, it is a foolish slothfull beast, for seeinge a mann a farr of it hidd it selfe like an hedghogg or a tortoyse, and suffred it selfe to bee taken, beeing brought to the shippes it was domestically fedd amonge menn, but greater cares succeedinge, and grasse faylinge, the desert and desolate beast dyed. This Alguazill (but with a sad and mournfull countenance because he also was partaker of so great calamities) freeth Cortes from the suspicion of poysoninge Garaius, who saith that he died of the greife and payne of his side, which the phisitians call a pleurisie. While Garaius & his miserable companions trauiiled through those countrys, which lye in the middle betweene those great riuers of Panucus, & y riuer of Palmes the borderinge inhabitants beinge demanded, what was beyond those high mountaines which were within there viewe, and cōpassed their countries together with the Sea, they reported that very large plaines lay there & warlike kings of great cities had dominion there. But when we were in Mantua Carpentana, cōmōly called Madrid, this Alguazil said cōparatiuely, as these neighbouring mōtaines diuide these prouinces, the countryes Carpentana, & Oretana from the Valledoletane and Burgensian, countries, in which, as you knowe there are goodly cittyes, and famous townes: as Segouia. Methimna of the feild, Abula, Salmantica, and many besides: so, mighty & huge kingdomes are bounded and separated from these straight and narrow countries, lying on the shoare. This Alguazill also confesseth that he knoweth the boundes of Italye, and therefore sayd, that Insurbia was separated after the same manner from Hertruria by the Apennine mountaines. And beeinge demanded with what habit Cortes attireth himselfe, or with what ceremonies he wilbe intertained by them that are present, and with what title he wilbe stiled, and vseth to exact tributes, or what treasures he thinketh hee hath heaped vp, and whether he sawe that golden warlike Engine called a Culuerin, whereof the report is now diuulged: he answered in these wordes. That he was clothed with a vsuall blacke habit, but of silke, & that he made no sumptuous shewe of maiesty at all, saue in beholdinge the great number of his family: consistinge (I say) of many stewards, and officers of his house, morris dancers, chamberlaines, dore keepers, cheefe bankers or exchaungers of mony, and the rest, fitly agreeing with a great king. Whethersoener Cortes goeth hee bringeth foure kinges with him, to whom hee hath giuen horses, the magistrates of the city, and soldiers for execution of Iustice goinge before with

Cortes his state
what it is in
some particulars.

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with maces, and as hee passeth by all that meete him cast themselves flat vpon the ground after the auncient manner. He sayth also that he courteously receiueth all that salute him, & is more delighted with the title of Adelantado, the Gouernour seeing Cæsar hath giuen him both. And this Alguazill saith that the suspicion which our courtiers conceiue touching his disobedience against Cæsar, is a vayne and idle report. That neither he, nor any other euer sawe any signe or token of treason, yea, & that he hath left three Caruelles with treasures to bee conueyed to Cæsar, together with that piece of ordinance called a Culuerin, which he confesseth hee diligently beheld, able to receiue an Oringe, but thinketh it is not so full of gold, as fame reporteth.

The golden
Culuerin before
mentioned.

The fourth Chapter.

THat which I will now report, is a very merry iest to be heard: the inhabitants these Barbarians after a ridiculous, & simple maner come forth of their townes as our men passe by on their iourney, & bring with them so many domesticall fatt foule (no lesse then our peacocks) as there are trauailers and if they bee on horsebacke, supposing y horses eate flesh, bring as māy fatt foule for y horse. But your Holinesse shall heare how ingenious, & sharpe witted workemen these barbarians are, whom Cortes hath subdued to the dominion of Cæsar. Whatsoever they see with their eyes, they so paynte, forge, and fashion & forme it, that they may seeme to giue no place to the auncient Corinthians, who were skilfull to drawe liuely countenances out of marble, or Iuory, or any other matter. And concerning the treasures of Cortes he saith, they are not smale, and meane, yet he supposeth they are lesse then is reported, because hee maintaineth māy Centurions, or soldiers, whereof, y ordinary number of horse is about a thousād, & 4000. footmen, whose helpe he vseth both to bridle those he lately conquered, as also to search out & discover new countries. He said also that in the South sea of that huge vastity he built ships y frō thence he might trye the Æquinoctial line 12. degrees only distant frō the shoares, to the end he might throughly search the llands next vnder y line, where, he hopeth to finde plenty of gold, and precious stones, and also newe, and strāg spices. He had attempted the same before, but being disturbed by his Competitors, Iacobus Velazquez y Gouernour of Cuba, then by Pamphilus Narbaezus & lastly by Garaius, he is sayd to haue forsaken his intended purpose. Touching the maner of exacting tributes, it is this, by one example the rest may bee gathered. In the discourse of my Tenustitan narrations to Pope Leo the tenth your Holinesse his cousin german, and to his Successor Adrian, we sayde that, that puyasant and mighty Kinge Mutezcuma, hadde many princes subiect to his dominion, and those, Lordes of great citties, these (for the most parte) Cortes conquered, because they refused to obey, yet in their kingdomes he placed in their steede, some of their children, brethren or other meaner kindred, that the people seeing the Images and representations of their auncient Lordes might the more quietly beare the yoke. The neerest of those citties to the salt Lake, is called Tescucus, whiche containeth about the number of 20000. houses, and it is whiter then a swan, because all the houses are playstered with a kinde of limy Bitumen like mortar, so bright & cleere without, that such as beholde them a farre of, not knowing the matter, woulde thinke they were litle rising hilles couered with snowe. They say, this citie is almost square, three miles in length, and consisteth of the like breadth with litle difference.ouer this citie he made a yong man gouernour, descended from the proper stocke or bloud of the auncient nobilitie. Otumba is somewhat lesser then Tescucus. He gaue this citie also her ruler, one of a milde nature, and obedient to his commaunde, whom (beeing baptized) hee called Fernandus Cortes after his owne name. The iurisdiccions of these cities are great, of a fruitful soyle and famous for the golden sandes of the riuers. Euery one of the kinges, that the Spaniardes may not enter into their boundes, which may hardly be done without iniurie, yeerely by composition giue vnto Cortes one thousand, and sixtie Pensa of gold. We haue often said that Pensum exceedeth the Ducate a fourth part. They likewise giue him of the profits and increase of the lande, the graine Maizium, domesticall foule, and delicate meates of wilde beastes, wherewith the neighbouring Mountains abound: all Princes are handled after this order, and euery

He compareth
these barbarians
for Imagery
to the auncient
Corinthians.
The treasure of
Cortes.
Cortes his pur-
pose for further
discovery.

A good policy
of Cortes.

Tescucus a
great city.

Otumba a
great city.

A treasure of
1060. pensa of
golde payde
yeerely to
Cortes besides
great prouision
for his house-
holde.

euery one sendeth his tribute for the profittes of his kingdome. He also permitteth many Prouinces truly to enioy their libertie without kinges, and to liue after their auncient lawes, except the customes of humane sacrifices, from whom hee hadde no meane supplies and ayde agaynst Mutezuma. Notwithstanding, these countries, euen these pay their tribute to Cortes. The country Guaxaca is free, abounding with golde: seuentie leagues distant from the Princely pallace of the lake. There is also another of the same condition, called Locpoteca, and manie others, which pay golden tributes. Cortes also himselfe hath golde mines assigned to his treasury or exchequer, which he emptieth with the armes of slaues, and setteth their children at libertie, to till the ground, or apply themselues to mechanically artes. But one particular thing is well worthie the reporting. There is a Prouince called Guacinalgo, whose King hath the same name: he came, onely accompanied with his mother to salute Cortes, and that, not empty handed. For he brought him thirtie thousande Pensa of golde, caryed vpon the shoulders of slaues, whiche hee gaue Cortes for a present. But what he did in token of obedience, will not be vnfit to heare. Hee came vnto him almost naked, though otherwise hee abounded with precious and costly garments after their manner, we vnderstoode that it was the manner with them, that for an argument and signe of humilitie, the impotent and weake shoulde goe vnto the mightie in meane and homely attyre, and bowing his head downe to the grounde, and kneeling, shoulde speake vnto him almost trembling. But it is very needfull to heare what happie money they vse, for they haue money, which I call happy, because for the greedie desire and gaping to attaine the same, the bowelles of the earth are not rent a sunder, nor through the rauening greedinesse of couetous men, nor terrour of warres assayling, it returneth to the dennes and caues of the mother earth, as golden, or siluer money doth. For this groweth vpon trees, whereof I haue elsewhere spoken at large, both how it is sette, transplanted, and carefully looked vnto vnder the shadowe of another great tree to cheerish it, while being growne vp it may beare the Summers scorching heate, and sustaine the violence of blustering whirlwindes. This tree bringeth forth fruit like to smale Almondes, they are wholly of a bitter tast, & therefore not to be eaten, but drinke is made of them for rich, and noble menne: beeing dried, they are bruised and beaten as small as meale, and at dinner, or supper time the seruants take pitchers, or vesselles of tenne or a leuen gallons, or great pottes, and as much water as is needefull, and cast therein the measure and proportion of powder, according to the quantitie of the drinke they prepare, then presently they powre out the myxture from vessell to vessell as high as they are able to lift their armes and cast it out like rayne falling from showers, and it is so often shaken together, till it cast a foame, and the more foamy it is, they say the drinke becomes the more delicate. So for the space almost of one houre that drinke being rowled, they lette it rest a little, that the dregges, or grosser matter may settle in the bottome of the great boll, or vessell of tenne or a leuen gallons: it is a pleasant drinke, not much distempering, although they that drinke thereof vntemperatly, shall perceiue it troubleth the sences, as our fuming wines. They call the tree and the fruite Cacahus, as wee call Chesnutt, & Almond, for both: that foame, as it were the foode of fat milke, the Spaniard calleth the daughter, which they say hath the force of meate and drinke. Particular countries are nourishers of these trees, and money, for they growe not euery where, or prosper being planted, or transported, as wee may see of the fruites of our countrie. For Citrons or Oringes, which wee call Toronias, and Limones, and suche like others, canne hardly prosper, or bring forth fruite in fewe places. From the Kingdomes therefore, and their fruitfull countries, Cacahus is their tribute to Cortes, wherewith he payeth the souldiers wages, and maketh drinkes, and procureth other necessaries. But the grounde apt for this gift, is not profitable for corne. Marchants trade together, & performe the businesse and affaires of marchandise by exchange and bartering of commodities. They bring the graine Maizium, and Bombasin cotton to make garments, and also garments themselues, into those countryes, & returne hauing chaunged them for Cacahus. I haue now spoken sufficiently of money. I repeate many of these thinges (moste blessed father) least he who beholdeth them intituled with your name, shoulde not be satisfied in these things, not hauing read the bookes

Guaxaca.

Locpoteca.
Cortes his golden
mines.The king Guacinalgo his great
present to
Cortes.The ceremonious
humilitie
that Guacinalgo
exhibited to
Cortes.Their happie
money a re-
lief therof.How drinke is
made of the
money tree.

Cacahus.

Tribute of their
money Cacahus
payd to Cortes.
Marchants.

bookes dedicated to Pope Leo, and Adrian. There are kings also who are mightie, and rich in siluer mines: their tributes are siluer, out of the which Cortes hath full cupboordes, and embossed plate both of siluer, and golde very fairely wrought. By these examples your Holinesse may vnderstande, what estimation and opinion they haue of our Cortes. They say, that Cortes liueth discontented, for the infinite treasures violently taken away three yeeres since, by the French Pyrats, which hee sent vnto Cæsar, among whiche, the orna-mentes of their Temples were admirable, whiche they (together with humane sacrifices) con-secrated to their goddes. But what shall wee speake of the Iewelles, and precious stones? Omitting the rest, there was an Emrode like a Pyramis, the lowest parte or bottome whereof was almost as broad as the palme of a mans hande, such a one (as was reported to Cæsar, and to vs in the kinges Senate) as neuer any humane Eye behelde. The French Admirall is sayd to haue gotten it from the Pyrates at an incredible price. But they executed their sauage outrage most cruelly agaynst miserable Alphonsus Abulensis Com-maunder of the shyppe that was taken: he is a younge manne descended of a noble house, but not rich, hauing taken him, they keepe him close prysoner, resting vpon one onely argument, because they committed such a Iewel, and the rest of the treasures to his trust. Hereupon they thinke, they may exact twentie thousande Ducates of him, if he will bee redeemed. They who knewe the precious stone suppose that it cannot possibly be pro-cured for any weight of golde, and they say it is transparent, bright and very cleere. In these cuntryes of Tenustitan, for that the colde is vehement there, by reason of the dis-tance from the sea, and the neerenesse of the high mountaines, although it lie eightene de-grees within the torride Zone, our corne or wheate groweth if it be sowed, and beareth thicker eares, and also greater graines. But seeing they haue three kinds of the graine Maizium, white, yellow, and red, of those many sortes they like the flower better, and it is more wholesome then the flower of wheate. They haue also wilde Vines in the woods very common, which bring forth great and sauiory clusters of grapes, but they haue not yet made wine thereof. It is reported that Cortes hath planted vines, but what will succeed, time shall discover.

Tributes paid to
Cortes out of
rich siluer mines.

An Emrode of
a wonderfull es-
timation.

Maizium better
and more hol-
some then
wheate.
Vines.

The fift Chapter.

BESIDES this foresaide Alguazill, who obtained a sufficient large portion in this trutinie or examination: another also came lately from the same parts of new Spain subdued by Cortes one Iacobus Garsias a towns-man of Saint Lucar Barrameda. Hee sayeth hee departed from the Hauen of Vera Crux aboute the Calendes of April in the yeere 1524. at what time Ga-raius now died. He also freeth Cortes from the suspition of poyson, and saith, he died of the griefe of his side, or of the pleurisie. And this man also affirmeth that Cortes sheweth no signe or token of disobedience, against Cæsar, as many (through Enuy) mutter. But by his report and others wee heare, that none carry themselves more humbly towards their kinge then Cortes, and that hee bendeth his minde to repaire the ruines made in the great city of the lake in the time of the warres, and that hee hath mended the conducts of water which then were broken, that the stubberne and rebellious Cittizens might bee pressed and vexed with thirst, and that the broken bridges are now made vp, and many of the houses ouerthrowne new built, that the ancient face and shewe of the city is resumed, that the faires and markettes cease not, and that their is the same frequent resort of boates comminge, and returninge, which was at the first. The multitude of marchants, is now great, so that it may seeme almost like those times when Mutezuma reigned. Hee permitteth one of the kinges bloude to receiue the suits, and causes of the people, and to vse a Prætorian scepter, but vnarmed. When this man conuerseth with our menn or with Cortes, hee is attired in Spanish apparell which Cortes gaue him: and while hee remaineth at home amonge his owne people, he weareth garments after the accustomed māner of his natieue country. He saith, that the Prætorian bande appointed to guard f body of Cortes, & apease tumults if any arise, consisteth of 500. horse & 400. foote, & that many Centurians or Captaines euery one with their forces are absent, dispersed both by sea, and lande, for diuers seruices, amonge whom is Christopherus Olitus, of whom I made mention beefore: and a little after,

Iacobus Garsias
freeth Cortes of
suspition of poy-
soninge Garaius.
Cortes a faithfull
subject to Cæsar.
Cortes repaireth
the great city
Tenustitan.

Cortes permittes
a Prætorian
scepter.

His Prætorian
band.

Reportes from
Aluaradus.

Aluaradus as-
signed by Cortes
to make search
for a great city
on the West
side of the bay
Figueras.

Aluaradus sēds
messengers to
the Tyrant.

The Spāiards
ships thought to
be monsters of
the Sea.

wee shall speake of the rest of his valiant acts. But, what another Centurian named Aluaradus, sent from another part, reporteth, it is a goodly and excellent matter to bee heard. We haue sometime sayd, that betweene Iucatan (which is the beginnunge of New Spaine so called by Cortes, & confirmed by Cæsar) & ſ huge coutry of ſ supposed Cōtinent, there lieth an exceeding great Bay which we sometimes thought had a way out to ſ South coasts of ſ coutry: in which Bay also Egidius Gonsalus Abulensis euen to this day thinketh, that some broade riuer may be found, which sucketh or supbeth vp the waters of that great lake of potable waters, whereof I spoake at large in that booke deliuered to your Holines by the Cusentine Archbishop, and in my precedent narration vnto the Duke. The angle of that Bay they cal Figueras lately knowne. On the West side heereof it was reported by diuers inhabitants, that there is a citty no lesse then the city Tenustitan, yet by relation of all, more then 400. leagues thence, and that the kinge thereof was the Tyrant of a large Empire. Cortes commendeth the buisines of searchinge what it might bee, to Aluaradus, and assigneth him 500. horse and foote. Aluaradus taketh his journey to the East, hee goeth directly forth, and sendeth onely two before, who vnderstoode the neere bordering speeches of the Barbarians. He founde diuers countries: some montanous, others plaine, sometimes plashy and marish countreyes, but for the most part dry: diuers countryes vsed diuers languages, out of euery country, such as were skilful in languages, he sent before with his menn. Omittinge what befel them by the way, least I weary your Holines, and my selfe in repeateing smale & triflinge matters, let vs at one leape embrace ſ, which we sayd was excellent to be heard. The messengers goinge before from kingdome to kingdome with their guides of the same country, returned to Aluaradus alwayes staying many leagues behinde, and brought him worde againe what they had searched: as soone as they heard of the fame of the Spaniardes the messengers left all in quietnes and peace, so that none of the kings durst euer drawe a sworde against them, or our armyes. Which way soeuer they went the barnes & storehouses were opened to thē & their faces fixed on thē with admiration, but cheefely beholdinge the horses, & ornaments of our men, for these also are almost naked, so they holpe our men with victuals, & porter slaues to carry their fardells in steede of labouringe beastes. For they make slaues of such as they take in ſ warres, as it happeneth euery where amonge all nations (I will not say kinges) raging madd through couetousnes, or ambition. Aluaradus stayeth on ſ borders of that Tyrant, and alwayes standeth in the winges of the troops in battayle arraye, he setteth no footing vpō ſ boūdes of that great kinge, least he might seeme to intend to offer wronge for it is accounted the greatest contumelye, and contempt amonge all the kinges of those countries, if any touch or enter the limites of another, without the knowledge of the Lord thereof, and there is nothinge more vsuall amonge them, then in that case to take reuenge: hence proceede braules, priuy grudges, and occasions of warres. Hee was yet almost an hundred leagues distant from the princely seate of that Tyrant when hee sendeth Messengers beefore with interpreters of the next nations to that kingdome: they goe vnto the kinge, and salute him, and are peaceably receiued: For the fame of our men hadd come to his eares. Hee demaundeth whether the menn came from that great Malinges whome they reporte to bee sent from Heauen to those countries (for they call a valiant and mighty Noble mann Malinges) they confesse they weere sent from him: Whereupon, he further demaundeth whether they came by Sea or land, if by Sea, in what Piraguas, that is to say huge great shippes, as bigge as the princly courtes in which they were (they themselues haue shippes, but for fishinge, and those made of the body of one tree, as in all those countries) heere, that kinge plainly confessed that hee hadd knowledge of our country shippes the former yeere. For the inhabitants of that Kinge from the townes standinge one the Sea side sawe them passe by with their sayles spread. Which Egidius Gonsalus conducted through those Seas, which lye one the backe side of Iucatan, and they thought them to bee monsters of the Sea and strange, and ominous thinges lately arisinge, who beeinge astonished thereat reported them vnto their Kinge. And demanding, whether any of them two, knewe how to paint such a shippe, one of them called Triuignus, whoe was a caruer in wood, and no ordinary pilott, promised

promised to doe it, hee taketh the matter vpon him to paint a shippe in a great hall, for the great courtes of the Kinge and the Nobility are built with lime and stone as wee haue sayde of Tenustitan standinge in the Lake. Hee painted a monstrous shippe of great burthen, of that kinde, which the Genuenses call Carrackes with six mastes, and as many deckes. The kinge stooode longe amazed, woonderinge at the huge greatenes thereof, and then after what manner they fight, so that it might be sayd that each of the is so stronge, that it may bee an easie matter for euery one to bee able to ouerthrowe thousands of menn, which hee declared hee neither could, nor would beeleeue by any meanes, seeinge hee sawe they nothinge exceeded the common stature of menn or had more grimme countenance, or stronger limmes. They sayd, our menn had fierce fourefooted beasts, and swifter then the winde, wherewith they fight: then, he desired that some of them would paint an horse as well as he could. One of the company painted an horse with a terrible, and sterne countenance, much greater then they are (such as Phidias and Praxiteles left, made of brasse, in the Exquilian hill of your Holinesse) & sett a cōpleat armed man vpō his barbed backe. The king hearing this asked the whether they would take vpō the to conquer the neighbouring enemy that inuaded his borders, if he sent the 50000. armed men to helpe them: they sayd y all y Spaniardes were of litle greater moment or powerfull strength, then other menn are, but in a well ordered army with horse, and warlike engines they feared noe forces of menn. They promised they would returne to that comāder who sent them, & expecteth them not farr from his bounds the king demāded what word they would bring frō him, who say they thinke he would come to helpe him, & that they should easily destroy the enemy, his city, and whatsoever else is subject to his dominion. Whereupō he affirmed, y he would yeeld himselfe & all his subiectes into y power & subiection of y great & valiant noble man, if they wold performe their promise. These things being done & cōcluded, in token of his future obedience, he remained so ready to pleasure our men y he gaue the 5000. slaues ladē with y mōy Cacahus (which extendeth as farr as those coasts) & w prouisiō of victuals to be brought to Aluaradus, and gaue them also 2000. Pensa of gold wrought into diuers Iewels. Returning back to Aluaradus, they made him ioyfull. Aluaradus returned to Cortes, & told him what they had done. He offereth y presents of that great king, they diuide them, as it behooued. But of y two messēgers sent frō Aluaradus y one not trusting to y Cōmāders liberality towards him, stole certaine Pensa after y iourney. His cōpāiō admonished him not to pollute his hāds by violating his fidelity & faith, & exhorteth him rather to proue y liberality of Cortes & Aluaradus: expecting y obstiacy of his cōpāiō he held his peace dissemblinge the matter, and accused his companion to Cortes of theft: who for example of others (the gold being found out) was publicly whipped with rodde & punished with perpetuall banishment from Noua Hispania. These things were done about the ende of the yeare of our Lorde 1523. Then presently after a few dayes ended, the sicke and faint being refreshed and new men placed in steede of the deade, this messenger sayth, that by the commandement of Cortes, Aluaradus departed while he was present, with greater forces, with striking vp of drums & sounde of the trumpetts. This messenger Iacobus Garsias sometimes household seruant of Marcellus Villalobos the Lawier, one of the Senators of Hispaniola, is sent frō his olde Maister to our Senat: what he sollicit for his Maister he hath obtained. To wit, that it might be lawfull for him to erect a castle, and plant a Colony in the Ilande Margarita, at his owne proper cost, and charges. This Margarita is an Iland oueragainst the entrance of the Dragons mouth in the supposed Continent, a fruitfull ingendrer of pearls from whence the name of Margarita is giuen vnto it. If he doe it, he shalbe perpetuall Gouvernour thereof, and the command thereof shall come to his heires, as the manner is, the supreme authority and power notwithstanding reserued to the Crowne of Castile. Their remaineth one thing yet, that wee may ende the matters of this new Spaine.

The sixt Chapter.

Cortes, since that French pyrate named Florinus violently tooke his flecte with many precious things, which he, & the rest of the Magistrates of new Spaine, partakers of

Time the best
inquisitor.

Christoph. Oli-
tus reported
to be revolted
from Cortes.

That Gonzalus
sends messengers
of peace to
Olitus.

Of the worth of
Olitus.

A report that
Petrus Arias
leaves a great
armie to go
against Cortes.
Cæsar seeks to
appease these
contentions of
the Captaines.

Friar Thomas
Hortisius.

the victoryes, sent vnto Cæsar, through griefe, and sorrow for so great an ouerthrowe, hath sent no more letters vnto Cæsar, or our Senate, although from those kingdomes, many returned, & that often: whereupon that suspition of reuoltinge frō Cæsar arose. Now he yeeldeth apparant tokens cōtrary to opinions, he indeuoreth to enlarge kingdomes to his Maiesty and not for himselfe: and if peraduenture your Holines sometimes considered with your-elfe, whether the ambiguous and doubtfull case of Garaius be to bee exacted from him, and a strict accompt to be required, concerning his death, and he to bee corrected, if it happened by his consent, let your Holinesse receiue this from my iudgement and experience. Such an inquisition will be dissembled as I suppose, for none will attempt to bridle so mighty an Elephant by this meanes: we shall thinke it better, and that it shall rather bee needeful to vse courteous speeches, and comfortable lenitiues for the curing of such a wounde, then to prouoke him to anger. Time the æternall Iudge of all things will discouer it. Yet we beleue it will come to passe, that heereafter he shall fall into the same snares, into the which hee cast Iacobus Velasquez Gouvernour of Cuba, vnder whose commande being sent young vnto those countries, he aduanced the crest against him, and then Pamphilus Narbaicius, now Garaius, if the opinion of many bee true, as in their places I haue discoursed at large. And the beginning of the payment of this debt is not farre of. It is reported from Cuba, and Iamaica, but more plainly from Hispaniola, whether all resorte as to a generall Mart towne, that Christopherus Olitus sent by him for the searching of the desired Streight, is revolted from him, and performeth the matter by himselfe, neglecting the authority of Cortes: so things haue their beginnings. We read letters also, whereby I vnderstand, that Ægidius Gonsalus Abulensis (of whom in my former Decades I spoake at large) is now arriued on those coastes of the foresaide Baye called Figueras lately knowne, that from thence searching by little and little, he might seeke out the ende or issue of these freshe waters. They say, that Olitus came to the very selfe same shoares, and that hee went further downe 30. leagues onely, from Ægidius Gonsalus. They say also that Ægidius Gonsalus hearing of the comming of Olitus, sent letters and Messengers vnto him, offering peace, and concorde. It is also reported, that Cortes (vnderstanding of the reuolt of Olitus) sent armed forces against him, whom he commanded to take Olitus, and bring him to him bounde, or kill him. They who knewe Olitus, say, hee was a stout and valiant souldier, and no foolish Commaunder, and that from the beginning of the warres, he had not beene the meanest part of the victoryes, but as it often vsually falleth out, hee nowe became fearefull vnto Cortes, wherefore vnder the pretence of honour, hee sent him away from him, that hee might not repose any credit in a man to whom he had spoken ignominious wordes. On the other part, wee heare that Petrus Arias Gouvernour of the supposed Continent, hath leuiued a great armie to goe thither, whereupon, wee feare, least the discordes of these menn will bring all to ruine, and destruction. Neyther doth Cæsar, nor our Senate vnderstande, what other counsell to take, then by frequent commaundementes to the Senate of Hispaniola, to increase their authority, that thence, as from the supreme power they endeouour both by courteous speeches, and also by admonitions, and threatenings, that no hurt arise, that they be not contentious, but agree together in minde, except they will bee taxed, or charged with the accusation of treason: they will all fall, and come to nought, vnlesse they obey. For neyther will the rest of the Nobilitie of Spaine, who haue the mindes of the souldiers affected vnto them, assent vnto their opinions, against the obedience of their King. Nor doe wee thinke these commotions, and troubles are to bee appeased by armes, but if wee shal perceiue any arguments or tokens of breach of fidelity, or treachery to breake out, and appeare in any, whatsoever thwart or opposite matter ariseth, shall be ouerthrowne onely with inke, and paper. For the force of honour or prayse especially, is great, & naturally bredd in the breast of the Spaniards, that they may be esteemed faithful to their King. We expect ships from that forrain, & new world euery houre. Then if any thing secretly swell, it will breake forth, and we will send for the Chirurgians to cure the same. I learned also many other things (not vnworthy the relation) by Friar Thomas Hortisius, and his fellowes the two coloured Dominican Friars, approued honest men.

These

These men for 7. yeeres space inhabited that parte of the supposed Continent, called Chiribichi, which is the next neighbouring Countrey to the Mouth of the Dragon, and the prouince Paria, often named by vs in our former Decades: where in my precedent treatise to the Duke, I sayde that the Barbarians ouerthrowe the Monastery, and killed those that liued therein. This is the opinion of this Friar Thomas Hortisius who remayneth with vs, that twelue Friars of the Dominican order, be assigned to be sent vnto new Spaine vnder his conduct that they may sowe the seede of our faith among those barbarous natiōs: I vnderstood many things of these friars before, which (as I remember) being set downe in writing, I sent them expresly mentioned to diuers Princes. They affirme, that the inhabitantes of those countries are Canibales, or Caribes, eaters of manns fleshe. The countrey of the Caribes is an huge quantity of ground, exceeding all Europe: they are found to sayle in fleetes of Canowes, to hunt men, among the heape of Ilandes which are innumerable, as others goe to the forrests, and woodes, to seeke Harts, and wild Bores to kill them. Carib, in the vniuersal languages of those countries, signifieth, stronger then the rest, and from thence they are called Caribes: nor doe any of the Ilanders viter and pronounce this name without feare. They are also called Caribes of the country Caribana, situate on the East part of the Bay of Vrabia, from whence, that wilde kinde of men dispersed through the large distance of those coasts, hath sometimes slayne, and viterly ouerthrowne whole armies of the Spanyardes. They liue almost naked, sometimes they inclose their priuities within a golden little goorde, in another place they binde vpp the foreskinne with a little corde, and vntie it not, but to make water, or when they vse the act of generation, and liuing idle at home, they couer no other part: but in the time of warres, they weare many ornaments. They are very nimble, and cast their poysoned darts with most assured ayme, and goe, and returne swifter then the winde, with their arrowes: in their bowes, they are bearded, and if an haire come forth, they plucke it out one from another with certaine little pinsers, and cut their hayre to the halfe of the eare. They boare holes in their eares, and nostrils for elegancy, and the richer sort decke them with Iewels of gold, the common people with diuers shelles of cockels, or sea nayles, and they also, who can gett gold, are delighted in golden crownes. From the tenth, or twelue th yeere of their age, when now they begin to bee troubled with the tickeling prouocations of Venerie, they carry leaues of trees to the quantity of nutts, all the day in eyther cheeke, and take them not out, but when they receiue meate, or drinke. The teeth growe blacke with that medicine, euen to the foulness of a quenched or dead cole: they call our men women, or children in reproach, because they delight in white teeth, and wilde beastes, for that they endeouour to preserue their beardes, and hayre: Their teeth continue to the ende of their liues, and they are neuer payned with the toothach, nor do they euer rott. These leaues are somewhat greater then those of the Mirtle, and as soft as those which the tree Terebinthus beareth, in feeling, as soft as wooll, or cotton. The Chiribichenses doe not more apply them-selues to any culture, or husbandry, then to the care of those trees (which they call Hay) by reason that for the leaues thereof, they get whatsoeuer wares, or commodities they like. Throughout the fields of those trees, they cut very well ordered trenches, and conuey small brookes vnto them, wherewith they water the plants in good order. Euery one incloseth his portion onely with a little cotton line drawn out in length, to the height of a mans girdle, and they account it a matter of sacriledge, if any passe ouer the corde, and treade on the possessions of his neighbour, and hold it for certaine that whoso violateth this sacred thing, shall shortly perish. But, howe they preserue the powder of those leaues, that it corrupt not, is worth the hearing. Before the dried leaues be beaten into powder, they goe to the woods of the Mountaynes, where exceeding plenty of shels and snayles are ingendred, by reason of the moisture of the earth, of those shelles heaped vpp, and put into a furnace made for that purpose, with a certaine particular kinde of woodd, and a greate and vehement fire vnder it, they make lime, and mingle it with the powder. The force of that lime is so great, that his lippes that first taketh it, are so baked, and hardened, like diggers and deluers who haue harde and brawny handes with often handling of spades and mattocks, or, as if they rubbed our lippes with vnslaked lime, but

Chiribichi.

The Country of
the Canibals, or
Caribs and the
manners of
them.

Howe they make
blacke their
teeth.

Their industry
in the planting
of the trees
called Hay.

These

with such as are accustomed thereto, it is not so. The powder thus mixed, & tempered, they put it vp close in maunds, and baskets of marish canes curiously wrought, and platted in, and keepe it till the marchants come, who goe, and come, to haue that powder, as they come flocking to fayres and markets. They bring the graine Maizium, slaues, and gold, or lewels of gold, (which they call Guanines) that they may get this powder, which all the bordering countries vse for cure of the teeth, yet the Chiribichenses spitt out the olde leaues euery houre, & take new. There are other trees in this valley famous for their profits and commodities, from one of thē, the boughes being a litle cut, a milky moysture issueth, or droppeth out. This sapp or moysture beeing left thus, congealeth into a kinde of pitchy rosin, and that gumme is transparent and cleere, profitable for the pleasing perfume thereof. The iuyce gathered from another tree after the same manner, killeth, if any bee hitt with an arrow annoynted therewith. From other trees bird lime issueth, therewith they take fowle, & put it to other vses. There is another tree like a Mulberry tree, called Gacirma, and beareth fruite harder then our Mulberries of Europe, fitt to bee presently eaten. From them (being first moystened) they wring out a certaine sapp, excellent to purge the throat, and good to take away hoarsenes. From the dried boughes of this tree fire may be stricken, as out of a flint. The sides also of this valley haue Citrean trees very familiar, and common, and very high, they say that garments layd vp in Citrean chestes smell very sweet, and are preserved from mothes. But if bread be shut vp there, to bee kept, it becommeth more bitter then gall, and cannot bee tasted, thereupon (as wee haue sayd) shippes made of those plancks escape the danger of those gnawing wormes. Another tree beareth Gosampine cotton, bigger then a Mulberry tree, in ten yeeres it dyeth and perisheth, the like also happeneth in Hispaniola, and in many other places in this new worlde, as wee haue sayd in the precedent booke to the Duke. These two coloured fathers make their vaunts, that this cotton is more precious then ours of Europe which is yeerely sowed, and exceedeth not the height of a stalke of hempe or flaxe, this slender kinde groweth and prospereth in many parts of Spaine, but chiefly in the Astigitan field. The great tree of Cassia Fistula is very common in this valley, and groweth of it owne nature. Another commodity also of this valley is not to be omitted: among the Chiribichenses in some hidden and secrete solitary places, they thought trees grewe which yeelded Cinnamō, vnknowne to the inhabitants, or at the least not regarded, because there is no kinde of spice in vse among these inhabitantes, beside that sort of pepper, whereof I haue often, and at large elsewhere discoursed, which they call Axi, so peculiar and proper that there is no lesse plenty of those shrubbs with them, then of mallowes, or nettles with vs. For example, there was a tree carryed away by the violence of an ouerflowing riuier, & cast vpon the sea shoare next vnto their Monastery, hauing drawne the tree vnto the dry land, they went about to cut it for the vse of the kitchen, sweete smelling sauours comming from all the chippes, they tasted the barke, and perceiued the tast thereof not to be much vnlike Cinnamon, although through long space of time, and violent shaking of the streame, the truncke and body thereof were halfe corrupted. Time, the Iudge of all thinges, will discouer these, & many other things besides, which are yet hid. We reade that the Creator of all things tooke vnto him the number of sixe dayes to forme, and orderly compose the frame of the vniuersall worlde. Wee cannot with one breath search out all the secrets of great matters. They say the waters of that riuier are apt to purge, and breake the stone of the kidneis, and bladder, but make the sight dimme. They say, that out of a fountaine also springeth y matter of that vnquenchable fire vsually called Ignis Alchitrani, I thinke the Italian commonly calleth it Ignis Græcus.

The seuenth Chapter.

ANother thing is worth the noting for the argument and matter thereof, beecause that valley ingendreth lasciuious, and delightfull Spices. At the rising of the sunne, and in cleare weather, wonderfull vapours are dispersed by the gentle morning windes, throughout the whole valley. But if they bee to greedily drawne in at the nostrils, they are hurtfull to the

The cure of the teeth.

Gumme.

The iuyce of a tree where with they poison their arrows.

Gacirma a tree with a excellent properties.

Citrean trees and the properties thereof.

A tree bearing Gosampine Cotton.

Cassia Fistula.

Plenty of Cinnamom.

Waters of a riuier good to purge the stone. Ignis Alchitrani, Ignis Græcus.

Vapours hurtfull for the head.

& tempered, wrought, and nat powder, as ues, and gold, which all the out the olde ous for their ilky moysture into a kinde pleasing per- er, killeth, if issueth, there- fulberry tree, to bee pre- pp, excellent ughes of this Citrean trees Citrean chestes there, to bee (as wee haue es. Another it dyeth and in this new oured fathers ich is yeerely slender kinde n field. The owne nature. ribichenses in led Cinnamō, inde of spice often, and at ere is no lesse For example, st vpon the nd, they went from all the ynlike Cinna- p, the truncke iscouer these, of all things frame of the great matters. kidneis, and o springeth y Italian com-

because that anne, and in , throughout e hurtfull to the

the head, and ingender the pose, or stuffing of the head, as it falleth out with vs in many herbes, chiefly Basill, nor is it good to put Muske to the Nose, although the sent thereof be sweete a farre off: but in raynie, or cloudy weather, those odours cease. Another tree on the bankes of the riuers beareth apples, which beeing eaten prouoke vrine, and cause it to come forth of the colour of bloode. Another, beareth excellent plummcs, like those which the Spaniards call Monke plummcs. Vpon the same bankes, another beareth apples whiche kill, if they bee eaten, although they bee pleasant, those apples falling into the channels are eaten of the fishes, and they who at that time eate those fishes, fall into diuers vnkowne diseases: this Fryar Thomas Hortisius sayth, that hee tasted a litle of the apple but eate it not, who affirmeth that it hadd a sower sweete taste intermixed, it hurt him a litle, but a draught of oyle was a remedy for the poyson. The shaddow also of this Apple-tree hurteth the head, and sight of the eyes, the eating of these apples also killeth dogges, and cates, and any other soure-footed beast whatsoever. That Country also ingendreth other trees of many sortes: a iuyce issueth from one, which beeing pressed is like the creame of newe milke, and good to bee eaten. Another tree yeeldeth gumme no worse then redd sugar. That Earth also of her owne nature shooteth forth many sweete smelling herbes, and Basill may euery where bee gathered. Beetes growe there, to the height of a manns stature. Three leaued grasse there, is greater then Parsley and Smalage, and Porselane, brings forth braunches thicker then a mans thumbe. All pot herbes, and garden herbes, brought thether by them of the Monastery growe vp there, as Melons, Goordes, Cucumbers, Radishes, Carrettes, and Parsnepps. Deadly and poysonous herbes also grow there, and chiefly one three ribbed marish herbe, armed with sharpe pointed teeth in manner of a sawe: and if it pricke one vnawares, it sendeth him away complayning. Certaine herbes also grow in that Sea, which being plucked vp by the rootes through the violence of the winde spread themselves abroad, and for the most part, hinder the way of the ships. In this country of the Chiribichenses, the variety of the foure-footed beastes, and their country fowle is woorth the mentioning. And let vs begin, with the most profitable, and the more hurtfull, which are opposite. In my former books, and those that follow, often mention is made of certaine foure-footed Serpents, terrible to behold, they call them Iuganas, others call them Iuanas. This monstrous beast is good to be eaten, and a beast not to be reiected, among the dainty meates. And the egges also, which shee layeth, and bringeth forth like the Crocodile, or Tortoise, are of an excellent nutriment, and taste. The two coloured Dominican Fryars receyued no small dammage by them, while they inhabited those Countries for seuen yeeres space. The Monastery being erected (as we sayd) they report, for the most parte by night, they were besett with a dangerous multitude of Iuganas, as with the enemye, whereupon they rose out of their beds, not to prouoke them to defende themselves, but to feare, and driue them away from the fruites, and chiefly the garden Melons, sowen, and manured in their season, whereon they willingly fedd. The Inhabitanes of that valley hunt the Iuganas to eate them, who, finding them, kill them with their arrowes, and many take them aliue, with their right hand, seising on the neck of this monstrous beast, which is very slowe, and dull, though fearefull to behold, and seemeth with open mouth, and terrible shewe of teeth, to threaten biting, but like an hissing Goose it becommeth astonied, and dare not assayle them: the increase of them is so great, that they cannot vtterly destroye the whole hearde and company thereof. Out of the dennes, and holes vpon the sea coast, where any greene thinge buddeth or groweth, they come forth by night in great troopes, and multitudes, to seeke foode, and eate also the excrementes of the sea, which the Ebb leaueth on the shores. That countrey also nourisheth another subtile & cruell beast, (no lesse then a French dogge) seldome scene. In the first twilight of the night, it commeth forth of the lurking places, and couert of the wooddes, goeth to the villages, and compasseth the houses with loude weeping, and lamentation, so that they who are ignoraunt of that crafty deuise, would suppose some young childe were beaten. Before the experience of thinges instructed the neighbours, many were deceyued, and vnawares, went out to the crying of the infant, then presently, came the monster, and violently caught the poore miserable man, and in the twinkling of an eye, tare him in pceces. Long space

Basill & Muske not good to be put to the nose. Apples prouoking vrine.

Plummcs.

Of a pleasant poysoning apple the true Pomum Paradisi.

Of the iuyce of a tree. Gumme no worse then redd sugar. Herbes.

A foure-footed serpent good to eate.

Of a subtile & cruell beast.

The Chiribichians eate Crocodiles.

Wilde cattles.

Cappa a fierce kind of beast.

Leopards and Lyons of a mild & gentle kinde. A beast resembling the shape of a man.

A beast whose excrementes are snakes.

A beast that feedeth vpon Antes.

of time, and necessity, which stirre vp the drowsie mindes of men, found out a remedy against the nature of this cruell and monstrous beast. If any be to trauaile by night, hee carryeth out a kindled fier brande with him, and swingeth it about as hee goeth, which the monster beholding, flyeth, as a fearfull mann from the sworde of a madd man, by day this monster hath neuer beene seene. They are also much molested, and troubled with Crocodiles, especially in solitary and mirie Bayes, for the most part they take the young, and eate them, but abstaine from the olde ones, being affrayd of them. The Fryars eate of a Crocodile, who say that the vnsauory taste thereof, is like to the soft fleshe of an Asse, as I haue else where sayde of the Crocodiles of Nilus, in my Babilonian Legation for the Catholike Princes Ferdinando, & Elizabeth. From the femall a sent proceedeth much like the smell of ranke muske. That Country engendreth wild Catts, the damme carrieth the young in her bosome, creeping or climbing among the trees, then they hit the damme, who falling downe dead, they take the little ones, and keepe them for delight, as we doe Munkies or Apes, from wich they differ exceeding much, they take them also by setting snares for them on the brinckes of Fountaines. Beyond the mountaines poynted at with the finger, the Inhabitauntes say, that Montanous wilde beastes inhabite, which counterfeite the shape of a man, in countenance, feete, and handes, and sometimes stand vpriight on their hinder feete, with their face vpwarde, and walke, they who hearde this, suppose them to be Beares, but sawe them not. Another scarce Beaste remaineth in their woodes greater then an Asse, a deadly enemy to Dogges, for whatsoeuer Dogge hee meeteth, hee catcheth him, and carryeth him away with him, euen as a Wolfe, or Lion dooth a sheepe, they violently caught three Dogges (from the Fryars) whiche kept the Monastery, euen out of the entry or porch. The forme of the feete of this Beast greatly differeth from other liuing creatures, the hooffe thereof is like vnto a French shoo, broade before, and rounde, not diuided, or clouen, sharpe from the heele, it is blacke, and shagg hayred, and feareth the sight of a man, the inhabitantes call this fourfooted Beast, Cappa. It nourisheth also Leoparides, and Lyons, but milde, and gentle, and not hurtfull, there are great multitudes of Deere, whiche the inhabitantes (who are hunters) pursue with their arrowes. There is another Beast no greater then a French Dogge named Aranata, the shape whereof is like to a manne, with a thicke bearde, goodly, & reuerent to beholde, they haue handes, feete, and mouth lyke to a mannes, they eate the fruite of trees, and climbing among the trees, as a Catte, or an Ape, they goe in flockes, or companyes, and sometimes making a great crying or iabbering togeather, insomuche as the Fryars of the Monastery when they first arryued, thought them to bee armyes of Diuelles, crying out against them to terrifie them, for rage and madnesse, of their comming thither. It is a very apt, and quicke Beast, for it knoweth howe to auoide arrowes shot at it, and to take them with the hand, and sende them backe to the shooter: I thinke them to be a kinde of Apes, or Munkies, but the Fryars, deny it. There is another carrion leane beast, wonderfull for the gesture and behauiour, for in steede of dounge, it voydeth snakes of a cubite long: these Fryars say, they nourished one at home, and that they sawe the thing by manifest prooffe. Being demanded, whether the snakes went being set at libertie, they sayd, to the next woodds, where they liue a short time. This beast lyeth stinking vpon euery filthy carrion cast on the dunghilles, and therefore impatient of the rotten saucour thereof, they commaunded it shoulde bee killed: it hath the snout, and haire like a foxe. Considering we see woormes bred in the bellies of young children, and old men are not free from that pestilent disease, and that I haue learned, that they are voyded aliue together with the excrementes, which chaunging the name the common people call maw woormes, why shoulde I not beleue that to be so, especially such men affirming the same? There is another foure-footed beast which seeketh his liuing by a marueilous instinct of nature: for it is an hunter of Antes, as wee know the Pye doth, this beast hath a sharpe snout of a spanne long, and in steade of a mouth hath onely a hoale in the ende of his snout, whereby putting forth his long tongue, he stretcheth it out into beddes of the Antes which lye hidd in the hollowe hoales of trees, and playing, with the motion of his tongue hee allureth them, and perceiuing it to bee full of Antes, hee draweth it back, and so swallowing the Antes, is fed. That Countrie also, ingendreth

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ingendredth that barbed or armed beast, whereof I haue often spoken. It aboundeth also with ^{Wild Boares,} wilde Boares, thorny Hedghogges, and Porkepennes, and diuers kinde of Weesells: it is ^{Hedghoggs,} also adorned with diuers fowles, and is much troubled with the birdes called Onocrotali, ^{Porkepennes,} wherof I haue spoken at large in my former booke to the Duke. Battes, like Gnattes, as ^{Battes.} sayle men sleeping by night. Whatsoeuer the Batt findeth vncouered in a manne, it boldly assaileth it without feare, and suddenly biteth it, sucking the blood. But your Holinesse shall heare a pleasant accident worth the hearing, which fell out about the biting of a Batt. An housholde seruant of the Monastery, was sicke of a grieuous pleurisie, in great daunger of life, and hauing neede presently to bee lette bloode, the Phlebotomist as- sayd to strike the veine twice or thrise, but got not any drop of bloode with his rasor, where- upon hee beeing left for a dead mann, within fewe howers, the Fryars taking their last fare- well, departed, to goe about to prepare for his buriall. A Batt seisset on him beeing thus forsaken, and opened a veine of one of the sicke mans feete which was vncouered, the Batt filled with sucking of the bloode, flew away, and left the veine open. At the rising of the Sunne the Fryars come to this forsaken man supposing him to be dead, and found him alieue, and cheerefull, and almost well, and after a while hee recouered health, diligently applying himselfe to his olde office, thanked bee the Batt, which was his Phisition. They also kill cats, doggs, and hennes with their biting. The Inhabitaunt calleth a Batt, Rere: I giue the names of things which they giue, but they giue but fewe. There are also Crowes, ^{Of a man sick of a pleurisie cured by a Batt.} (not Crowes which are blackish birdes) with a crooked Eagles bill, rauinous, but slow in flight, as wee see, and may obserue in the flying of that slowe birde familiar in Spayne, bigger then a Goose: about the setting of the Sunne, a fragrant breath or vapour commeth from them, but at noone, or in foggy weather, none at all. Partridges, Turtles, and Stock- ^{Of a kinde of Crowes.} doudes are bredd there in an infinite number, and they haue little Sparrowes lesse then our Wrennes. They report marueilous things concerning their industrious architecture in the building of their nests, to defend their young from rauening fowles and other monstrous beastes. Next vnto the Chiribichenses lyeth the Country of Atala, along by the shoares ^{Atala.} whereof, the Spanyardes sayled: they who cast their eyes farre into the Sea, the rest eyther playing, or else idle, sawe an vknowne and strang thing, swimming aboue water and con- sidering with fixed eye what it shoulde bee, confidently affirmed they sawe the hayry head of a man with a thicke bearde, and that it hadd armes. While they quietly behelde a farre off, the monster securely wandred heere, and there, wonderinge at the sight of the shippe, but raysing their Companions with exceedinge loude outcrys, and exclamation, the Mon- ster hearing the sounde of the voyce was terrified, and diued vnder Water, and shewed that parte of the body which was hidden vnder the water, and beholding the tayle, they obserued it to bee like the tayle of a fishe, with the shaking, and flapping whereof it made that place of the calme sea full of waues, or sourses. Wee thinke them to bee the Tritones, which ^{Tritones or Neptunes trum- petters.} fabulous antiquitie calleth Neptunes trumpeters. At the Ilande Cubagua, famous for the fishing of pearle, neere to the Ilande of Margarita, many reported, that another monster of that kinde was seene there. In our Cantabrick Ocean, virgins voyces melodiously singing ^{Fishes melodi- ously singing in the Cantabrick Ocean.} are sayde to bee hearde at certayne tymes of the yeere: they thinke there are Consortes and companyes of them, when they are prouoked to venerie, through the appetite of ingendring, or begetting young of the same kinde. They haue many kinds of fishes vknowne to vs, but specially they delight in 2. sortes euery where, one, they roast or broyle, and keepe it as we doe salted gammons, or fliches of Bacon, or, as we powder or pickle other flesh, or fish, for our future necessities. Another kind, being boyled they knead in maner of a lumpe of wheaten dough, which being brought into rounde balles, they bestowe vpon the neigh- bours wanting that marchandise, for exchange of other forraine commodities. They take fishes by two slights, or cunning deuises. When they purpose to goe about a generall fish- ing, a greate multitude of young men gather together, where they know plentie of those fishes are, who without making any noyse compasse about the scoole beehinde in a broade ring, like them that hunte hares, diuing all together, and in the waters after the manner of dauncers, with wandes which they carrie in their right hands moued with great dexteritie, ^{Of their manner of fishing.}

and the left hande open, by little, and little, and by degrees they driue them to the sandie shoares lyke sheepe into the folde, and there cast the pray by whole baskets full vppon the drie lande. I wonder not that this may be done, beecause the like happened to my selfe in the channell of Nilus, when I went against the streame to the Soldan, foure and twentie yeers since. The shyppes that carryed mee, and my trayne, and the Palatines sente vnto mee from the Soldan, staying on the shore to take in newe prouision of victualles, for recreations sake, because it was not safe to lande by reason of the wandring Arabians, by the perswasion and counsell of one of the borderers, I cast little peeces of breade into the ryuer, whereuppon presently a multitude of fishes were gathered together, so secure, that they suffered maundes or baskettes to bee putte vnder them, for they come struing, and flockinge, to the floting peeces of bread, as greedie flyes to any sweete or pleasant thing, then presently wee lifted vpp the baskets full, and that wee might doe at our pleasure againe, and againe. But the borderers being demaunded why the great multitude of those fishes continued so long a time, wee vnderstoode that they ate not those fishes because they were hurtfull. I was aduised to take none of them in my hand, for they shewed me a redd pricke in their back, and that the fish endeouureth to smite the taker with the poynt of the prickle, as Bees doe with their stinge: but the Chiribichenses haue not that care, for theirs, are good, and profitable fishes. The other kinde of fishing is more safe, and generous, they carry burning torches by night within their Canowes, and where they know by prooffe, the scooles of great fishes are, thether they goe, and swinge about the flaming torches without the sides of the boates, the scooles of fish hasten to the light, which, by casting their harping Irons, and dartes, they kill at their pleasure, and being salted, or dried in the scorching sunne they orderly lay them in chestes, and expect the Marchants that will come to their markets, and let this suffice for the Sea parts. Many kindes also of flyes, and serpents are ingendred there. The Salamanders of the Chiribichenses are broader then the palme of a mans hande, and their biting is deadly: they croake or cackle like young hoarse hen-chickens when they begin to desire the Cocke. Aspes which strike with the stinge of their tayle, are euery where to bee founde there, with the poynt of their tayle they poyson their arrowes. There are also diuers coloured Spiders, beautifull to beholde, twice bigger then ours: their webb is strong, and worth the beholding, whatsoever bird, lesse, or as bigge as a Sparrow lighteth into it, is intangled, and they of the Monastery say that no little strength is required to breake the threedds thereof. They eat Spiders, Frogges, and whatsoever woormes, and lice also without loathing, although in other thinges they are so queasie stomaked, that if they see any thing that doth not like them, they presently cast vpp whatsoever is in their stomacke. Many defend themselves from foure daungerous sortes of Gnattes after this manner, couering themselves in sande, they hide their faces with greene leaues among the boughes, yet so, that they may breath, the small ones of these Gnattes are the most hurtfull. There are 3. kinds of bees, whereof two gather hony in hiues after the manner of ours, the third is small, and blacke, which gathereth hony in the wooddes, without wax. The Inhabitauntes willingly eate the young bees, rawe, roasted, and sometimes sodden. There are two sortes of Waspes, one harmelesse, the other very troublesome, the one inhabite the houses, the other remayne in the wooddes. In certayne Bayes of the Sea coast, Serpents of great and huge bignes are ingendred, if the Marriners chaunce to sleepe, taking holde of the side of the boate, they clime into it, and kill, teare, and eate those that are asleepe together, like Vultures seising vppon dead carrion which they finde. At certayne times of the yeere, they are much molested with grasse-woormes, palmer-woormes, and Locustes, in the blossomes of the trees: and in the graine Maizium, vnlesse great care be taken in drying it, and laying it vp in store-houses, the Weeuell groweth, and gnaweth the substance, and pith, leauing the huske, as it happeth in beanes, and somewhere in corne. Gloowormes are also very familiar there, of the which I haue spoake in my former Decade to the Duke, that they vse them for remedies against the gnattes, and to giue them light by night. They say that the shoares of that Sea at certayne times of the yeere are redd of the colour of blood. The elder sort being demaunded what might be the cause, they say, that they thinke, but affirme it not, that an huge

A hurtful kind
of fish in the
channell of
Nilus.

Salamanders.

Aspes with the
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tangle birds.

Eating of lice
and frogges.

Gnattes.

3. kindes of
Bees.

2. sortes of
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Daungerous Ser-
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huge multitude of fishes cast their spaine at that time, which beeing violently carried away by the waues, giues that bloody colour to the brim of the water: I leaue it to them that seeke marrowe in the superficies of bones, to beleue it, or else to infect these, and many thinges besides, with the naturall corruption of their enuie, and spite. Wee haue nowe spoken sufficiently of fourefooted beasts, fowles, and flies, as also of trees, herbes, and iuyces, and other such like things. *Let vs therefore bend our bowe to ayme at the noble actes, and the order, and course of the life of men.*

The eight Chapter.

The Chiribichenses are very muche addicted to Sooth-saying, or diuination, they are louers of playes or sports, songes, and soundes, euery twilight they salute each other by course with diuers instruments and songes, sometimes they spend eight dayes together in singing, chaunting, dauncing, drinking and eating, and sometimes shake themselues vntill they be extreame weary. Their songes tend to sorow, and mourning, there, euery one furnishe and adorne themselves with lewels, some set golden crownes vpon their heads, and beautifie their neckes, and legges with wilkes of the Sea, or shelles of snayles, in stead of belles, others take plumes of feathers of diuers colours, others hang golden tablets or brooches at their breastes, which they call Guaninnes, but they all die themselues with diuers iuyces of herbes, and he that seemeth most filthy, and ougly in our eyes, they iudge him, to be the most neate, and trimme: being thus gathered together somewhat like a bowe, then in manner of a strait wedge, and after that, in a round ring, with their handes knit together, then presently loosed, they goe rounde with a thousande diuers Kindes of skipinges, and dauncings, alwayes singing, going forth, and returning with diuers gestures of the countenance: sometimes with their lippes close, and silent, and sometimes open with loude outcries. These fryars say, that they sawe them sometimes consume six howers, and more, without any intermission in these vaine, and laborious motions. When, warned by the Cryars, the bordering neighbours are to assemble together at the Court of any cheife King, the Kinges seruantes sweepe, and cleanse the wayes, plucking vpp the herbes, and casting away the Stones, thornes, and Strawe, and all other filth, and if neede require, they make them wider. The neighbours that come from the Townes, make a stande a slinges cast from the Kinges Court, and prepare themselues in the open felde, and hauing set themselues in an orderly array, they shake their Dartes, and Arrowes which they vse in the warres, singing, and dauncing, and first singing with a trembling low voyce, they goe a softe pace, then presently the neerer they come, they lift vp their voyces, and reiterated songes, euer almost vttering the same thing, as for example: It is a cleere day, the day is cleere, it is a cleere day. One Commaunder of euery towne giueth a rule vnto the rest, of their dances, and songes, who aunswere so great a Commaunder with a musicall accord, so that it may seeme to bee but one voyce in many, and one motion, in many motions. One of the kinsmen or familiar freindes of that Commaunder, goeth before the troope or cōpany, directing his steppes to the folding gates of the Court, then they enter the house without singing, one counterfeiting the arte of fishing, another hunting, modestly dauncing, after that, another (like an Orator) talketh aloude praying the King, and his progenitors, and one among the rest counterfeitteth the gesture and behauiour of a foole or iester, one while distorting his eyes, another while looking directly. This being done, they sitt all silent vppon the ground with their feete vnder them, and eate till they surfeite, and drinke till they be drunke, and the more vntemperatly any one drinketh, the more valiant is he accounted. Then, women vse drinke more modestly, to the intent they may haue the greater care of their husbandes ouercome with drunkennes, for euery husband is licenced to haue his wife to looke vnto him, while these sportes of Bacchus last: they also vse the helpe of women at these times to beare their carriages of meates and drinckes to the place of meeting: these reach the cupps from man to man after this manner, the women drinke to him that sitteth first, who ariseth, and reacheth the bole or goblet to him that is nexte, vntill the whole number haue drunke in their order. The Friars say, that they haue seene some of them swolne through

The disposition
of the Chiribi-
chenses.

Ornaments.

Their Bacchus
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too much drinke, that they seemed like to a woman great with childe. After this, they returne to brawling and complayning, and recounting iniuries past, hence arise combates hand to hand, prouocations, and other controuersies, hence many enmities and hostilities begin, hence many olde grudges breake forth. Nowe when they are able to rise, to returne home, they reuiue their mournfull songs againe, especially the women who are more inclined to sorrowe. They affirme that he that is temperate differeth much from a man, because hee that falleth not through drunkennesse must needes remayne without the knowledge of future thinges. They apply themselves to the art of Magicke vnder maisters, and teachers, as here-after wee shall speake in his proper place, and then, they say, they had conference, and familiar conuersation with the deuill, when they are most oppressed with drunkennesse, the spirits being sounde asleepe, wherefore besides the drinking of wyne, they vse the fume of another inebriating hearbe, that they may more fully and perfectly lie without sense, others also take the iuyce of hearbes prouoking vomite, that their stomacks being emptied, they may returne againe to their surfeiting, and drunkennesse. Their virgins also are present at their drunken meetings, who wrappe the partes of the calves of their legges, and thyghes next the knee with bottoms of yarne, and binde them harde, to the end that their calves, and thyghes may swell bigger, and through this foolish deuise they thinke they appeare finer to their louers, the other partes are naked. But the married women weare breeches only to couer their priuities. These people frame warlike instrumentes diuersly compacted, wherewith they sometimes prouoke mirth, and sometimes sorrowe, and furie, they make some of great sea-shells with little strings ouerthwart, they also make pipes, or flutes of sundry pieces, of the bones of Deere, and canes of the riuier. They make also little Drummes or Tabers beautified with diuers pictures, they forme and frame them also of gourdes, and of an hollowe piece of timber greater then a mannes arme. By night almost alwayes many cry aloud like Common cryers, from the highest house of euery towne, & they carefully answer them from the next towne. Being demanded why they put themselves to that trouble, they answer, that their enemies might not finde them vnprovidid, if they suddenly came vpon them, for they destroy one another with perpetuall warres. They say, their language is harde to be vnderstoode, for they pronounce all their wordes halfe cutte of, as Poets may say, deum for deorum. If it be verie hotte before the rising of the sunne, or if it be cold at the rising thereof, they wash themselves euery day, and for elegancie, and neatnesse, for the most parte they annoynt themselves with a certayne slymy oyntment, and putting the feathers of birdes thereon, they couer all their body: the Spanish chiefe Iustices bring baudes or magitians forth of the prison after this manner to the publike viewe of men, in reproach, for punishment of their hainous crime committed. Neither heate nor cold much oppresseth the Chiribichenses of the sea shore, though they be next the Equinoctiall, yet are they scarce vnder the tenth degree of our Pole: that country lyeth towardes the Antarticke (as I haue elsewhere sayde) foure and fifty degrees beyond the Equinoctiall line, where the dayes are shortest, when they are the longest with vs, and so contrary. Among them he is accounted most mightie, and noble, who is most rich in gold, and Canowes, or hath most kindred, or allies, and he that is most renowned for the famous and worthie acts of his Auncesters, or his owne. If any doe iniurie to another, lette him take heede to himselfe, for they neuer forgiue, but treacherously seeke reuenge. They are exceeding vaine glorious, and full of boasting, they are much delighted with their bowes, & poysoned arrows: with the stings of the tayles of Aspes, and the hearbes of certain Ants, and with poysonous hearbes, and apples bruised, and also with the iuyce distilling from trees they annoynt them, neither are all permitted to temper those medicines, or compositions. They haue old women skilfull in that art, which at certaine times they shut vp against their willes, giuing them matter or stufte for that seruice, they keepe them in 2. dayes, wherein they boile the ointment, and hauing finished the same at length they let them out, if they finde the olde women in health, so that they lie not halfe deade through the force of the poyson, they grievously punish them & cast away the ointment as vnprofitable (for they affirme that the force of the same is so great, that through the smel thereof while it is made,

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it almost killeth any that make it) That poyson killeth him that is wounded, but not suddely, so that none of our men euer fould any remedy, although they knew how to cure it. Whoso is wounded, liues a miserable and strict life after that, for he must abstaine from many things, which are pleasing, first from Venery for 2. yeeres at the least, & al his life time from wine, & food, more then the necessitie of nature onely, & from labour: vnles they forbear these things, they die without further delay: the fryars say, they haue seene many wounded, because they destroy one another with blouddie wars, but none deade except one woman (for the women fight together with the men) who being wounded, refuse to vndergo the strict rules of medicine: our men coulde neuer wring out of them, what remedie they might vse for that cure. They exercise their bowes from their childhoode among themselves with little rounde bullets of waxe, or wood, in steede of arrowes. While they trauaile by sea, one singer sitteth in the prow, or head of the Canow, whom the rowers following from point to point, after a pleasing and delightfull maner, answer him with the vniforme motion or stroake of their oares. The women for the most parte passe the time of their adolescencie, & youth honestly enough, but being elder they become vnconstant. After the generall manner of women, whom strange thinges please more then their owne, they loue Christiās better: they run, swim, sing, & exercise all motions as aptly as mē: they are easily deliuered, without anie signe, or token of paine, & neither lie down vpō the bed, nor expect anie pleasing delights: they bolster the neckes of their infants with 2. pillowes, the one before, and the other behinde, and bind them hard euen till their eies start, for a smooth plaine face pleaseth them. The yong marriageable maydens the parents shut vp two yeeres in secret chambers, so that for that time, they goe not forth into the ayre, for otherwise by reason of the sun, and often vse of the water, they are somewhat brown: & during the time of their shutting vp, they neuer cut their hayre. Manie desire to haue wiues kept with that seuerity, these if they be first wiues of an husbād, are honored of ȝ rest, which the noblemen haue at their pleasure, but the commō people liue contēted with one, yet ȝ baser sort for the most parte yeeld obedience to ȝ more mighty. After mariage they beware of adultery, if it happen, the woman is not charged with ȝ crime, but reuēge sought against ȝ adulterer, the wife may be diuorsed. All ȝ next neighbours are inuited to the mariage of this maidē thus seuerely first shut vp, & the womē guests bring euery one with thē on their shoulders a burden of drink, & dainty meats, more then they are wel able to beare. The mē cary euery one their būdle of straw, & reeds, to build an house for ȝ new married wife, which is erected with beāes set vpright in maner of a warlike pauliō, ȝ house being built, ȝ bridgroom & bride are adorned according to their abilitie, with their accustomed Iewels, & precious stons of diuers colours, and they that want them, borrowe of their neighbours, then the newe married wife sitteth aparte with the virgins, and the bridegroom with the men. After that they compass them both about, singing, the young men going rounde about him, and the maydens about her: and a Barbar commeth, who cutteth the bride-groomes haire from the eare, but a womanne polleth the bride, onely before, vnto the eye-browes, but on the hinder part of the heade, shee remayneth bushy, or ouergrowne with long haire: these things being done, and night approaching, they offer and deliuer the bride to her husbāde by the hande, and he is permitted to vse her at his pleasure. The women also haue their eares boared through, whereat they hange Iewels, the men dine together, but the women neuer eate with the men. The women loue to haue charge of the house, and exercise themselves in the affayres of the family, but the men apply themselves to folow the warres, hunting, fishing, and sporting pastimes. Heere I passe ouer many things concerning their behaviour, and manner of life, because in my former treatise to the Duke I mentioned, that they were sufficiently, and at large recited, in our Senate, somewhat whereof I feare is heere repeated not necessary, for the 70. yeere of mine age, which beginneth the fourth of the Nones of February, next comming in the yeere 1526. hath so crased my memory, and wiped it out as it were rubbing it with a sponge, that the period scarce falleth from my penne, when, if any demaund what I haue done, I plainly confesse I cannot tell, especially because these things come to my handes at diuers times, obserued and noted by diuers men. Three things

No cure for the
wounde made by
the poysoned ar-
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The Barbarian
women as like
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Locking vp of
maydens a good
deuise.

Diuorse.
The maner of
solemnizing of
their marriages.

The women eate
not with the men.

The author in-
geniously con-
fesseth the in-
firmities of age.

A discourse of
their practise of
Magicke.

Austerenes of
life.

Their cure of
the sicke.

Another kind of
cure.

things nowe remayne, which being declared, wee may peradventure conclude this worke, vnlesse new matters bee brought vnto vs. Wee will therefore first shewe howe these barbarous, and almost naked men learne, and practise the art of Magicke, then, with what pompe and solemnitie they celebrate their funeralles, and lastly, what they beleue, shall become of the deade. They haue skillfull and expert ministers of Magicke, whiche they call Piaces, to these they rise vp in token of reuerence, and honour them as gods: out of the multitude of children they chuse some of 10. or 12. yeeres old, whom they know by coniecture to be naturally inclined to that seruice, & as we direct our children to the schooles of grammarians, and Rhetoricians, so do they send them to the secret, and solitary places of the woods. For two yeeres space they leade an harde and strict life in cottages, & receiue seuerall institutions, vnder the Pythagorean rule or instruction of their old masters. They abstaine from all kinde of things nourishing bloud, & from the act of generation, or the thought thereof, drinking onely water, and liue without any conuersation with their parents, kindred, or companions. During the light of the sunne, they see not their maisters at all, who goe vnto their schollers by night but sende not for them. They rehearse to the children songs or charmes that rayse deuils, and together with them, they shew them how to cure the sicke: and at the end of two yeeres they returne backe to their fathers houses. And they bring a testimoniall with them of the knowledg they haue gottē from their masters the Piaces, as they that haue attained the title of Doctorship doe, from the cities Bononia, Papia, and Perusium, otherwise, none learned in the art of Phisicke dare practise the same. Their neighbouring allies, or friēds, if they be sicke, admit them not to cure them, but send for strangers, and those especially of another king. According to the diuers nature, or qualitye of the disease, they cure them by diuers superstitions, and they are diuersly rewarded. If a light grieffe oppresse him y^e lyeth sicke, taking certaine hearbes in their mouth, they put their lips to the place of the grieffe, & lulling thē asleepe, they sucke it out with great violence, and seeme to draw the offensiue humor vnto them, then going forth of the house with either cheeke swelling, they spit, & vomit it out againe, & say, the sick patient shall shortly be well, because through that sucking, & lulling asleepe, the disease is forcibly drawne out of his veines: but if the weake partie be oppressed with a more vehement feuer, & cruell paine, or any other kind of sicknes, they cure them after another maner. The Piaces go vnto the sicke, & cary in their hands a litle sticke of a tree known vnto them, no cōmon prouocatiō to vomit, & cast it into a platter, or dishful of water, that it may be moistened, or wet, he sitteth with him that lyeth sick, & saith, y^e the diseased partie is vexed with a deuill, they y^e are present beleue his report, & his kindred, & familiar friēds intreat the Piaces to bestow his trauaile & paines for remedy therof. Wherupon he goeth to the weake patient, & continually licketh and sucketh al his body after the manner we haue saide, and mumbling vttereth certaine charmes, saying, that by that meanes he bringeth the deuill out of y^e marrow of the sicke, & draweth him into himselfe, then presently taking y^e litle moistened sticke, he rubbeth his own palate euen to the Vuula, & after that he thrusteth the litle sticke downe into his throate, and prouoketh vomit, and straineth vntill hee cast vpe whatsoever meate is in the bottome of the stomacke, or almost whatsoever is in it, and with panting spirit, now trembling, another while submisce, and lowe, hee shaketh his whole bodie, and belloweth forth loude cries, and lamentable grones more strongly then a Bull wounded with darts in a race, and thumpeth and beateth his brest, so that the sweate runnes trickling downe for the space of two houres, like a shower of rayne from the roofes of the houses. The two coloured Fryars of the Monasterie say they sawe it, and also wondered thereat, how that Piaces should not burst in the middle through so violent a motion and agitation. The Piaces being demanded why hee suffered these tormentes, sayth he must indure thē, that through charmes, inforcing the deuilles from the marrow of the sicke, and by sucking, and lulling him a sleepe, he might cast out the diuel drawn vnto himselfe. Now when the Piaces hath long disquieted himselfe with diuers vehement actions, filthily belching, he casteth vp a certaine thicke lump of fleame, in the middle whereof an harde cole-blacke ball lies wrapped, they gather that lothsome excrement together with the hand, and separate the little

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little blacke ball from the rest of the rume, the Piaces lying halfe deade with the sicke partie, then they go forth of the house, and with a loud voyce they cast away the litle ball as farre as they can, repeating these words againe and againe, Maitonoro quian, Maitonoro quian which signifieth: goe diuell from our friende, goe diuell from our friende. This being done, hee requireth of the sicke manne the price or recompence of the cure, insomuch that the sicke partie supposeth he shall shortly be well, and so thinke his kinsmen, & familiars. Then plentie of the graine Maizium, and other food is giue him, according to the qualitie of the disease, they likewise giue him tablets of golde to hange at the brest, if the sicke party bee able, and the infirmitie daungerous, or harde to be cured. But this is to bee remembred, the two coloured Fryars of the Monastery, menne of authoritie, and preachers affirmed, that fewe perished who were thus cured, by the Piaces: what secrete lyeth hidden here, lette such as are prone to sift out other mens matters, iudge as they please, wee present suche thinges as are giuen vs from men of authoritie, and worth. If the disease growe againe, it is cured by drugges, and iuyces of diuers hearbes. They con-
sult with diuels also concerning things to come, whom they binde with their knowne charmes which they vsed in that solitarie place, from their childhoode, questioning him concerning showers, and drought, the temper of the ayre, and touching diseases, and contagions, peace, warre, and the successe thereof, & also concerning the euent of iour-
nies, the beginnines of thinges, negotiations, gaines, and losses, and of the comming of the Christians vnto them, whom they abhorre, because they possesse their countries, giue them lawes, and compell them to vse newe and strange rites, and customes, and cause them to reiect their accustomed desires. The Piaces being demanded concerning future thinges, the Fryars affirme they answer perfectly, and directly: whereof bebesides many other thinges, they shewed vs two examples beeing assembled in our Senate. The Fryars with greedie and longing expectation desired the comming of the Christians vnto them who were nowe desolate, and forsaken, in the countrey of the Chiribichenses: the Piaces beeing asked whether the shippes woulde come shortly, they foretolde that they woulde come at an ap-
pyointed day, and likewise told vs the number of the marriners, their habitte, and particularly what they brought with them, they say they fayled in nothing. But another thing seemeth more harde to bee credited, they foretell the Eclipse of the Moone three monethes beefore, and more, although they haue neyther letters, nor knowledge of anie Science. At that tyme they faste, and lyue sorrowfully, perswaded thereunto, because they thinke some euill is foretolde thereby, they receiue the Eclipse of the Moone with sorrowfull sounds, and songs, especially the women, beat & smite one another, & marriageable maidens draw bloud out of their armes, cutting their veines with the sharpe
prickle of a fish, in steede of swordgrasse. Whatsoeuer meate or drinke is founde stored, and prepared in their houses in the time of the Eclipse, they cast it into the Sea, or chan-
nells of riuers, abstayning from all delights vntill they see the Moone hath escaped that danger, which hauinge receiued light againe, they giue themselves to sports, & pastimes, and ioyfull songs, & dancing. It is ridiculous to be hearde, what the Piaces contrary to their knowledge perswade the innocent people to bee the cause of the Eclipse of the Moone: for they childishly affirme, that the Moone at that time is cruelly wounded by f
angry sunne, & that the fury of the same beinge appeased, she reuiue, and receiue her former state, as though the deuill knewe not the cause of the Eclipse, who beinge cast
downe from the seate of the starres, brought with him the knowledge of the starres. But when the Piaces, at the request of any prince or other friend, are to rayse spirites, they enter into a secrete solitary place at ten of the clocke at night, and carry with them a fewe stout and vndaunted younge men, the Magitian sitteth vpon a lowe settle, while the
younge menn stande immouable, and cryeth out with outrageous woordes makinge plaine
thinges obscure, as antiquitie reporteth Sibilla Cuma did, then presently he shaketh the
belles which he carryeth in his hande, and after that, with a heauy sounding voyce almost
mourninge, hee speaketh to the spirit which hee calleth vp in these wordes, Prororure,
Prororure, producing the last sillable, and that he often repeateth, if the deuill beinge
called

Consulting
with diuels.

The Piaces by
the helpe of
the diuell know
things to come.

They foretel the
Eclipse of the
moone without
ordinary learn-
ing.
The Eclipse of
the moone they
holde ominous.

A ridiculous
concept of the
Eclipse.

Raysinge of
spirits & their
maner therein.

called deferre his comminge, he vexeth & tormenteth himselfe more cruelly, for they are the wordes of one that intreateth him to come, but if hee yet deferr his comminge, he chaungeth his songes and vttereth threateninge charmes, and seemeth with a sterne countenance as it were to commaund him. They execute and put in practise those thinges which we say they had learned in the solitary woods vnder the discipline of their old Masters, now when they perceiue hee is come at length beeing called, preparinge themselves to intertaine the deuill, they oftener rattle, and shake the belles: then, the deuill raysed, assaileth the Piaces, as if a stronge mann sett vpon a weake child, and this deuillish guest ouerthroweth the Piaces one the grounde, who wresteth and writheth himselfe, and sheweth signes, and tokens of horrible torment. While hee laboureth and struggeleth thus, one of the boldest and hardiest of the yonge menn admitted goeth vnto him, and propoundeth the commaundements of that kinge, for whose sake the Piaces vnder tooke this waighty busines, then the spirit included within the lippes of the prostrate Magitian maketh aunswere: what questions they vse to demaunde, we haue mentioned beefore. The aunswares beinge receiued the yonge mann demaundeth what reward must bee giuen to the Piaces, and whether the deuill iudge hee should be satisfied with other foode or Maizium, the demaundes are surely giuen to the Piaces. When they behold a Comet, euen as a shepheard when the wolfe commeth, vseth to driue him a way with horrible out cries, so, they thinke a Comet wilbe dissolued with their noyse, & sounde of the drummes. The Monasterians reportinge these, and the like thinges vnto vs perceiued some of our associates to doubt, whether credit were to bee giuen to their wordes, and therefore, that friar Thomas Hortizius who thoroughly knewe the affaires & maner of behauiour of the Chiribichenses brake forth into this Example saying.

A Comet an
vnwelcome
guest vnto the.

The ninth Chapter.

The oration of
friar Thomas
Hortizius.

THE happy & blessed friar Peter of Corduba, an holy man by the iudgement of all, and Viceprouinciall of the preaching friars of our order, of the country of Andaluzia, whom only the exceeding great desire of increasinge our faith, drew to those desolate, and solitary places, depending onely on the ayde and helpe of God alone, determined to search out the secretts of those Piaces, and desired by his presence to knowe whether such as were vexed with the deuill prophesied, & could giue aunsweres after the manner of the Delphick Apollo. That reuerent father worthy admiration, girdeth his preistly robe about him, bringeth holy water in his right hande to sprinkle the sicke party therewith, & in his left hand carried the Crosse of Christ: and standinge neere the sicke spoake these wordes: if thou be the deuill, that thus vexest this man, I adiure thee by the vertue of this instrument well known vnto thee (and stretcheth out the crosse) that thou presume not to come forth thence without our leaue, before thou first answere to my demādes. After that, this holy father affirmeth, that he spake many things in Latine, and asked some questions in the Spanish tongue whereunto he sayth the sicke party made particular aunswere, yet neither in Latine, nor Spanish, but in the language wherein the Piaces are instructed, differinge nothinge in sense. This good friar, besides the rest, added one thinge: behold saith hee whether doe the soules of the Chiribichenses goe, after they depart out of this bodily prison? We drawe them (saith he) and violently carry them away to the burninge, and eternall flames, that together with vs, they may suffer punishment of their filthy misdeedes: and these things were done in the presence of many Chiribichenses by the commaundement of the fryar. Notwithstanding this report diuulged throughout the whole coutry, nothing discouraged the Chiribichenses at all from their old euill bechauiour and manners, but that they followed and executed their appetitie, and desires after the same maner they were woont, as friar Thomas cōplaineth. This being done the good friar of Corduba turninge to the Piaces lying sicke, saith, thou vnclane spirit depart from this man. That word being spoken, the Piaces suddenly arose, but so amased, that he stooode longe estranged from himselfe, scarce standinge on his feete, who, as soone as he had liberty of speach, begann to curse, and greeuously to complaine of his departed guest,

The friar con-
tains the deuill.

The answere of
the deuill.

A deuill cast
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guest, which so longe time afflicted his body. Garsias Loaisa also one of the two coloured preaching friars, as he affirmeth, whom your Holines hath aduanced to the heighth of his order vnder a Cardinall, now Confessor vnto Cæsar, and Oximensian Prælate, cheefe of our Indian Senate, saith, that Cordubensian friar, is worthy of all commendation, & that he speaketh truth. And this thinge seemeth not strange in my iudgement, seeinge our lawe permitteth vs to confesse, that many haue bin vexed with deuills, and Christ himselfe is often sayd to haue cast vnclane spirits out of men. These Piares also inioy the society of banquetinges with others, dancings, & other light pastimes, yet are they separated from the people for their grauity. Nor doe these Magitians theselues vnderstand the sense of their charmes, as it falleth out with our cōtury men: although the vulgar tongue be next vnto f Latine, yet few y are present at f sacred ceremonies of religiō perceiue what f priests singe, yea and amonge f priests theselues through f careles negligence of the Prælates there are not a fewe, that contented only with the pronouncinge of the woordes, not perceiuing the matter, dare presume to say diuine seruice. Now after what manner, they celebrate their funerals, wil not be vnfit to be hearde. The bodyes of such as dye, especially of the nobility, they stretch out beinge layd vpon hurdels, or grates, partly of reede, and kindlinge a soft fire of certaine herbes, they drye them, and all the moysture beeing distilled by droppes, they afterwards preserue them and hange them vp in secret roomes for houshold godds. Other countryes also of this supposed Continent haue that custome whereof I thinke I spoake in my former Decades, to Pope Leo your Holines his cousen german. But such bodyes as are put forth vndried, are buried in a trench digged at home with lamentation and teares. The yeare of their first funeralls beinge past, the next neighboringe friendes are assembled, and such a multitude (as agreed with the state of the deade) come together, and euery one of them that are inuited commeth accompanied with mentes, and drinkes, or bringeth slaues laden there-with, and at the first twilight of the night, the seruantes finde the graue, take vp the bones, and with loude voyces, and loose haire, lament and weepe together, and takinge their feete in their handes, and puttinge their head betweene their legges, they contract themselves into a round compasse, and then they vtter horrible howlinges, stretchinge out their loose feete in a rage, with their faces, and armes, erected to the heauens. And whatsoever teares fall from their eyes, or sniuell distilleth from their nostrills they leaue it vnwiped, filthy to behold: and the more beastly they become, the more perfectly they thinke they haue performed their duty: they burne the bones, keepinge the hinder part of the heade, and this, the noblest and best of the womenn bringeth home with her to bee kept for a sacred relique, then, such as were invited, returne home. Now let vs speake what they thinke concerning the soule. They confesse the soule to be immortall, which hauinge put of the bodily cloathing they beleue, it goeth to the woodes of the mountaines, & that it liueth perpetually there in caues, nor doe they exempt it frō eating, & drinking, but f it shuld be fed there. The answering voyces heard frō caues & hollow holes, which f Latines call Echo, they suppose to bee the soules wandring through those places. They knewe them honour the Crosse although lying somewhat oblique, and in another place compassed about with lynes, they putt it vpon suche as are newe borne, supposing the Diuels flie from that instrument, if any fearefull apparition bee seene at any time by night, they set vp the crosse, & say that the place is censed by that remedy. And being demanded whence they learned this, & the speeches which they vnderstande not, they answer that those rites and customes came by tradition from the elders, to the yonger. Let the Chiribichensian affaires excuse mee, though I denie them the last place promised vnto them in this heape of thinges, for I sayde, they should conclude this worke, except some newe thinges arose, it is therefore more meete that those worthe fleets which often cutte the Ocean, should driue away the last troope of so great and infinite varietie of matter, and nowe drawe backe my wearie hand from writing. For while I was employed in my former treatise to the Duke, and in the thinges mentioned to your Holinesse in this booke, many occurrents came which partly I reported, & partly occasions offered, compelled to bee reserued vntill this tyme, because also I haue no libertie, for other buisnesse, euerie day to apply my selfe to set downe in writing the successe of the affayres

So blinde is
your popish su-
perstition.

The manner of
of their foolish
funerals.

Reliques.

Their conceipt
of Echo.

He that taught
the papistes to
adore the Image
of the crosse
might teach
these miscreants
this ceremony.

of India: sometimes a whole month passeth my handes without anie intelligence, and therefore when I haue leasure all thinges are written in hast, and almost confusedly, nor can order be obserued in them, because they fall out disordered: but let vs come to the fleetes. Of 4. ships sent from Hispaniola the former yeere, one came hither, from whose mariners, and the Senate remaining there, those things were related, and written vnto vs, which are declared concerning Garaius, Agidius Gonsalus, Christopherus Olitus, Petrus Arias, and Fernandus Cortes. The fifth of the Nones of May, in this yeere 1525. another fleette of twentie foure shippes departed from Barrameda the mouth of Betis, to goe first to Hispaniola, where the Senate is, whiche gouerneth, and directeth all matters of the Ocean, and from thence presently to disperse themselves to diuerse Prouinces of that newe worlde. In one of those shippes my housholde seruant Iohannes Mendegurensis (a manne well knowne to the Cusentine, & Vianesian Archbishops somtimes legats here) was caried, to looke vnto the affaires of my Paradisian Iamaica. From him, I haue receiued letters, from Gomera, one of the fortunate Ilandes, where all that are to passe the Ocean, arriue to take in fresh water. Hee writeth, that he performed his voyage with prosperous successe in tenne dayes space, and manie swifter ships might haue done it in shorter time, but he was faine to slacke his sayles to expect his slowe consorts, least lagging behinde they shoulde light into the mouth of the French Pirates, who stayd long houerling for them vnder sayle: the fourth day after, he sayth, they woulde set sayle to Sea, then beeing secure from the feare of Pirates, they will hoysse all their sayles, and spreade them at their pleasure: and we pray God they may successfully performe the voyage they haue happily begunne. I doe not well remember whether I haue said that two shippes from Fernandus Cortes, and Noua Hispania (the furthest of countries knowne to vs) arriued at the Cassiterides, Ilandes of the Portugalles dominion called Azores, but whether I so saide, or not, it little skilleth. I must now declare, how it came to passe, that they fell not into the handes of those greedie Pyrates, who houerling vnder sayle waited long for them, and how they escaped, or what they bring. One of them beeing vnladen, determined to try her fortune, and by Goddes helpe, light not among the pyrates, but escaped safe. The Captaines of the ships deliuered certaine messages to Cæsar, and to vs by Lupus Samanecus brought vp by me from a little one, who went three yeeres since from hẽce with my good leaue, with Albornazius the kings Secretary, vnder the name of the Kinges Auditor. Understanding these things, a fleette of sixe shippes was presently provided, whereof foure were of the burden of two hundred tunnes, and two Carauelles to accompanye them very well prepared for Sea fight, if they meete with the Pirates: the King of Portugall also lent vs foure other verie readie shippes, well furnished with munition, and all kinde of ordinance, so they departed the seuenth of the Ides of Iune, tooke in their lading which they had left there, and returned about the ende of Iulie to the cittie of Siuill, where they gaue thanks to God, from whome wee daily expect the chiefe Commanders. What we shal draw from them, we will sometime hereafter giue your Holinesse a tast thereof, if wee vnderstand these thinges please you, by offeringe vs a dish of dainty meates, wherewith your Holines doth yeerely fatte more then twenty thousand Idle persons, that they may more liberally inioy the prerogatiues of securitie, and ease. I presumed to speake the like to Cæsar, when he gaue me the Abbey of Iamaica: for I deliuered my minde vnto him in these wordes. Most mighty Cæsar, what I haue bin to your mothers ancesters and both your parents for these 37. yeeres wherein I haue remained in Spaine, and how profitable I haue bin to your imperiall maiesty, so often as occasion is offered, your maiesty confesseth, in word & honor giuen me: but for testimõy of the same that I may perswade my countrymen thereof, the Embassadours of Millaine, Venice, Florence, Genua, Ferrara, & Mantua, I want some outward argument of this loue, in regard of honor, whose bayte no man shall euer bee found who hath reiected it: euery one (as the olde prouerbe saith) commendeth fayres according to the qualitie of y^e gaine. Surely after I receiued that gracious & fauorable parchm^{nt} Bail from your Holinesse may particular poyntes, & clauses of the letters of the most reuerent Datarius written to the Legate Baltasar, were acceptable vnto me, wherein he testifieth your Holinesse his loue is not meane towardes me, and courteously promiseth he will be my

Advocate

24. Ships departed from Barrameda to goe to Hispaniola.

Reports from Iohannes Mendegurensis.

The arriual of two ships from Cortes and Noua Hispania at the Cassiterides & their successe.

A fleette of sixe ships sent out from Casai to meete with the pirates.

The author diuerteth to begge the Popes blessing.

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Aduocate

Aduocate with your Holinesse. But we thinke y a tree well furnished with leaues is not so much to bee esteemed, which when it may bee beneficiall, desireth rather to bee like an Elme, or a Plane tree. I haue digressed to farr from the purpose, let vs therefore returne to the ships that are brought hether. The shippes sent from Cortes were onely two, and those surely very litle, they ascribe the smale store of treasure to the scarcity and want of shippes of those countryes, for they bring onely 70. thousand Pensa of gold to Cæsar, I haue often sayde that Pensum exceedeth the Spanish Ducat of gold a fourth part, yet I thinke this will nothing excede it, beecause the gold is not pure. They bringe also a Culueringe a warlike peece of ordinance, (whereof I haue often spoaken) made almost all of gold, but Lupus Samanecus who is now with me, being conueyed in the first shipp which tryed her fortune, saith, it was not of gold, and that it weighed three and twenty Quintales after the Spanish worde (cuere Quintall containeth 4. Rubi of poundes of 6. Ounces to the pounce). They also bringe precious stones and diuers, and sundry sortes of rich ornaments, & in the first shippe Lupus Samanecus brought a Tyger of wonderfull beauty, but it was not brought vnto vs. Concerninge Cortes, and his crafty & subtill deuises in seducinge, and deceiuing, farr differinge from y relation of many, and the apparant arguments, that he hath heapes of gold, precious stones, and siluer, piled vp in store, such as haue neuer bin heard of, sent in by burdens, by the slaues of the Kinges, through the posterne gate of his huge court, and that by stealth in the night, without the priuitie of the Magistrates, and of the citties, and their priuiledged townes, and innumerable rich villages, their gold and siluer mines, and the number and largenes of the prouince, and many things besides, wee reserue them till another time. Certaine remedies are secretly thought vpon, but it were an haynous matter for me to mutter any other thing for the present, vntill this webbe, which we now begin, be throughly wouen to an ende: let these things be reserued for their place & let vs now speake a little concerninge the other fleets. In that booke which Antonius Tamaronus a batcheler of art, and my Solliciter deliuered to your Holines (beginninge, Before that) mention is made at large concerninge a fleet which was to bee sent to the llandes of Maluchas ingendringe spices, lyinge vnder the Equinoctiall line, or next vnto it, where, in a controuersie with the king of Portugall in the city of Pax Iulia, commonly called Badaioz, wee sayd, the Portugals weere convicted, but woulde not confesse it, the reasons of which matter are there alledged, and set downe: that fleet commanded to be stayed (the Pacensian assembly beinge dissolued) was finished in the Cantabrian roade of Bilbo, and about y Calendes of Iune of this present yeere 1525. was then brought to the hauen of Cluuia in Gallæcia, the safest harbor of all, and capable of all sortes of ships which the Seas containe. And beinge furnished with all things necessary both for a long voyage, & for warr, if necessity of fight gaue occasion, they stayd at an anchor certaine dayes expectinge a fauorable winde. This fleet consisteth of 7. shippes, whereof 4. are of the burden of 180. tunnes, and 200. two Carauels also accompanied them. I vse the familiar wordes that I may be vnderstood, & the seuenth is a litle one, which the Spaniard calleth a Patac, they carry also another of the same sort in seuerall peeeces, that as soone as they come to the desired hauen, they may ioyne her together, that is to say to the lland of Tidore one of the Maluchas (where in compassing the worlde we sayde in our Decade to Adrian, that one of the two shippes that were left remained, with fiftie menne) and with those two drawinge litle water, they might sound, and search the llandes, vnder, on this side, and beyonde the Equinoctiall lyne. This fleet stayinge, the king of Portugall cousin germane vnto Cæsar, and his sisters sonne, neuer ceased vehemently to vrge, and earnestly intreate, that Cæsar woulde not consent to indammage him so much. But Cæsar woulde neuer yeeld to the request of his cousin germane the King, least hee shoulde make the Castellanes (beinge the strength of his Empire, & all his kingdomes) to bee displeased with him. And therefore at length contrarie to the opinion, and desire of the Portugalles, at the first dawninge of the day, before the feast of S. Iames the patron of the Spaniardes, the prosperous Easterne windes blowing from the lande, the fleet sette sayle. At the weighing of their anchors they sounded the trumpettes, and drummes, and discharged the great ordinance, as if heauen hadde

70. Thousand
pensa of gold
sent from Cortes
to Cæsar.

The golden
culueringe ar-
riued at last.

A Tyger of a
wonderfull beuty
brought into
Spaine.
Cortes his subtil
deuises com to
light.

A fleet of 7.
ships & 2. Ca-
rauells prepared
to goe to y^e
Maluccas.

The King of
Portugall in
vaine intreats
the stay of the
fleet.

The fleet sets
say.

Fryar Garsias
Loaisa the Com-
mander of the
fleete does ho-
mage.

Iohannes Se-
bastianus de
Cano Vice-ad-
mirall.

Petrus Vera
captaine of the
third.

Don Rodericus
of the fourth.
Don Georgius
Mauricus cap-
taine of the fift.

Hozes a Cor-
dubensian cap-
taine of the sixt.

Why the traf-
ficke of Spices
is exercised in
the Clunian
hauen and not
in Siuill.

A dangerous Sea
betweene the
hauen of Gali-
sia and the
mouth of Betis.

The lurking
places of pirates.

The course of
the fleete.

Two other
fleetes in the
riuer Betis pre-
pared for His-
paniola.

The frequent
trafficke to the
Indies in this
Authors tyme
is notable.

hadde seemed to haue falne, & the mountaynes trembled for ioy: yet the euening before, the Commander of the fleete Fryar Garsias Loaisa the crosse-bearer of S. Iohn, foure yeeres since sent Embassador from Cæsar to the great Emperor of the Turks, did homage in the hands of Count Fernando De Andrada a Prince of Galisia (who sometimes ouerthrowe Aubegnius Captayne of the French in Calabria) and in the hands of the Viceroy himselfe of the kingdome of Galisia, the rest of the Captaines did homage to the chiefe Commander, and the soldiers, and officers to the Captaynes: homage being doone on both sides with solemne pompe, hee first receiued the kings sacred ensigne with great applause: so these stayed, and they departed, the prosperous East winds blowing in the pup, or sterne. They promise from the fortunate Ilandes, called the Canaries, where their way lieth to the South, to write backe to our Senate whereon they depende, for Cæsar so commaunded. The Admirall of the fleete, the Admirall himselfe commandeth: the Vice-Admirall, Iohannes Sebastianus de Cano, who brought the ship called the Victory laden with Cloues, and left her companion that remained, behinde, because she was very much bruised, and shaken, Petrus Vera goeth Captaine of the third ship, of the 4. Don Rodericus de Alcupna nobly descended, both these, haue bin Admiralles of many warlike fleetes, and famous for their worthe attempts, both nobly borne, of the fift Don Georgius Mauricus, brother of the Duke of Naiara, who being yonger, and of lesse experience, although more nobly borne, yet with a contented minde indured any inferior place, for he thought it good reason to yeelde to them that hadde better experience. A certayne Cordubensian noblemanne surnamed Hozes commaundeth the sixt shippe, and another noble gentlemanne commandeth the last small Patac. One other thing of no small moment remaineth (worth the hearing) before we leaue this fleete. Wee are therefore to declare what cause moued Cæsar, and vs his Senate, that this aromaticall negotiation or marchandise shoulde bee exercised in the Clunian hauen of Galisia, to the great discontentment and grieffe of that famous citie of Siuill, where, all the affayres of India haue hitherto beene doone. That hauen of Galisia (besides the securitie of the shippes which are to bee harbored there) is situate on that side of Spaine, whiche by a shorte and direct course lyeth towardre the greater Britaine; and is next to the boundes of France, and is more fitte for the Northerne marchants that seeke Spices. Nor are two fearefull dangers to Sea-faring menne, to bee omitted heere, which by this inuention are auoyded. That Ocean sea, whiche lyeth in the middle betweene this hauen, and the mouth of Betis, through which they goe to Siuill, is so tempestuous, that small stormes or gustes of the Westernne winde, eyther swallowe, or tossing the shippes taken on that coast of the Promontory of Cape Sacer, or neere vnto it, dash them agaynst the fretted, and craggie cliffes, more cruelly, then is reported of the rockes of deuouring Sylla, and the gulfes of Charibdis. The other danger is, in the sallies, and assaultes of Pyrates: on those coastes betweene the rough Mountaynes lye manie desert valleyes, whiche suffer no resorte of people by reason of their barrennesse, here are the lurking places of Pyrates, who receiuing notice by their owne men from the high watch towers on the top of the Mountaynes, assaile the shippes as they passe by: and for these causes it was decreede, that that negotiation or trafficke should bee exercised there. That fleete is to goe the same way that Fernandus Magaglianus the Portugall did, passing along all that coast, whiche the Philosophers called Torrida Zona, who went to the Antarticke beyonde the lyne of Capricorne, whiche way another fleete is to goe vnder the conduct of Sebastian Cabot an Italian, of both which, I haue spoken in the compassing of the world to Pope Adrian, and in the precedent Decade to the Duke. Two other fleetes also are prepared in the channell of the riuer Betis to goe to Hispaniola, and the rest of the Ilandes, of S. Iohn, to Cuba, called Fernandina, & my Priory of Iamaica, by a new name called the Island of S. Iames, & from thence they shalbe diuided to the supposed Continent, & new Spaine conquered by Fernando Cortes, of the largnes, and riches whereof, we promised a litle before, that we would sometimes speake. So now the concourse of fleets floting vpon the waues of the Ocean, going and returning to the new worlds are no lesse, then the resorte of marchants from the borders of Italy to the Lugdunensian faïres, or from France, and Germany, to the Belgicke Antuerpians. I could wish (most holy father) from

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from some secret chinke of your priuy chamber to behold, what ioy will then breake forth from your sacred brest into your countenance the first proclaimer of secrets, when your Holinesse shall reade such, and so great thinges of new worlds hitherto vnknowne, spiritually giuen vnto the Church of Christ his Spouse, as it were nuptiall Iewels, & that nature through the diuine goodnes is not satisfied in giuing liberally: but if any other countryes are yet vknown, they prepare theselues to be subiected to your Holines, & Cæsars command. Now, let your Holines bee contented with this first tast of a feast, to whom I wish many happie yeers. From the city of Toledo the Carpentane, and Cæsars Court, the 13. of the Calendes of Nouember in the yeere 1525.

Vultus spec-
trum animi.

The tenth Chapter.

THIS our pregnāt Ocean, houely sendeth forth new broods, and this noble, & renowned messenger from your Holines, Baltasar Castillion, a man famous for al vertues, & graces, when he saw these 2. Decads to the Duke, & Pope boiud vp together, earnestly intreated, that I would send them by him vnto your Holines, I said, I was well contēted; but behold, he fell grievously sicke, so that he could not as he desired, followe his affaires, although many thinges dayly came to light, and therefore at that time he sent no messenger away, to whom hee could commit the great and weightie actions of your Holines, together with our books, least they might haue perished. Through this delay it commeth to passe, that we may adde a few thinges, by way of aduantage, or ouerplus. We haue had 3. ships from the countries of the new worlde, one called a Carauell from new Spaine subiect to the Gouernment of Fernandus Cortes oftē named: what she brought, are miserable thinges to be spoken, and those not a few, but we must begin with 3 letters in those 2. ships, mētioned before, to the intent these thinges, & the rest may more plainly be vnderstood. There are 2. sorts of letters, one commō, the other particular: in the great common volume, subscribed with the hands of Cortes, and the magistrates, the Auditor, Treasurer, & Factor, there is a large discourse concerning the nature of the countryes, of those thinges which are sent to Cæsar, of the scarcitie of shippes in those coasts (in excuse that they bring but small sums of gold, & Iewels) and of their great costs, & charges, in which narration Cortes saith he is poore, and greatly indebted: of the ships made by him on the South shore, wherewith he sayd he would attempt the neerest part to the Equinoctiall line scarce 12. degrees of the pole, because he vnderstood by the people of those shores, 3 the llāds ingēdring Spices, gold, & precious stons were bordering neere vnto thē: 3 discourse is lōg, & the cōplaints grievous, for 3 he heard 3 ships were burnt with al their furniture, & prouisiō, because he could not prosecute the attēpt he had vnderaken by reason of the fury of the aduersaries, yet promiseth, 3 he will recouer, and recompense this losse, so the disturbers cease: of diuers, and many mines of gold, & siluer lately discovered, & cōcerning those thinges which want new remedies, & of 63. thousand Pensa of gold taken out of 3 Treasury, contrary to 3 assent of the magistrates, vnder the shew & colour of a lone, for the leauying of a new army, and of Capitaines appointed to goe seuerall wayes, to subdue diuers countries, & of many thinges besides. But particular, and secret letters are sent only from the Auditor Albornozius 3 kings Secretary vnder vnknown characters, called vsually ciphers, assigned to Albornozius at his departure because at that time wee were suspitious of 3 mind of Cortes. These were framed against 3 subtil craft, greedy couetousnes, & almost apparēt tyranny of Cortes, but whether truly, or (as it oftē falleth out) to procure fauour, time will heereafter discouer, for certaine graue men are chosen to be sent to inquire, of these thinges, now when these hidden thinges shall be manifest, they shalbe signified to your Holinesse, but let them passe, & let vs returne to the discourse of Cortes. Vpon the disobedience of Christopherus Olitus of whom large mention is made before, Cortes was in such a rage, that he seemed not to desire life, if Olitus were not punished, for he often shewed apparant tokens of the perturbation of his minde, by the vehement swelling of 3 veines of his throat & nostrils through extreame anger, nor did hee abstaine from wordes signifying the same. Olitus was now distant from him 500. leagues and more vnto the East, from the salt lake of Tenustitan, and he was to goe vnto him by wayes which

Three shippes
arrayed where
of one from
Cortes.

The purport of
2. letters.

Secret letters
from Alborno-
zius the Audi-
tor.

He returneth to
Cortes highly in-
censed with the
disobedience of
Christoph.
Olitus.

Olitus seated in
the Bay Figu-
era.

Cortes leuieth
forces against
Olitus.

Cortes contrary
to his oath
goeth against
Olitus.
The power &
terror of Cortes
in his march.

Petrus Aluar-
adus sent to the
South coastes.
Godoius to-
wardes the
North to seeke
Olitus.

Franciscus de
las Casas sent
by sea to take
Olitus.

A scene of the
golden Culuer-
ing & other
presents sent
therewith from
Cortes and
others.

The 3. ship.

which had no passage in many places. This Olitus had seated him selfe in the Bay called Figueras, long since found, vpo hope of discovering the straight so much desired, where three other Captaines also arriuing consumed one another with mutuall conflicts, of whose vnhappy actions wee shall heereafter speake, but let vs not leaue Cortes. Cortes leuieth forces, the kings magistrats seeing that assaile him first with mild and quiet speeches, exhorting & admonishing him, not to vndertake such a matter wherein many dangers offer theselues, seeing he was to fight with our owne menn, & that he would not be y cause of so great a slaughter of y Christians, nor put the principall poynt of the whole matter in so great a danger: for (they sayd) they sawe y presēt destruction of all that remained, if he left the country of Tenustitan (the head of the kingdomes) destitute of soldiers, being but lately subdued, and yet mourning & lamenting for the slaughter of their aunient kinges, and destruction of their household gods, kindred, and friendes. And if he himselfe, which is more, should depart, whose name they confessed was fearefull to all those natiōs behold what followes, if any misfortūe happen (which God forbid) would not all come to ruine? They saye, Caesar would prouide for the chastisement of Olitus, & that Olitus should suffer punishment for his Error. These, and many things besides, they alledged, but all in vaine: and after that, in Caesars name and their owne they manifestly denounce againe, y he forsake his purpose. Thē he promised with an oath y he would not goe vnto Olitus, but to subdue certaine rebellious kinges & y not farr of: yet he performeth not promise, but goeth a long iourney to the East, where (incensed with fury against Olitus) in some places he light vpon huge lakes on the sea coast, maryshes of the valleyes in another place, and rough mountaynes elsewhere, whether soeuer he went, he commandeth bridges to be built by the handes of the inhabitantes, maryshes to be made drie, and mountaines ouertrown: none durst refuse to execute his commande, for he destroyed all with fire, & swordes, that went about to doe the contrary, so whatsoeuer impediments hee mett with, were made passable, so great a terror was he to all the inhabitants, after the conquering of so great a king as Mutezuma was, and the taking of that Empire, that they thought this man coulde ouerthrow heauen, if he had so determined. Hee caryed with him store of munition, and horses, an vknowne kind of fight to those nations: and the bordering neighbours (sometmes enemies) gaue him ayde, through whose dominions and kingdomes hee marched. On the other part, he sent Petrus Aluaradus before, towardes the South coast, and towardes the North, one Godoius, captaines by lande, from whom Cortes receiued letters, and we also, concerning great, and large new countries, and warlike people, and citties in some places standing vpon lakes, and montanous, and champion countries in another: of which things, the father of Cortes who is with vs, hath deliuered the volume sent from him, to the Printers to bee published in his countrey language, and it wandereth from stall to stall in the streetes. But by sea, with three great shippes and many noble men, hee sent another Captaine named Franciscus de las Casas, whom I mentioned a little before, & of whom I shal speake more hereafter, although in a præposterous order, the successe of thinges so requiring. To this sea Captaine hee gaue in charge, that if it were possible, he should take Olitus, as he had him whereof we spake in his place. These two ships left the affaires of Tenustitan in this state, nowe being long since aryued with seuenthy thousande Pensa of golde, and two Tygers, wherof one, through the shaking, and working of the ship, died at Siuill, the other we haue here made tame, and gentle, but a yong whelp. The Culuering also much blown abroad through the mouths of men may here commōly be seen, which in truth hath not so much gold in it, as fame reported, yet it is worth the beholding. And all such as accompanied that most reuerent Legate of your Holines, haue seene the ornaments, & warlike instruments framed and fashioned with much gold, and precious stones, and Iewelles composed with wonderfull art, presents partly directed from Cortes, and partly from other Gouvernors of those cōtries: all which they wil hereafter by word of mouth recoūt vnto your Holines. Concerning the relation of the 2. ships I haue sufficiētly spoken. Now let vs come to the Carauell, which onely of her 7. consorts escaped by flight out of the hauen of Medellinum, the Scale of New Spaine. But let vs declare why Cortes determined to call that place of harbour

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at place of
harbour

harbour by this name. Medellinum is a famous towne in Casteale, where Cortes was borne, hauing therefore chosen it to be the Mart towne of all those countries, hereupon hee wil haue that place called Medellinum by the name of the towne where he was borne, nor is it gainsayd. He also gaue the name to New Spaine, and desired to haue it confirmed by Caesar. In that haue there were 7. marchants ships, shortly ready to returne into Spaine, hauing vnladen their marchādises. In the mean time, there arose a sedition between the kings officers, who thought it better that those sums of gold and precious stones gathered together should be sent with those ships vnto Caesar (whose necessitie by reason of imminent wars was great) such an occasion of ships offering it selfe, as seldome happeneth. For two hundred thousand Pensa of gold, had bin long since promised vnto Caesar by Iohannes Ribera, Cortes his Secretary, so that ships might be so set fit to carry them. The rest of their fellow officers, & associates withstoode this opinion, vrging, they were to expect Cortes their Gouvernour, & woulde suffer no innouation in his absence, so that in the ende they came to armes. By chaunce Franciscus de las Casas Cortes his sea Captaine, sodainly came vnlooked for, who being proud that Olitus was slaine, took part with the Cortesians against the Kings officers, & they say the Auditor Albornozius hauing his horse slaine, was himselfe wounded, and cast in prison. The Conquerors runne to the shore, apprehende the factors of the 7. ships and taking all their sailes, flagges, and yardes a shore, that they could not depart, they vnlade the ships. The maister of this Carauell arriued, much moued & vexed through so great an ouerthrow, hauing gotten some fit occasion returneth to his ship: who also being bereft & spoyled of his sayles, & the rest of the furniture of his ship, attēpted an enterprise worthy comēdation. He had cast certaine olde, and halfe torne sayles in a secret place, as past seruice, and vnprofitable, and of the tottered rags of them together with a fewe canes or ells of new cloth, he made a patched sayle of diuers peeces. Then weighing anchor (without saluting them who exercised this tyranny) hee spread his sayles, & by the helpe of the prosperous western windes, was brought hither with a more speedy course, then euer happened to any ship, comming from those furthest partes of the Ocean. The masters of this ship brought neither letters, nor message from any man liuing, yet the speeches of the mariners thereof were so cōposed and well ordered, that credite was giuen to their report. Concerning Cortes, these pilots say it is gathered by coniecture that he was slaine with all his company by the inhabitautes, (through whose dominions hee determined obstinately to trauayle) after this maner. He left many captains behind, with commādemēt to follow when they were ready, who following his steps, founde the bridges broken, and all the wayes cut off behind, & a certain wandring rumor went, that the bones of men, and horses were seene among certaine marish weedes of the sea coast, ingendred in the moystened earth through the violent motion of tēpestes, & ouerflowings, & among the braks, & bushes therabouts. These things this Carauell which fled, reported cōcerning Cortes, & the kings intraged magistrates. Now concerning those 4. Capitaines greedily gaping after the searching of the desired straight with breathlesse spirit, these mariners say they heard this. But this matter is a litle further to bee repeated. If your Holinesse remember (most blessed father) after the death of Pope Adrian, that reuerēt manne, Antonius Tamaronus the Lawyer, deliuered your Holinesse a booke in my name, which beginneth (Before that) who wrote vnto me that it pleased you wel: in that discourse, there is speech of a noble man, one Egidius Gonsalus Abulensis (commonly called Gilgonzalez de Auila) after what manner he founde a chanell of fresh water so great, that he called y lake the sea of fresh waters, & of y banks thereof renowned for the frequēt habitatiō of people of the great abūdance of raine that comes powring down, of the ceremonies, customes, and sacred rites of those nations, of the plentie of golde, and first of the beginning of peace, and quiet trafficke, then of warre, and grievous conflicts with the kinges Nicoragua, and Diriangen, and of his returne to Hispaniola, from whence hauinge procured an army of menn and horses we sayd, hee would goe to the Bay called Figueras, which seemeth to deuide the coasts of the supposed Continent, as the Adriaticke Gulfe diuideth Italy frō Illyricum, & the rest of Græcia, into which Bay he thought some

A sedition
amongst the
kings officers at
Medellinum.

Albornozius
wounded, and
cast in prison.

The maister of
the Carauell
escapeth with
his tottered
sayles.

Newses of Cortes
his expedition
against Outus.

One of these
Decades.

The Adriaticke
gulfe.

Ticinus, Verbanus, Mincius, Benacus.

The Bay of Figueras why so called.

Ægidius Gonsalus his traunyle into the Bay.

Franciscus Fernandes his colony in y^e kingdome of Nicoragua.

Ægid. Gonsalus fights with Franciscus Fernandez. 130000. Pensa of gold taken by Gonsalus from Fernandez.

Gonsalus goeth to Olitus & is taken.

A Colony erected by Olitus called the Triumph of the holy Crosse.

Franciscus de las Casas commeth suddely vpon Olitus.

A shippe of Olitus sunke.

Franciscus taken by Olitus.

some nauigable riuier fell, that druncke vp that huge vastity of waters, as y^e riuier Ticinus sucketh in the lake Verbanus, & Mincius the lake Benacus of which thinges, & examples we haue there sufficiently sponkē. But why y^e Bay so much spoken of in the mouthes of men, should be so called, it is not to be omitted. They say, that the name of Figueras was giuen it by the first finders, because vpon that coast they found whole woodes of certaine trees very common with leaues much like vnto figg trees, although vnlike in body, these are solid but figg trees consist of a pithy kinde of wood, or substance, and seeing in the Spanish tongue they call the figg trees Figueras, they call them Figueras by a name somewhat corrupted: of the bodyes, and longer boughes whereof the inhabitants make turned vessells, fit for the ornament of cubbardes and the seruice of tables, y^e is to say, dishes, basons, platters, cuppes, & pottingers & other of the same sort fit for y^e vse of man, very fairly wrought. Ægidius Gonsalus or Gilgōzales hauing traauiled by lād through the angle of the Bay to the lake discovered by him, and not findinge where the waters issued forth, in the kingdome of the king Nicoragua, left friend, by him, as hee saith, he founde a Capitaine of Petrus Arias Gouvernour of Golden Castele, called Franciscus Fernandez, to haue possessed that kingdome, & to haue erected a Colony there but what happened thereon, I wil cōclude in a short Epitome. Behold they first grewe to words, then came to conference, and lastly to handy strockes: Gilgonzalez obieteth that violence was offered him, complayninge that his discouery was disturbed, and these mariners say they fought thrice, in which sedition eight men were slaine, many wounded and thirty horses perished. So impatient are the Spaniards of society, that whether soeuer they goe, they kill, & destroy one another. These mariners say y^e Ægidius Gonsalus tooke two hūdred thousand Pensa of gold (though not very pure) from Franciscus Fernandez. And Petrus Arias y^e Gouvernour (frō whom we haue received a great packet of letters from the supposed Continent) greiuously cōplayninge of Ægidius Gonsalus, writeth that he had taken an hundred and thirty thousand Pensa from his Capitaine. These Pensa they had gathered amonge the bordering kinges, whether against their will, or willingly by way of barteringe or exchange of our cōuntry cōmodities, it is not our purpose now to dispute: this being but a smale matter, & a greater peece of worke remaineth yet behind. These things thus falling out by the way, through the vnquiet & restlesse disposition of y^e Spaniards, Ægidius Gonsalus cometh to Christopherus Olitus sēt by Cortes, who also had erected a Colony a little further on the same shoare, which he called by the name of the Triumph of the Holy Crosse, (whom Olitus tooke) & he called the place so because after diuers shippwracks, which himselfe reporteth in a long discourse, hauing escaped thether frō the fury of mighty, & boysterous windes, he landed there, on y^e day which the church of Rome solemnisseth for the victory of Herodius the Romane Emperour against y^e Persians. But your Holines shal heare a ridiculous game, or pastime in y^e table of fortune: y^e fourth Capitaine Franciscus de las Casas sent from Cortes against Olitus, came suddely vpō him, Olitus goeth forth vnto his associate & fellow officer (a little before) vnder the cōmaund of Cortes: they fight at Sea, & through y^e violēce of y^e great ordināce, Frāciscus hauing shott one of y^e ships of Olitus through, sunke her, together with the men, & after betooke him to the mayne Ocean, & Olitus went to the shoare, & landed. That Bay is subiect to māy tempestuous stormes, by reason it is exposed to the furious blastes of y^e North and is straightened, or inclosed for a long space betweene y^e sides of high mountaines, therefore a few dayes after being violently carryed away through y^e fury of the windes, & for the most part hauing lost his men, horses, & shippes, Franciscus was forcibly driuen into the dominiō, & power of Olitus, being a most cruell enemy of Olitus, so Olitus tooke him. Behold two Captaines of greater woorth, then he himselfe who tooke them. Olitus shutt vp his guests at home not well contented, but as a pray for his owne destruction. They both agree to kill their hoste, and seduce the seruants of Olitus least (attemptinge the matter) they should runne to helpe y^e traytor Olitus, who innocētly drew thē into suspitiō of treason. Vpon a night sittinge downe of purpose with their noble host, in steed of a shot, or reckōing for the supper he gaue thē taking the kniues which were there for seruice of y^e table, they set vpō their vnpleasing host (for the seruants after their

their manner had supped, were absent earnestly buisied at their owne supper) and wounde Olitus with many strokes, yet kill him not: so that Olitus fled, & conueighed himselfe to certaine cottages of the inhabitants, which he knewe. Whereupon proclamation was made by the common cryers that hee shoulde bee slaine, whosoever shuld support, or defend the traytor Olitus, or knowing where he lay hid, woulde not declare it, a reward is proposed to the party that should discover and make it known: by this meanes hee is betrayed by his owne menn, and a libell of treason beinge framed against him, by publique proclamation of the cryer, hee was slaine. This was the ende of Olitus, vnto the which, if I bee not deceiued, the rest of his fellow officers, shalbee brought yer it bee longe. But your Holinesse shall heare another horrible and shamefull act, ridiculous in the playing table of fortune; Franciscus de las Casas another Sea Captaine Olitus being slaine, is sayd forcibly to haue brought his bold companyon Gonsalus, though not comparable in armes, vnto the city of Tenustitan, supposinge it would be an acceptable present vnto Cortes. Behold the madnes of these four Capitaines in the Bay of Figueras, desirous to tast bitter delicacies, who through ambition, and auarice ouerthrew themselves, and many kingdomes, which peaceably would haue obeyed Caesar. There are some who say they saw Ægidius Gonsalus in the power of Franciscus de las Casas, in the city of Tenustitan, others deny it: so that these muttering speeches concerning Gonsalus are vncertainly reported. After my booke of two Decades concluded, & sowed together, we twice receiued shippes from the Senators of Hispaniola, fower at one time, and seuen at another, but none from Noua Hispania saue only this which escaped by flight: that great packet of letters sent from Petrus Arias Gouvernour of Golden Castelee, we read in the Senate: the sense & substance of the principall points whereof are concerning his owne actiōs, wherein many things are spoaken of the hard & difficult labours, & trauailes of his fellow soldiers, & his owne, of the next future departure of the kinges Treasurer of those parts, with a summe of gold whereof he setteth downe no number, of a voyage begunn which being performed, both Seas shalbe traded by an easie passage, and wee may haue the Ilands vnder the Equinoctiall familiar, because y distance from y hauen called Nomen Dei, is 16. leagues only, or litle more, from the Colony of Panama, and that well harboured, six degrees only, and an halfe distant from the Æquinoctiall, where the difference of day, and night, is scarce discerned the whole yeere. Concerninge the prerogatiues of these coasts I haue sufficiently spoakē in my former Decades. In another clause hee accuseth Ægidius Gonsalus for violence offered to his Captaine Franciscus Fernandez, and commendeth him for his modesty, & temperance, but others thinke otherwise. Wee shall sometimes heereafter heare the complaints of the other party, & then shall we iudge what is to be done: the manner of the discourse is long and the circumstances tedious, which I neither will, nor yet am able to comprehend, nor are they necessary for your Holinesse to know, yet Petrus Arias humbly intreateth one thinge, that now at length through Caesars fauour hee may be licensed to returne to his wife, and children, because hee now perceiueh himselfe to be wasted, and consumed with old age and a thousande diseases besides: and so it is decreed, for he is called home and a certaine Noble man a knight of Corduba named Petrus Rios is placed in his roome, he is now with vs, and prepareth himselfe for his departure. In our former Decades, where we discoursed concerning the vnfortunate successe of Franciscus Garaius, of y comminge of Olitus to Cuba, frō whence he prepared to passe ouer to Figueras, of Ægidius Gonsalus, & his preparation to the same place, and of the imaginations, and devises of Petrus Arias, to that matter wee haue also sayd, that no other thinge could be provided by our Senate, saue to giue absolute power to the Senate of Hispaniola, and to cōmand that they being neerer would endeouour, y their meetinges might not procure any damage, or hurt, which wee greatly feared. And for that buisines they haue speedily appointed an approoued mann called Baccalarius Morenus procurator or solicitor of the Exchequer amonge them, who hath receiued Caesars letters and ours. He came to late for it was already done, he fōud all things cōfused: & the relatiō of this good man differeth litle from that which we haue declared. So by reason of their disagreeing mindes, māy notable things worth y knowing are

Olitus wounded and fled.

Olitus betrayed by his own men, taken and slaine.

Franciscus reported to bring Gonsalus captive to Tenustitan.

A great packet of lres frō Petrus Arias Gouverner of Golden Castelee.

Petrus Arias licensed to returne home.

Petrus Rios placed in his roome.

Baccalarius Morenus solicitor of the Exchequer of Hispaniola.

A discovery of
fresh waters
neere the great
lake.

The doubtful
report of Cortes
his death.

Ludouicus Pon-
tius sent by
Cæsar to Tenu-
stian.
His commission.

The order of S.
Iacobus Spaten-
sis sent to
Cortes.

37. churches
erected in Te-
nustitan.

Stephanus Go-
mez returned.

A repetition of
Licentius Aig-
lionus his tra-
uilles.

interrupted & cut of. Franciscus Fernãdez being long cōuersāt w this Morenus of y Exchequer saith y in the bordering cōuntry of y great lake he light vpon a forrest ful of fresh waters falling into the Baye, as we know Nilus falleth downe frō y high mōntaines of Æthiopia into Ægypt, that thereby Ægypt being watered, it migh be powred out into our sea: if that be true, which as yet is vncertaine, it shall be in vainē to seeke that which Ægidius Gonsalus hath long considered in his minde, concerning a great nauigable riuer whiche drinketh vppe those waters, compassed about with people. But concerning the misfortune, and vniuersall slaughter of Cortes, and his companions commonly diuulged, this Morenus of the Exchequer returning, reported hee hearde nothing thereof in those countries, because those coasts are more then 500. leagues distaunt from the Prouince of Tenustian, but sayeth, that while he lay at anchor in the hauen of Fabana, the Mart towne of Cuba, Diecus Ordassus one of Cortes his Captaynes (a discret man) arruyed there, who sayd, hee came thither to inquire whither they hearde any thing of Cortes, of whose life they greatly doubted in Tenustian the heade citie of the kingdomes, and more then this, they knowe nothing. For cure of this so greate a blemish, a manne nobly descended, one Ludouicus Pontius a Lawyer of Lyons, of this countrey of Carpentana, whereof this cittie Toletum is the heade (where wee nowe remayne with Cæsar) beeing chiefe Iustice of the citie a long time, is chosen to bee sent, because he exercised his magistracy most vprihtly, and wisely: hee is a modest manne, and of a noble disposition, through whose prouidence we hope it will come to passe, that that shippe of Cæsars floting for the happie and good fortune of Cæsar, shall be brought vnto the calme, and quiet hauen. Hee bringeth this charge with him, to intreate Cortes with a thousand fayre inticing speeches (if hee finde him aliue) to drawe him to true obedience, from the which, hee neuer yet openly departed, for the name of Cæsar the king is alwayes reuerent in his mouth, and letters: but secretly, as hath beene largely spoken, wee suspect I knowe not what, both by coniectures, and the accusations of manie, hee alwayes desired with a proude and haughtie mynde to bee graced with new prerogatiues, and dignities, and hath long since obtained the titles of Gouvernour, and Atlantado of those large countries, included vnder the name of Newe Spayne. Hee lately also desired the badge or cognisance of Saint Iacobus Spatensis whiche this Pontius bringeth with him, to bee giuen vnto him, who shortly is to departe, beeing alreadie dismissed by Cæsar, and shall goe hence with a flete of two and twenty shippes. But if hee finde that Cortes is gone vnto his auncesters, he is to do otherwise. None of the other will presume to aduance their plumes, so hee finde the state of the inhabitants to stand cleere from defection and reuolt, all things will prosperously succeed, and be subiected to the happy feete of your Holinesse. In that great city of the lake, which now resumeth the face & resemblance of a citty, repayred by the buildinge of fifty thousand houses, there are seuen and thirty churches erected, wherein the inhabitants intermixed with the Spaniards most deuoutly apply themselues to the Christian religion, reiectinge the olde ceremonies, and sacrificing of mans bloud, which they now abhorre. And that fruitfull graine wil infinitely increase through those 8. slippered, Franciscan Friars, instructing the inhabitants with appostolicall feruency, if the seditions of our men doe not withstand it. I haue sufficiently insisted in these things: now I come to Stephanus Gomez, who as I haue already sayd in the ende of that booke presented to your Holinesse beginninge (Before that) was sent with one Carauell to seeke another Straight betweene the lād of Florida, and the Bachalaos sufficiently known, and frequented. He neither findinge the Straight, nor Gataia which hee promised, returned backe within tenn monethes after his departure. I alwayes thought, and presupposed this good mans Imaginations were vayne, and friuolous. Yet wanted he no suffrages, & voyces in his fauour, & defence. Notwithstanding, hee found pleasant, & profitable countries, agreeable with our Parallels, and degrees of the Pole. Licentius Aighlionus also a Senator in Hispaniola by his freindes, & familiars trauiiled & passed the same strange shores to y North of Hispaniola, Cuba, & the Iucaian llands neere y Bachalaos, and the countreyes of Chicora, and Durabā, whereof I speake at large before. Where, after the declaration of the rites, and customes of the nations, and the descriptions of notable hauens and great riuers, groues of Holme, Oake, and Oliues, and wild vines euery

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o our sea: if
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euery where spreadinge in the woods, they say, they founde also other trees of our coun-
treyn and that surely not in a short Epitome, but consuming and spending great bundles of
paper therein. But what need haue we of these things which are common with all the peo-
ple of Europe? to the South, to the South, for the great & exceeding riches of the Æqui-
noctiall, they that seeke riches must not goe vnto the cold, and frozen North. In this aduen-
ture your Holinesse shall heare a pleasant conceited puffle of winde arisinge, able to procure
laughter. This Stephanus Gomez hauing attained none of those thinges which hee thought
he should haue found, least hee should returne empty, contrary to the lawes sett downe by
vs, that no man should offer violence to any nation, freighted his shipp with people of both
sexes, taken from certaine innocent halfe naked nations, who contented themselues with cot-
tages in steede of houses. And when hee came into the hauen of Clunia, from whence he
set sayle, a certaine man hearing of the arriuall of his shippe, and that hee hadd brought
Esclaues that is to say slaues, seekinge no further, came postinge vnto vs, with pantinge
and breathles spirit sayinge, that Stephanus Gomez bringeth his shippe laden with cloues
and precious stones: and thought thereby to haue receiued some rich present, or reward.
They who faoured the matter, attentieue to this manns foolish and idle report, wearied the
whole Court with exceeding great applause, cuttinge of the worde by Aphæresis, pro-
clayminge, that for Esclaues, hee hadd brought Claues (for the Spanish tongue calleth slaues,
Esclaues, and cloues Claues) but after the Court vnderstoode that the tale was transformed
from Cloues to slaues, they brake forth into a great laughter, to the shame and blushing
of the fauorers who shouted for ioy. If they hadd learned that the influence of the heauens
could bee noe where infused into terrestriall matters prepared to receiue that aromaticall spi-
rit, saue from the Æquinotiall sunne, or next vnto it, they woulde haue knowne, that in
the space of tenn moneths (wherein hee performed his voyage) aromaticall Cloues could
not bee founde. While I was buysily employed in this corollary, or addition, beehold the
accustomed artes and subtiltie of whirling fortune, which neuer gaue ounce of hony vnto
any, but shee cast as much, or oftentimes more gall in his dish. The streetes of this famous
city range with the sounde of Trumpettes, and Drummes for ioy of the espousalls, and re-
iterated affinity with the kinge of Portugall Cæsars sisters sonne and his cousin germanne,
by takinge his sister now marriageable and forsakinge the English womann yet younge, and
tender, which thinge the kingdomes of Castele chiefly desired, at what time a sorrowfull
and grieuous message to bee indured presently insued: which filled the minde of Cæsar,
and all the Casteelians with disdain, and contempt. In that treatise of the world compassed,
directed to Pope Adrian, I sayd, that the companion of the ship called the Victory, remained
broken in the Iland of Tidore, one of the Ilandes of the Maluchas ingenderinge spices,
which shipp called the Trinitie, was left there with 57. men, whose proper names besides
the head officers, I haue extracted out of the accomptants bookes of these negotiations.
That shipp being repaired, returned laden with cloues, & certaine precious stones: shee
light on the Portugall fleete, and comming vpon them vnawares, they tooke her violently,
and brought her being vanquished to Malacha, supposed to bee the golden Chersonesus, and
the Portugall Commander named Georgius de Brito a sea faring man violently tooke whatso-
euer was in her. But it is a lamentable thinge to bee spoken, what happened to the mariners
of this shippe: the fury of the Sea against them was so great, that being tossed to and froe
with perpetuall stormes, they all perished almost with famine, and ouerwatchinge. The
shippe called the Trinitie being taken, that Portugallian Commander is said to haue gone to
our Ilandes of the Maluchas, and in one of them (whereof there are seuen) hee built a
Castle, and whatsoeuer wares were left in the Ilandes for negotiation, or trade of marchan-
dise, he violently tooke them all. The pilotts, and kinges seruants who are safely returned,
say that both robberyes, and pillages exceede the valew of two hundred thousande Ducates,
but Christopherus de Haro especially the generall director of this aromaticall negotiation,
vnder the name of Factor, confirmeth the same. Our Senate yeeldeth great credit to this
mann. Hee gaue mee the names of all the 5. shippes that accompanied the Victorie, and
of all the mariners, and meane officers whatsoeuer. And in our Senate assembled he shewed

To the South,
to the South.

A pleasant co-
script.

Whirling for-
tune.

The returne of
y^e Trinitie, & of
her mishapps.

Christopherus
de Haro.

why he assigned that valewe of the booty or pray, because he particularly declared, how much spices y^e Trinitie brought, how much spice was left in the handes of Zabazulla king of the Iland of Machiana, one of our 7. Ilands ingendring spices, and of another next bordering kinge of the Ilande of Tidore, and his sonne, and of the stewardes of both the kinges, and their domesticall noble menne by name, all whiche was bought for a price, assigned to Iohannes de Campo remaining there with y^e rest. And concerning the vares, or marchandise, how much steele, & copper plate, how much hempen, and flaxen cloath, how much pitch, quick-siluer, Peter lightes, tapers of Turkie, Arsenicke Orpin for pictures, corals, and reddish fannes, or hats, caps, looking glasses, glassy and cleere stones, bels, poynts, seats fit for kings, and what engins with their munition was therein, for the exchange of which thinges by the kinges chiefe officers remaining there, to wit, the Auditor, and Treasurer, spices might be gathered, to be brought backe by our shippes which were to bee sent. It may be doubted what Cæsar will doe in such a case, I thinke he will dissemble the matter for a while, by reason of the renewed affinity, yet though they were twinnes of one birth, it were harde to suffer this iniurious losse to passe unpunished, I suppose the matter will first peaceably bee treated by Embassadors. But I heare another thing which will be distastfull to the king of Portugall, Cæsar cannot although he desired to dissemble the matter, for the owners of those marchandises will earnestly require Iustice to be done, which were dishonest to deny vnto the enemy, how much more to his owne tributaries. The auncient Portugalles prophesie the insuing destruction of his kingdōe, through these rash and vnadvised attempts: for they too proudly despise the people of Castele, without whose reuennues and commodities they should perish through famine, seeing that is but a mean, and poore kingdome, somtimes a County of Castele. The Casteelians through rage and fury, fret, and foame, and desire that Cæsar woulde indeuour to reduce that kingdome to the crowne of Castele: king Philip, Cæsars father sometime thought, & saide, that he woulde doe it, and time will publish the sentence. In the meane space, I bidde your Holinesse farewell, prostrate beefore whose sight I present my kisses to your feete.

The fmall prophesie of the Portugalles.

FINIS.

Soli Deo, Trino, & Vni, Laus & gloria.

ight Decade.

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nce that king-
ght, & saide,
I bidde your
etc.

VIRGINIA

Richly Valued,

BY THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MAINE LAND OF

FLORIDA,

HER NEXT NEIGHBOUR:

OUT OF THE FOURE YEERES CONTINUALL TRAUELL AND DISCOUERIE, FOR ABOUE
ONE THOUSAND MILES EAST AND WEST,

OF

DON FERDINANDO DE SOTO,

AND SIXE HUNDRED ABLE MEN IN HIS COMPANIE.

WHEREIN ARE TRULY OBSERUED

THE RICHES AND FERTILITIE OF THOSE PARTS,
ABOUNDING WITH THINGS NECESSARIE, PLEASANT AND PROFITABLE
FOR THE LIFE OF MAN: WITH THE NATURES AND DISPOSITIONS
OF THE INHABITANTS:

WRITTEN BY A PORTUGALL GENTLEMAN OF ELUAS, EMPLOYED IN ALL THE ACTION,

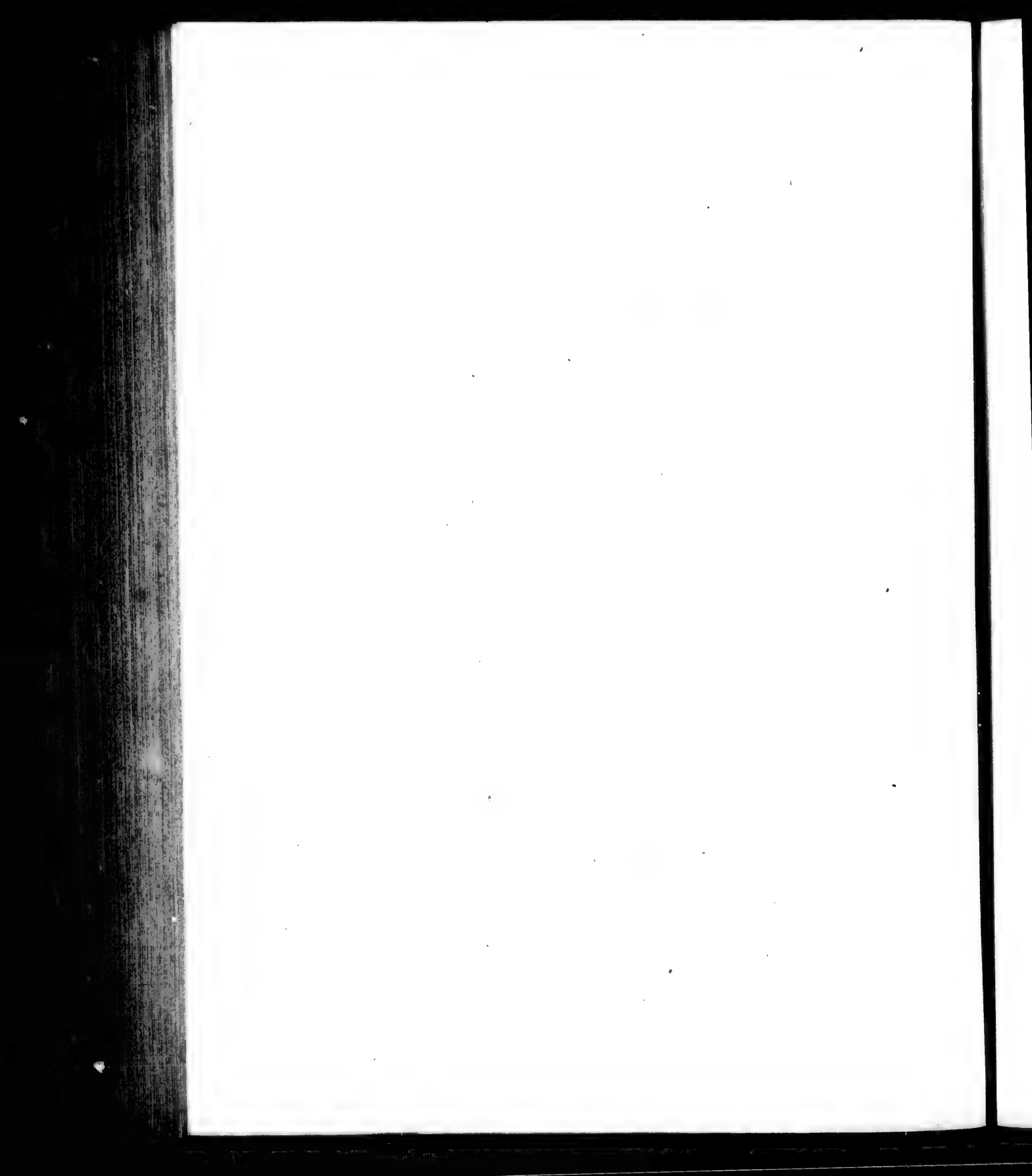
AND TRANSLATED OUT OF THE PORTUGESE

BY RICHARD HAKLVYT.

At London:

PRINTED BY FELIX KYNGSTON FOR MATTHEW LOWNES, AND ARE TO BE SOLD AT THE
SIGNE OF THE BISHOPS HEAD IN PAULS CHURCHYARD.

1609.



TO THE

RIGHT HONOVABLE,

THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL COUNSELLORS,

AND OTHERS THE CHEERFULL ADVENTURORS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THAT
CHRISTIAN AND NOBLE PLANTATION IN VIRGINIA.

THIS worke, right Honourable, right Worshipfull, and the rest, though small in shew, yet great in substance, doth yeeld much light to our enterprise now on foot: whether you desire to know the present and future commodities of our cuntry; or the qualities and conditions of the Inhabitants, or what course is best to be taken with them.

Touching the commodities, besides the generall report of Cabeça de Vaca to Charles the Emperour (who first travelled through a great part of the Inland of Florida, next adioyning vpon our Virginia) That Florida was the richest cuntry of the world; and, that after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, he saw gold and siluer, and stones of great value: Chap. 35.

I referre you first to the rich mines of gold reported to be in the prouince of Yupaha, and described in the twelfth Chapter of this Treatise to come within our limits: And againe, to the copper hatchets found in Cutifachiqui, standing vpon the Riuer of Santa Helena, which were said to haue a mixture of gold. It seemeth also that the last Chronicler of the West Indies,

Antonio de Herrera, speaking of the foresaid Riuer of Santa Helena, which standeth in 32. degrees and an halfe, alludeth to the prouince of Yupaha, in these words: Y el oro, y plata, que hallaron, no era de aquella tierra, sino de 60. leguas, adentro al norte, de los pueblos dichos Otapales y Olagatanos, adonde se intiende, que ay minas de oro, plata, y cobre. Decad. 3. lib. 8. esp. 8.

That is to say, That the gold and siluer which they found, was not of that cuntry (of Santa Helena) but 60. leagues distant toward the North, of the townes called Otapales and Olagatanos, where we vnderstand that there are mines of gold, siluer, and copper. By which reckoning these rich mines are in the latitude of 35. degrees and an halfe. I desire you likewise to take knowledge of the famous golden prouince of Chisca, stretching further to the North, whereof the Cacique of Coste gaue notice to Ferdinando de Soto in the towne of

Chiaha, affirming, that there were mines of copper, and of another mettall of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect lustre, and farre better in sight, and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer. And the selfesame thing was before told the Gouernour in Cutifachiqui: who sent two Christians from Chiaha with certaine Indians which knew the cuntry of Chisca, and the language thereof, to view it, and to make report of that which they should finde. We likewise reade not long after, that the Gouer-

nour set forward to seeke a prouince called Pacaha, which hee was informed to be neere vnto Chisca, where the Indians told him, that there was gold. And in another place hee saith; Chap. 23.

That

Chap. 24.

That from Pacaha hee sent thirtie horsemen and fiftie footmen to the prouince of Caluça, to see if from thence he might trauell to Chisca, where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. So that here is foure times mention, and that in sundrie places, of the rich and famous goldē mines of Chisca, and that they lie beyond the mountaines toward the North, ouer which they were not able to trauell for the roughnes thereof. But what neede I to stand vpon forren testimonies, since Master Thomas Heriot, a man of much iudgement in these causes, signified vnto you all, at your late solemne meeting at the house of the right honourable the Earle of Exeter, how to the Southwest of our old fort in Virginia, the Indians often informed him, that there was a great melting of red mettall, reporting the manner in working of the same. Besides, our owne Indians haue lately reuealed either this or another rich mine of copper or gold in a towne called Ritanoe, neere certaine mountaines lying West of Roanoac.

Chap. 24.

Another very gainfull commoditie is, the huge quantitie of excellent perles, and little babies and birds made of them; that were found in Cutifachiqui. The abundance whereof is reported to be such, that if they would haue searched diuers graues in townes thereabout, they might haue laded many of their horses. Neither are the Turkie stones and cotton wooll found at Guasco to be forgotten, nor passed ouer in silence.

But that, which I make no small account of, is, the multitude of Oxen, which, from the beginning of the 16. to the end of the 26. Chapter, are nine seuerall times made mention of, and that along from Chiaha, Coste, Pacaha, Coligoa, and Tulla, still toward the North, to wit, toward vs, there was such store of them, that they could keepe no come for them: and that the Indians liued vpon their flesh. The haire of these Oxen is likewise said to be like a soft wooll, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe: and that they vse them for couerlets, because they are very soft and woolled like sheep: and not so onely, but they make bootes, shooes, targets, and other things necessarie of the same. Besides the former benefits, their young ones may be framed to the yoke, for carting and tillage of our ground. And I am in good hope, that ere it be long we shall haue notice of their being neerer vs, by that which I reade in the Italian relation of Cabeça de Vaca, the first finder of them; which writeth, That they spread themselues within the countrie aboue foure hundred leagues, Moreouer, Vasques de Coronado, and long after him, Antonio de Espejo (whose voiaiges are at large in my third volume) trauelled many leagues among these herds of Oxen, and found them from 33. degrees ranging very farre to the North and Northeast.

A fourth chiefe commoditie wee may account to be the great number of Mulberrie trees, apt to feede Silke-wormes to make silke: whereof there was such plentie in many places, that, though they found some hempe in the countrie, the Spaniards made ropes of the barks of them for their brigandines, when they were to put to sea for Noua Hispania.

A fifth is the excellent and perfect colours, as black, white, greene, yellow, and red, and the materials to dye withall, so often spoken of in this discourse: among which I haue some hope to bring you to the knowledge of the rich graine of Coconillio, so much esteemed, and of so great price. I speake nothing of the seuerall sorts of passing good grapes for Wine and Raisons.

Chap. 31. & 32.

Neither is it the least benefit, that they found salt made by the Indians at Cayas, and in two places of the prouince of Aguacay: the manner also how the Inhabitants make it, is very well worth the obseruation.

Chap. 31. & 32.

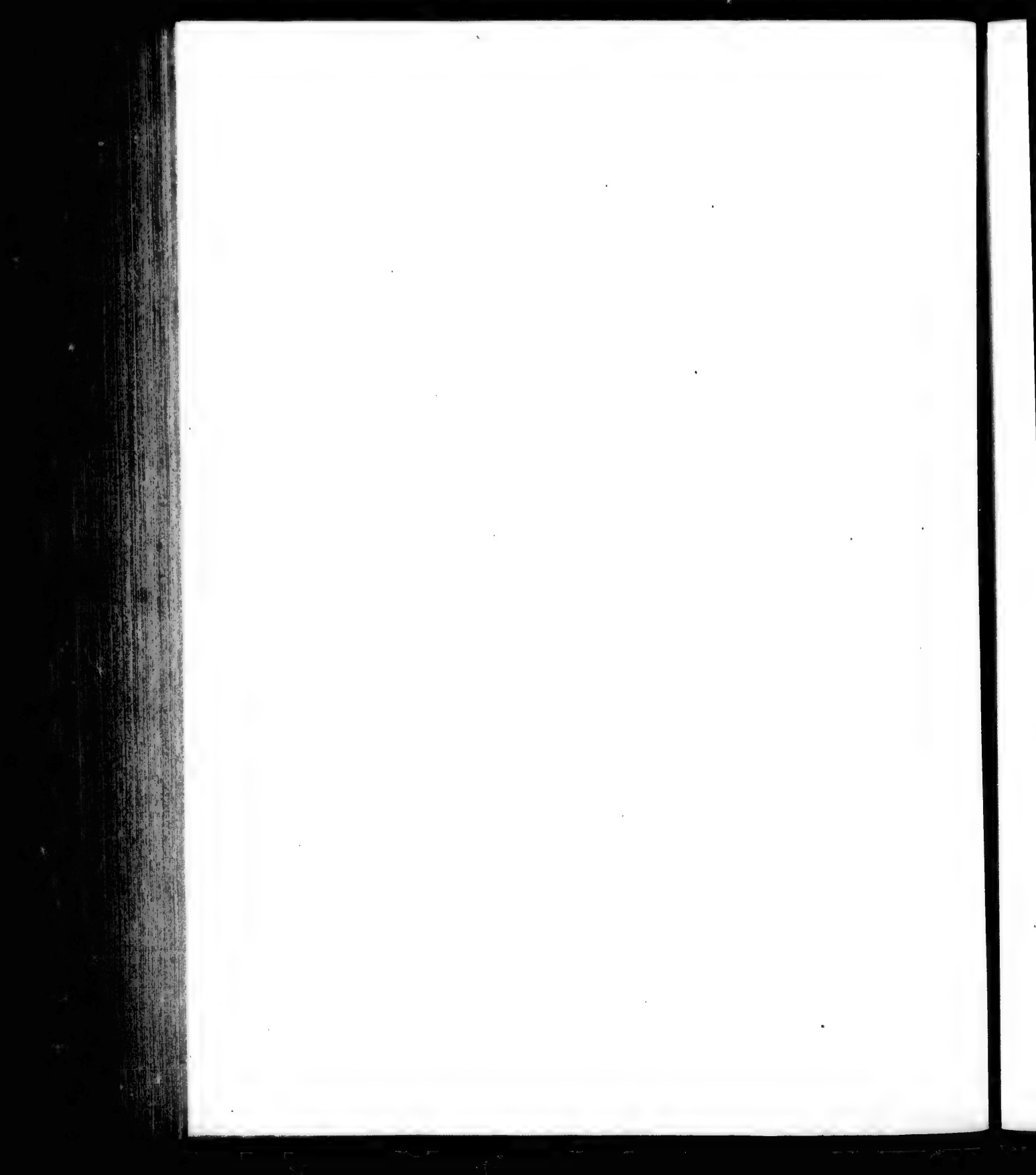
One of the chieftest of all the rest may be the notice of the South Sea, leading vs to Iapan and China, which I finde here twice to be spoken of. Whereof long since I haue written a discourse, which I thinke not fit to be made ouer common.

For closing vp this point, The distances of places, the qualities of the soiles, the situations of the regions, the diuersities and goodnesse of the fruits, the seuerall sorts of beasts, the varietie of fowles, the difference betweene the Inhabitants of the mountaines and the plaines, and the riches of the Inland in comparison of the Sea coast, are iudicially set downe in the conclusion of this booke, whereunto for mine owne ease I referre you.

To come to the second generall head, which in the beginning I proposed, concerning the manners

manners and dispositions of the Inhabitants: among other things, I finde them here noted to be very eloquent and well spoken, as the short Orations, interpreted by Iohn Ortiz, which liued twelue yeeres among them, make sufficient prooffe. And the author, which was a gentleman of Eluas in Portugall, employed in all the action, whose name is not set downe, speaking of the Cacique of Tulla, saith, that aswell this Cacique, as the others, and all those which came to the Gouvernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could vtter the same more eloquently. But for all their faire and cunning speeches, they are not ouermuch to be trusted: for they be the greatest traitors of the world, as their manifold most craftie contriued and bloody treasons, here set down at large, doe evidently proue. They be also as vnconstant as the wethercock, and most readie to take all occasions of aduantages to doe mischief. They are great liars and dissemblers; for which faults often times they had their deserued paiments. And many times they gaue good testimonie of their great valour and resolution. To handle them gently, while gentle courses may be found to serue, it will be without comparison the best: but if gentle polishing will not serue, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained vp in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands. To conclude, I trust by your Honours and Worships wise instructions to the noble Gouvernour, the worthy experimented Lieutenant and Admirall, and other chiefe managers of the businesse, all things shall be so prudently carried, that the painfull Preachers shall be reuerenced and cherished, the valiant and forward soldiour respected, the diligent rewarded, the coward emboldened, the weake and sick relieued, the mutinous suppressed, the reputation of the Christians among the Saluages preserued, our most holy faith exalted, all Paganisme and Idolatrie by little and little vtterly extinguished. And here reposing and resting my selfe vpon this sweete hope, I cease, beseeching the Almighty to blesse this good work in your hands to the honour and glorie of his most holy name, to the enlargement of the dominions of his sacred Maiestie, and to the generall good of all the worthie Aduenturers and vndertakers. From my lodging in the Colledge of Westminster this 15. of Aprill, 1609.

By one publikely and anciently deuoted to Gods seruice,
and all yours in this so good action,
RICHARD HAKLUYT.



A
RELATION OF SVCH THINGS

AS
DON FERDINANDO DE SOTO,

THE
ADELANTADO OF FLORIDA PASSED IN SEEKING TO CONQUER
THE SAID COUNTRY :

WHEREIN IS DECLARED WHO HE WAS, AND WHAT SOME OF THEM WERE THAT WENT WITH HIM:
ALD SOME PARTICULARS AND DIUERSITIES OF THE COUNTRYE, AND WHATSOEUEER THEY
SAW AND HAPPENDD VNTO THEM IN THE SAME.

Chap. I.

Which declareth who Don Ferdinando de Soto was, and how he got the gouernment
of Florida.

Captaine Soto was the son of a Squire of Xerez of Badaioz. He went into the Spanish Indies, when Peter Arias of Auila was Gouvernour of the West Indies: And there he was without any thing else of his owne, saue his sword and target: and for his good qualities and valour, Peter Arias made him Captaine of a troope of horsemen, and by his commandement hee went with Fernando Pizarro to the conquest of Peru: where (as many persons of credit reported, which were there present) as well at the taking of Atabalipa, Lord of Peru, as at the assault of the citie of Cusco, and in all other places where they found resistance, wheresoeuer hee was present, hee passed all other Captaines and principall persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of Atabalipa, he had a good share: whereby in time he gathered an hundred and fourescore thousand Duckets together, with that which fell to his part: which he brought into Spaine: whereof the Emperour borrowed a certaine part, which he repaid againe with 60000 Rials of plate in the rent of the silkes of Granada, and all the rest was deliuered him in the Contractation house of Siuil. He tooke seruants, to wit, a Stewart, a Gentleman Vsher, Pages, a Gentleman of the Horse, a Chamberlaine, Lakies, and al other officers that the house of a Noble mā requireth. From Siuil hee went to the Court, and in the Court, there accompanied him Iohn Danusco of Siuil, and Lewis Moscoso D'Aluarado, Nunno de Touar, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo. Except Iohn Danusco, all the rest came with him from Peru: and euery one of them brought fourteene or fiteene thousand Duckets: all of them went well and costly apparrelled. And although Soto of his owne nature was not liberall, yet because that was the first time that hee was to shew himselfe in the Court, he spent frankly, and went accompanied with those which I haue named, and with his seruants, and many other which resorted vnto him. Hee married with Donna Isabella de Bouadilla, daughter of Peter Arias of Auila, Earle of Punno en Rostro. The Emperour made him the Gouernor of the Isle of Cuba, and Adelantado or President of Florida, with a title of Marques of certaine part of the lands, that he should conquer.

Chap. II.

How Cabeça de Vaca came to the Court, and gaue relation of the Countrie of Florida:
And of the Companie that was assembled in Siuil to goe with Don Ferdinando de Soto.

WHEN Don Ferdinando had obtained the government, there came a Gentlemen from the Indies to the Court, named Cabeça de Vaca, which had been with the Gouvernour Pamphilo de Naruaez which died in Florida, who reported that Naruaez was cast away at sea with all the companie y went with him. And how he with foure more escaped and arriued in Nueua Espanna: Also he brought a relation in writing of that which hee had seene in Florida; which said in some places: In such a place I haue seene this; and the rest which here I saw, I leaue to conferre of betweene his Maiestie and my selfe. Generally he reported the miserie of the Countrie, and the troubles which hee passed: and hee told some of his kinsfolke, which were desirous to goe into the Indies, and vrged him very much to tell them whether he had seene any rich country in Florida, that he might not tell them, because hee and another, whose name was Orantes, (who remained in Nueua Espanna with purpose to returne into Florida: for which intent hee came into Spaine to beg the government thereof of the Emperour) had sworne not to discouer some of those things which they had seene, because no man should preuent them in begging the same: And hee informed them, That it was the richest Countrie of the world. Don Ferdinando de Soto was very desirous to haue him with him, and made him a fauourable offer: and after they were agreed, because Soto gaue him not a summe of money which he demanded to buy a ship, they broke off againe. Baltasar de Gallegos, and Christopher de Spindola, the kinsemen of Cabeça de Vaca, told him, that for that which hee had imparted to them, they were resolu'd to passe with Soto into Florida, and therefore they prayed him to aduise them what they were best to doe. Cabeça de Vaca told them, that the cause why he went not with Soto was, because hee hoped to beg another government, and that hee was loth to goe vnder the command of another: and that hee came to beg the conquest of Florida: but seeing Don Ferdinando de Soto had gotten it already, for his othes sake hee might tell them nothing of that which they would know: but hee counselled them to sell their goods and goe with him, and that in so doing they should doe well. Assoone as he had opportunitie hee spake with the Emperour, and related vnto him whatsoeuer hee had passed and seene, and come to vnderstand. Of this relation made by word of mouth to the Emperour, the Marques of Astorga had notice, and forthwith determined to send with Don Ferdinando de Soto his brother Don Antonio Osorio: & with him two kinsmen of his prepared themselues, to wit, Francis Osorio, and Garcia Osorio. Don Antonio dispossessed himselfe of 60000 Rials of rent which hee held by the Church: and Francis Osorio of a town of Vassals, which he had in the Countrie de Campos. And they made their Rendezuous with the Adelantado in Siuil. The like did Nunnez de Touar, and Lewis de Moscoso, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo, each of whō had brought from Peru fourteene or fiftene thousand Duckets. Lewis de Moscoso carried with him two brethren: there went also Don Carlos, which had married the Gouvernours Neece, and tooke her with him. From Badaioz there went Peter Calderan, and three kinsemen of the Adelantado, to wit, Arias Tinoco, Alfonso Romo, and Diego Tinoco. And as Lewis de Moscoso passed through * Eluas, Andrew de Vasconselos spake with him, and requested him to speake to Don Ferdinando de Soto concerning him, and deliuered him certaine warrants which he had receiued from the Marques of Villa real, wherein he gaue him the Captaineship of Ceuta in Barbarie, that he might shew them vnto him. And the Adelantado saw them; and was informed who hee was, and wrote vnto him, that hee would fauour him in all things, and by al meanes, and would giue him a charge of men in Florida. And from Eluas went Andrew de Vasconselos, and Fernan Pegado, Antonio Martinez Segurado, Men Roiz Pereira, Iohn Cordero, Stephen Pegado, Benedict Fernandez, and Aluaro Fernandez. And out of Salamanca, and Iaen, and Valencia, and Albuquerque, and from other partes of Spaine, many

Florida is the
richest Countrie
of the world.

Eluas is a Citie
in Portugal.

many people of Noble birth assembled at Siuil: insomuch that in Saint Lucar many men of good account which had sold their goods remained behind for want of shipping, whereas for other known and rich Countries, they are wont to want men: and this fell out by occasion of that which Cabeça de Vaca told the Emperour, and informed such persons as hee had conference withall touching the State of that Countrie. Soto made him great offers: and being agreed to goe with him (as I haue said before) because he would not giue him monie to pay for a ship, which he had brought, they brake off, & he went for Gouvernour to the Riuer of Plate. His kinsemen Christopher de Spindola, and Baltasar de Gallegos went with Soto. Baltasar de Gallegos sold houses and vineyards, and rent corne, and ninetie rankes of Oliue trees in the Xarafe of Siuil: Hee had the office of Alcalde Mayor, and tooke his wife with him: And there went also many other persons of account with the President, and had the officers following by great friendship, because they were officers desired of many: to wit, Antonie de Biedma was Factor, Iohn Danusco was Auditor, and Iohn Gaytan nephew to the Cardinall of Ciguenza had the office of Treasurer.

Cabeça de Vaca
was the Gouver-
nour of the
Riuer of Plate.

Chap. III.

How the Portugales went to Siuil, and from thence to S. Lucar: he appointed Captaines ouer the ships, and distributed the people which were to goe in them.

The Portugales departed from Eluas the 15. of Ianuarie, and came to Siuil the 19. of the same moneth, and went to the lodging of the Gouvernour, and entred into a court, ouer the which were certaine galleries where hee was, who came downe and receiued them at the staires, whereby they went vp into the galleries: when he was come vp, he commanded chaires to be giuen them to sit on. And Andrew de Vasconcelos told him who hee and the other Portugales were, and how they all were come to accompany him, and serue him in his voiage. He gaue him thanks, and made shew of great contentment for his comming and offer. And the table being alreadie laid he invited them to dinner. And being at dinner he commanded his steward to seeke a lodging for them neere vnto his owne, where they might bee lodged. The Adelantado departed from Siuil to Saint Lucar with all the people which were to goe with him: And he commanded a muster to be made, at the which the Portugales shewed themselues armed in verie bright armour, and the Castellans very gallant with silke vpon silke, with many pinkings and cuts. The Gouvernour, because these brauaries in such an action did not like him, commanded that they should muster another day, and euery one should come forth with his armour: at the which the Portugales came as at the first armed with very good armour. The Gouvernour placed them in order neere vnto the standard which the ensigne-bearer carried. The Castellanes for the most part did weare very bad and rustie shirts of maile, and all of them head peeces and steele cappes, and very bad lances. And some of them sought to come among the Portugales. So those passed and were counted and enroled, which Soto liked and accepted of, and did accompanie him into Florida; which were in all sixe hundred men. Hee had alreadie bought seuen ships, and had all necessarie prouision aboard them: He appointed Captaines, and deliuered to euery one his ship, and gaue them in a role what people euery one should carrie with them.

Sixe hundred
men went with
Soto into Florida.

Chap. IV.

How the Adelantado with his people departed from Spaine, and came to the Canaries, and afterward to the Antiles.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1538. in the moneth of Aprill, the Adelantado deliuered his shippes to the Captaines which were to goe in them: and tooke for himselfe a new ship, and good of saile, and gaue another to Andrew de Vasconcelos, in which the Portugales went: hee went ouer the barre of S. Lucar on Sunday being S. Lazarus day, in the morning,

morning, of the moneth and yeere aforesaid, with great ioy, commanding his trumpets to be sounded, and many shots of the ordinance to be discharged. Hee sailed foure daies with a prosperous wind; and suddenly it calmed: the calmes continued eight daies with swelling seas, in such wise, that wee made no way. The 15. day after his departure from S. Lucar, hee came to Gomera, one of the Canaries, on Easter day in the morning. The Earle of that Island was apparrelled all in white, cloke, ierkin, hose, shooes, and cappe, so that hee seemed a Lord of the Gypsies. He receiued the Gouvernour with much ioy: hee was well lodged, and all the rest had their lodgings gratis, and gat great store of victuals for their monie, as bread, wine and flesh: and they tooke what was needfull for their ships: and the Sunday following, eight daies after their arriuall, they departed from the Isle of Gomera. The Earle gaue to Donna Isabella the Adelantados wife a bastard daughter that hee had to bee her waiting maid. They arriued at the Antilles, in the Isle of Cuba, at the port of the City of Sant Iago vpon Whitsunday. Assone as they came thither, a Gentleman of the Citie sent to the sea side a very faire roan horse and well furnished for the Gouvernour, and a mule for Donna Isabella: and all the horsemen and footemen that were in the towne came to receiue him at the sea-side. The Gouvernour was well lodged, visited, and serued of all the inhabitants of that Citie, and all his companie had their lodgings freely: those which desired to goe into the cuntry, were diuided by foure and foure, and sixe and sixe in the farmes or granges, according to the abilitie of the owners of the farmes, and were furnished by them with all things necessary.

Chap. V.

Of the inhabitants which are in the Citie of S. Iago, and in the other townes of the Island: and of the qualitie of the soile, and fruites that it yeeldeth.

Great figges.

Ananes.

Great Pine-apples
* Frua habosa.
Mameis, an excellent fruit.

Guayabas.

Plantanos.

Batatas, or
Potatos.The Cassau
roote.

THE Citie of S. Iago hath fourescore houses which are great and well contriued. The most part haue their walles made of bords, & are couered with thatch; it hath some houses builded with lime & stone, and couered with tiles. It hath great Orchards and many trees in them, differing from those of Spaine: there be figgetrees which beare figges as big as ones fist, yellow within, and of small taste; and other trees which beare a fruit which they call Ananes, in making and bignes like to a small Pineapple: it is a fruit very sweete in taste: the shel being taken away, the kernel is like a peece of fresh cheese. In the granges abroad in the cuntry there are other great pineapples, which grow on low trees, and are like the * Aloetree: they are of a very good smell and exceeding good taste. Other trees do beare a fruit, which they call Mameis of the bignes of Peaches. This the Islanders do hold for the best fruit of the country. There is another fruit which they call Guayabas like Filberds, as bigge as figges. There are other trees as high as a iueline, hauing one only stocke without any bough, and the leaues as long as a casting dart: and the fruite is of the bignesse and fashion of a Cucumber, one bunch beareth 20. or 30. and as they ripen, the tree bendeth downeward with them: they are called in this cuntry Plantanos; and are of a good taste, & ripen after they be gathered, but those are the better which ripen vpon the tree it selfe: they beare fruite but once: and the tree being cut downe, there spring vp others out of the but, which beare fruite the next yeere. There is another fruit; whereby many people are sustained, and chiefly the slaues, which are called Batatas. These grow now in the Isle of Terçera, belonging to the Kingdome of Portugal, and they grow within the earth, and are like a fruit called Iname, they haue almost y taste of a chestnut. The bread of this cuntry is also made of rootes which are like the Batatas. And the stocke whereon those rootes doe grow is like an Elder tree: they make their ground in little hillocks, and in each of them they thrust 4. or 5. stakes; and they gather the rootes a yeere and an halfe after they set them. If any one, thinking it is a Batata or Potato roote, chance to eate of it neuer so little, hee is in great danger of death: which was seene by experience in a souldier, which assone as hee had eaten a very little of one of those rootes, hee died quicklie. They pare these rootes and stampe them, and

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and squee them in a thing like a presse: the iuyce that commeth from them is of an euill
smell. The bread is of little taste and lesse substance. Of the fruites of Spaine, there
are Figges and Oranges, and they beare fruit all the yeere, because the soile is very ranke
and fruitfull. In this countrie are many good horses, and there is greene grasse all the
yeere. There be many wild oxen and hogges, whereby the people of the Island is well
furnished with flesh: Without the townes abroad in the Countrie are many fruites. And it
happeneth sometimes that a Christian goeth out of the way and is lost 15. or 20. daies,
because of the many paths in the thicke groues that crosse too and fro made by the oxen:
and being thus lost, they sustaine themselues with fruites and palmitos: for there bee many
great groues of Palme trees through all the Island: they yeeld no other fruit that is of any
profit. The Isle of Cuba is 300. leagues long from the East to the West, and is in some
places 30. in others 40. leagues from North to South. It hath 6. townes of Christians: to
wit, S. Iago, Baracôa, Bayamo, Puerto de Principes, S. Espirito, and Hauana. Euery one
hath betweene 30. and 40. households, except S. Iago and Hauana, which haue about 60.
or 80. houses. They haue Churches in each of them, and a Chaplen which confesseth
them and saith Masse. In S. Iago is a Monasterie of Franciscan Friars: it hath but few
Friars, and is well prouided of almes, because the countrie is rich: The Church of S. Iago
hath honest reuenew, and there is a Curat and Prebends and many Priests, as the Church
of that Citie, which is the chiefe of all the Island. There is in this countrie much gold,
and few slaues to get it: For many haue made away themselues, because of the Christians
euill vsage of them in the mines. A steward of Vasques Porcallo, which was an inhabi-
tour in that Island, vnderstanding that his slaues would make away themselues, staied for
them with a cudgill in his hand at the place where they were to meete, and told them, that
they could neither doe nor thinke any thing, that hee did not know before; and that hee
came thither to kill himselfe with them, to the end, that if hee had vsed them badly in this
world, hee might vse them worse in the world to come: And this was a meane that they
changed their purpose, and turned home againe to doe that which he commanded them.

Store of good
horses.

The length and
breadth of Cuba.

A wittie stra-
tagem.

Chap. VI.

How the Gouvernour sent Donna Isabella with the ships to Hauana, and he with
some of his people went thither by land.

THE Gouvernour sent from S. Iago his Nephew Don Carlos with the ships in company of
Donna Isabella to tarrie for him at Hauana, which is an haven in the West part toward the
head of the Island, 180. leagues from the Citie of Saint Iago. The Gouvernour and those
which staied with him bought horses and proceeded on their iournie. The first towne they
came vnto was Bayamo: they were lodged foure and foure, and sixe and sixe, as they went
in company, and where they lodged, they tooke nothing for their diet, for nothing cost
them ought saue the Maiz or corne for their horses, because the Gouvernour went to visit them
from towne to towne, and seased them in the tribute and seruice of the Indians. Bayamo
is 25. leagues from the Citie of S. Iago. Neere vnto the towne passeth a great Riuer,
which is called Tanto; it is greater then Guadiana, and in it be very great Crocodiles, which
sometimes hurt the Indians, or the cattell which passeth the Riuer. In all the countrie are
neither Wolfe, Foxe, Beare, Lion, nor Tiger. There are wild dogges which goe from the
houses into the woods and feed vpon swine. There be certaine Snakes as bigge as a mans
thigh or bigger, they are very slow, they doe no kind of hurt. From Bayamo to Puerto
dellos principes are 50. leagues. In al the Island from towne to towne, the way is made by
stubbing vp the vnderwood: and if it bee left but one yeere vndone, the wood groweth so
much, that the way cannot be seene, and the paths of the oxen are so many, that none can
trauell without an Indian of the Countrie for a guide: for all the rest is very hie and thicke
woods. From Puerto dellas principes the Gouvernour went to the house of Vasques Porcallo
by sea in a bote, (for it was neere the sea) to know there some newes of Donna Isabella,
which at that instant (as afterward was knowne) was in great distresse, in so much that the
ships

Bayamo.

Puerto dellas
Principes.

The Cape of S.
Antonio.

Santo Espirito.

La Trinidad.

Hauana.

ships lost one another: and two of them fell on the coast of Florida, and all of them endured great want of water and victuals. When the storme was ouer, they met together, without knowing where they were: in the end they descried the Cape of S. Anton, a countrie not inhabited of the Island of Cuba: there they watered; and at the end of 40. daies, which were passed since their departure from the City of S. Iago, they ariued at Hauana. The Gouvernour was presently informed thereof, and went to Donna Isabella. And those which went by land, which were one hundred and fiftie horsemen, being diuided into two parts, because they would not oppresse the inhabitants, trauelled by S. Espirito, which is 60. leagues from Puerto dellos principes. The food which they carried with them was Caçabe bread, which is that whereof I made mention before: and it is of such a qualitie, that if it be wet, it breaketh presently, whereby it happened to some to eate flesh without bread for many daies. They carried dogges with them, and a man of the Countrey, which did hunt; & by the way, or where they were to lodge that night, they killed as many hogges as they needed. In this iournie they were well prouided of beefe and porke: And they were greatly troubled with Muskitos, especially in a lake, which is called the mere of Pia, which they had much adoe to passe from noone till night, the water might be some halfe league ouer, and to be swome about a crosse bow shot, the rest came to the waste, and they waded vp to the knees in the mire, and in the bottome were cockle shels, which cut their feete very sore; in such sort, that there was neither boote nor shooe sole that was hole at halfe way. Their clothes and saddels were passed in baskets of Palme trees. Passing this lake, stripped out of their clothes, there came many muskitos, vpon whose biting there arose a wheale that smarted very much: they strooke them with their hands, and with the blowe which they gaue they killed so many, that the blood did runne downe the armes and bodies of the men. That night they rested very little for them, and other nights also in the like places and times. They came to Santo Espirito, which is a towne of thirtie houses; there passeth by it a little Riuer: it is very pleasant and fruitfull, hauing great store of Oranges and citrons, and fruites of the Countrey: One halfe of the companie were lodged here, and the rest passed forward 25. leagues to another towne called la Trinidad of 15. or 20. households. Here is an hospitall for the poore, and there is none other in all the Island. And they say, that this towne was the greatest in all the Countrey, and that before the Christians came into this land, as a ship passed along the coast, there came in it a very sicke man, which desired the Captaine to set him on shore: and the Captaine did so, and the ship went her way: The sicke man remained set on shore in that countrie, which vntill then had not been haunted by Christians; whereupon the Indians found him, carried him home, and looked vnto him till he was whole; and the Lord of that towne married him vnto a daughter of his, and had warre with all the inhabitants round about, and by the industrie and valour of the Christian, he subdued and brought vnder his command all the people of that Island. A great while after, the Gouvernour Diego Velasques went to conquer it, and from thence discovered new Spaine: And this Christian which was with the Indians did pacifie them, and brought them to the obedience and subiection of the Gouvernour. From this towne della Trinidad vnto Hauana are 80. leagues, without any habitation, which they trauelled. They came to Hauana in the end of March; where they found the Gouvernor, and the rest of the people which came with him from Spaine. The Gouvernour sent from Hauana Iohn Dannusco with a caraquele & two brigantines with 50. men to discover the hauen of Florida; and from thence hee brought two Indians, which he tooke vpon the coast, wherewith (aswell because they might be necessarie for guides and for interpretours, as because they said by signes that there was much gold in Florida) the Gouvernour and all the companie receiued much contentment, and longed for the houre of their departure, thinking in himselfe that this was the richest Countrey, that vnto that day had been discovered.

Chap. VII.

How we departed from Hauana, and ariued in Florida, and of such things as happened vnto vs.

BEfore our departure, the Gouvernour deprived Nunno de Touar of $\frac{1}{2}$ office of Captaine Generall, & gaue it to Porcallo de Figueroa, an inhabitant of Cuba, which was a meane that the shippes were well furnished with victuals: for he gaue a great many loads of Casabe bread, and manie hogges. The Gouvernour tooke away this office from Nonno de Touar, because hee had fallen in loue with the daughter of $\frac{1}{2}$ Earle of Gomera, Donna Isabellas waighting maid, who, though his office were taken from him, (to returne againe to the Gouvernours fauour) though she were with child by him, yet tooke her to his wife, and went with Soto into Florida. The Gouvernour left Donna Isabella in Hauana; and with her remained the wife of Don Carlos, and the wiues of Baltasar de Gallegos, and of Nonno de Touar. And hee left for his Lieutenant a Gentleman of Hauana, called Iohn de Roias, for the gouernment of the Island.

On Sunday the 18. of May, in the yeere of our Lord, 1539. the Adelantado or president departed from Hauana in Cuba with his fleete, which were nine vessels, fiue great ships, two carauels, and two brigantines: They sailed seuen daies with a prosperous wind. The 25. day of May, the day de Pasca de Spirito Santo, (which we call Whitson Sunday,) they saw the land of Florida; and because of the shoalds, they came to an anchor a league from the shore. On Friday the 30. of May they landed in Florida, two leagues from a towne of an Indian Lord, called Vcita. They set on land two hundred and thirteene horses, which they brought with them, to vnburden the shippes, that they might draw the lesse water. Hee landed all his men, and only the sea men remained in the shippes, which in eight daies, going vp with the tide euery day a little, brought them vp vnto the towne. Assoone as the people were come on shore, hee pitched his campe on the sea side, hard vpon the Bay which went vp vnto the towne. And presently the Captaine generall Vasques Porcallo with other 7. horsemen foraged the Countrie halfe a league round about, and found sixe Indians, which resisted him with their arrowes, which are the weapons which they vse to fight withall: The horsemen killed two of them, and the other foure escaped; because the countrie is cumbersome with woods and bogs, where the horses stacke fast, and fell with their riders, because they were weake with traueilling vpon the sea. The same night following the Gouvernour with an hundred men in the brigantines lighted vpon a towne, which he found without people, because, that assoone as the Christians had sight of land, they were descried, and saw along the coast many smokes, which the Indians had made to giue aduice the one to the other. The next day Luys de Moscoso, Master of the Campe set the men in order, the horsemen in three squadrons, the Vantgard, the Batallion, and the Rerewarde: and so they marched that day, and the day following, compassing great Creekes which came out of the Bay: They came to the towne of Vcita, where the Gouvernour was, on Sunday the first of Iune, being Trinitie Sunday. The towne was of seuen or eight houses. The Lordes house stode neere the shore vpon a very hie mount, made by hand for strength. At another end of the towne stood the Church, and on the top of it stood a fowle made of wood with gilded eies. Heere were found some pearles of small valew, spoiled with the fire, which the Indians do pierce and string them like beades, and weare them about their neckes and hand wrists, and they esteeme them very much. The houses were made of timber, and couered with Palme leaues. The Gouvernour lodged himselfe in the Lords houses, and with him Vasques Porcallo, and Luys de Moscoso: and in others that were in the midst of the towne, was the chiefe Alcalde or Iustice, Baltasar de Gallegos lodged; and in the same houses was set in a place by it selfe, al the prouision that came in the ships: the other houses and the Church were broken down, and euery three or foure souldiers made a little cabin wherein they lodged. The Countrie round about was very fennie, and encombred with great and hie trees. The Gouvernour commanded to fel the woods a crosse-

4 X

bow

This place was called Baya de Spirito Sancto, being on the West side of Florida, in 29. degrees, $\frac{1}{2}$.

The ships came vp to the towne of Vcita.

The towne of Vcita. Iunc.

Some pearles found.

bow shot round about the towne, that the horses might runne, and the Christians might haue the aduantage of the Indians, if by chance they should set vpon them by night. In the waies and places conuenient, they had their Centinelles of footemen by two and two in euery stand, which did watch by turnes, and the horsemen did visit them, and were readie to assist them, if there were any alarme. The Gouvernour made foure Capitaines of the horsemen, and two of the footemen. The Capitaines of the horsemen were, one of them Andrew de Vasconcelos, and another Pedro Calderan de Badaioz: and the other two were his kinsemen, to wit, Arias Tinoco, and Alfonso Romo, borne likewise in Badaioz. The Capitaines of the footemen, the one was Francisco Maldonado of Salamanca, and the other Iuan Rodriguez Lobillo. While wee were in this towne of Vcita, the two Indians, which Iohn Danusco had taken on that coast, and the Gouvernour caried along with him for guides and interpreters, through carelesnes of two men, which had the charge of them, escaped away one night. For which the Gouvernour and all the rest were very sorie, for they had already made some roades, and no Indians could bee taken, because the countrie was full of marish grounds, and in many places full of very hie and thicke woods.

Chap. VIII.

Of some inrodes that were made into the Countrie: and how there was a Christian found, which had bin long time in the power of an Indian Lord.

FROM the towne of Vcita, the Gouvernour sent the Alcalde Mayor, Baltasar de Gallegos with 40. horsemen and 80. footemen into the Countrie to see if they could take any Indians: and the Captaine Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo another way with 50. footemen, the most of them were swordmen and targettours, and the rest were shot and crossebowmen. They passed through a countrie full of bogges, where horses could not trauell. Halfe a league from the campe, they lighted vpon certaine cabins of Indians neere a Riuer: The people that were in them leaped into the Riuer; yet they tooke foure Indian women: And twentie Indians charged vs, and so distressed vs, that wee were forced to retire to our campe, being, as they are, exceeding readie with their weapons. It is a people so warlike and so nimble, that they care not awhit for any footemen. For if their enemies charge them, they runne away, and if they turne their backs, they are presently vpon them. And the thing that they most flee, is the shot of an arrow. They neuer stand still, but are alwaies running and trauersing from one place to another: by reason whereof neither crossebow nor arcubuse can aime at them: and before one crossebowman can make one shot, an Indian will discharge three or foure arrowes; and he seldome misseth what hee shooteth at. An arrow, where it findeth no armour, pierceth as deeply as a crossebow. Their bowes are very long, and their arrowes are made of certaine canes like reedes, very heauie, & so strong, that a sharpe cane passeth thorow a target: Some they arme in the point with a sharpe bone of a fish like a chisel, and in others they fasten certaine stones like points of Diamants. For the most part when they light vpon an armour, they breake in the place where they are bound together. Those of cane do split and pierce a coate of maile, and are more hurtfull then the other. Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo returned to the Campe with sixe men wounded, whereof one died; and brought the foure Indian women which Baltasar Gallegos had taken in the cabins or cottages. Two leagues from the towne, comming into the plaine field, he espied ten or eleuen Indians, among whom was a Christian, which was naked, and scorched with the Sunne, and had his armes razed after the manner of the Indians, and differed nothing at all from them. And assoone as the horsemen saw them they ran toward them. The Indians fled, and some of them hid themselues in a wood, and they ouertooke two or three of them, which were wounded: and the Christian, seeing an horseman runne vpon him with his lance, began to crie out, Sirs, I am a Christian, slay me not, nor these Indians, for they haue saued my life. And straightway he called them, and put them out of feare, and they came forth of the wood vnto them. The horse men tooke both the Christian and the Indians vp behind them; and toward night came into the Campe with much ioy: which thing being knowne by the Gouvernour, and them that remained in the Campe, they were receiued with the like.

Chap.

Certaine cabins
of Indians.

Chap. IX.

How this Christian came to the land of Florida, and who he was: and what conference he had with the Gouvernour.

This Christians name was Iohn Ortiz, and he was borne in Siuil, of worshipful parentage. Iohn Ortiz liued 12. yeeres, among the Floridians of Vcita and Mocoço. He was 12. yeeres in the hands of the Indians. He came into this Countrie with Pamphilo de Naruaez, and returned in the ships to the Island of Cuba, where the wife of the Gouvernour Pamphilo de Naruaez was: and by his commandement with 20. or 30. other in a brigandine returned backe againe to Florida: and comming to the port in the sight of the towne, on the shore they saw a cane sticking in the ground, and riuen at the top, and a letter in it: and they beleued that the Gouvernour had left it there to giue aduertisement of himselfe, when he resolved to goe vp into the land: and they demanded it of foure or fīue Indians, which walked along the sea shore: and they bad them by signes to come on shore for it: which against the will of the rest Iohn Ortiz and another did. And assoone as they were on land, from the houses of the towne issued a great number of Indians, which compassed them about, and tooke them in a place where they could not flee: and the other which sought to defend himselfe, they presentlie killed vpon the place, and tooke Iohn Ortiz aliue, and carried him to Vcita their Lord. And those of the brigandine sought not to land, but put themselves to sea, and returned to the Island of Cuba. Vcita commanded to bind Iohn Ortiz hand and foote vpon foure stakes aloft vpon a raft, and to make a fire vnder him, that there he might bee burned: But a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleaging, that one only Christian could do him neither hurt nor good, telling him, that it was more for his honour to keepe him as a captiue. And Vcita granted her request, and commanded him to be cured of his wounds: and assoone as he was whole, he gaue him the charge of the keeping of the Temple: because that by night the wolues did cary away the dead corpses out of the same: who commended himselfe to God and tooke vpon him the charge of his temple. One night the wolues gate from him the corpses of a little child, the sonne of a principal Indian; and going after them he threw a darte at one of the wolues and strooke him that carried away the corps, who feeling himselfe wounded left it, and fell downe dead neere the place: and hee not woting what he had done, because it was night, went backe againe to the Temple: the morning being come, and finding not the bodie of the child, he was very sad. Assoone as Vcita knew thereof, he resolved to put him to death; and sent by the tract, which he said the wolues went, and found the bodie of the child, and the wolfe dead a little beyond: whereat Vcita was much contented with the Christian, and with the watch which hee kept in the Temple, and from thence forward esteemed him much. Three yeeres after hee fell into his hands, there came another Lord, called Mocoço, who dwelleth two daies iourney from the Port, and burned his towne. Vcita fled to another towne that he had in another sea port. Thus Iohn Ortiz lost his office and fauour that he had with him. These people being worshippers of the diuell, are wont to offer vp vnto him the liues and blood of their Indians, or of any other people they can come by: and they report, that when he will haue them doe that sacrifice vnto him, he speaketh with them, and telleth them that he is athirst, and willet them to sacrifice vnto him. Iohn Ortiz had notice by the damsell that had deliuered him from f fire, how her fater was determined to sacrifice him f day following, who willed him to flee to Mocoço: for shee knew f he would vse him wel: for she heard say, that he had asked for him, and said hee would bee glad to see him: and because he knew not the way, she went with him halfe a league out of the towne by night, and set him in the way, & returned, because she would not be discouered. Iohn Ortiz traualled all that night, and by f morning came vnto a Riuer, which is in the territorie of Mocoço: and there he saw two Indians fishing; and because they were in war with the people of Vcita, and their languages were different, and hee knew not the lāguage of Mocoço, he was afraid, because he could not tell them who hee was, nor how hee came thither, nor was able to answer any thing for himselfe, that they would kill him, taking him for one of the

Mocoço dwell-eth two daies iourney from Vcita.

A Riuer.

Indians of Vcita, and before they espied him, he came to the place where they had laid their weapons: & assoone as they saw him, they fled toward the towne, and although he willed the to stay, because he meant to do the no hurt, yet they vnderstood him not, and ran away as fast as euer they could. And assoone as they came to the towne with great outcries, many Indians came forth against him, and began to compasse him to shoote at him: Iohn Ortiz seeing himselfe in so great danger, sheilded himselfe with certaine trees, and began to shreeke out, and crie very loud, and to tell them that he was a Christian, and that he was fled from Vcita, and was come to see and serue Mocoço his Lord. It pleased God that at that very instant there came thither an Indian that could speake the language and vnderstood him; and pacified the rest; who told them what hee said. Then ran from thence three or foure Indians to beare the newes to their Lord: who came forth a quarter of a league from the towne to receiue him; and was very glad of him. He caused him presently to sweare according to the custome of the Christians, that hee would not run away from him to any other Lord: and promised him to entreate him very well; and that if at any time there came any Christians into that countrie, he would freely let him goe, and giue him leaue to goe to them: and likewise tooke his oth to performe the same according to the Indian custome. About three yeeres after certaine Indians, which were fishing at sea two leagues from the towne, brought newes to Mocoço that they had seene ships: and hee called Iohn Ortiz, and gaue him leaue to go his way: who taking his leaue of him, with all the haste he could came to the sea, and finding no ships, he thought it to be some deceit, and that the Cacique had done the same to learne his mind. So he dwelt with Mocoço nine yeeres, with small hope of seeing any Christians. Assoone as our Gouvernour arriued in Florida, it was knowne to Mocoço, & straightway he signified to Iohn Ortiz, that Christians were lodged in the towne of Vcita: And he thought he had iested with him, as he had done before, and told him, that by this time he had forgotten the Christians, and thought of nothing else but to serue him. But he assured him that it was so, and gaue him licence to goe vnto them: saying vnto him, that if hee would not doe it, and if the Christians should goe their way, he should not blame him, for hee had fulfilled that which he had promised him. The ioy of Iohn Ortiz was so great, that hee could not beleue that it was true: notwithstanding he gaue him thanks, and tooke his leaue of him: and Mocoço gaue him tenne or eleuen principall Indians to beare him companie: and as they went to the port where the Gouvernour was, they met with Baltasar de Gallégos, as I haue declared before. Assoone as he was come to the campe, the Gouvernour commanded to giue him a suite of apparrell, and very good armour, and a faire horse; and enquired of him, whether hee had notice of any countrie, where there was any gold or siluer: He answered, No, because he neuer went ten leagues compasse from the place where he dwelt: But that 30. leagues from thence dwelt an Indian Lord, which was called Parocossi, to whom Mocoço and Vcita, with al the rest of that coast paid tribute, and that hee peraduenture might haue notice of some good countrie: and that his land was better then that of the sea coast, and more fruitfull and plentifull of maiz. Whereof the Gouvernour receiued great contentment: and said that he desired no more then to finde victuals, that hee might goe into the maine land, for the land of Florida, was so large, that in one place or other there could not chuse but bee some rich Countrie. The Cacique Mocoço came to the Port to visit the Gouvernour and made this speech following.

Mocoço his towne within 2. leagues of the sea.

Parocossi 30. leagues from Puerto de Spirito Santo.

Right hie and mightie Lord, I being lesser in mine owne conceit for to obey you, then any of those which you haue vnder your command; and greater in desire to doe you greater seruices, doe appeare before your Lordship with so much confidence of receiuing fauour, as if in effect this my good will were manifested vnto you in workes: not for the small seruice I did vnto you touching the Christian which I had in my power, in giuing him freely his libertie, (For I was bound to doe it to preserue mine honour, and that which I had promised him:) but because it is the part of great men to vse great magnificences: And I am perswaded, that as in bodily perfections. and commanding of good people, you doe exceede all men

men in the world, so likewise you doe in the parts of the minde, in which you may boast of the bountie of nature. The fauour which I hope for of your Lordship is, that you would hold mee for yours, and bethinke your selfe to command me any thing, wherein I may doe you seruice.

The Gouvernour answered him, That although in freeing and sending him the Christian, he had preserued his honour and promise, yet he thanked him, and held it in such esteeme, as it had no comparison; and that hee would alwaies hold him as his brother, and would fauour him in all things to the vtmost of his power. Then he commanded a shirt to be giuen him, and other things, where with the Cacique being verie well contented, tooke his leaue of him, and departed to his owne towne.

Chap. X.

How the Gouvernour sent the ships to Cuba: and left an hundred men at the Hauen de Spirito Santo, and himself with the rest of his people went into the maine land.

FROM the Port de Spirito Santo where the Gouvernour lay, he sent the Alcalde Mayor Baltasar de Gallégos with 50. horsemen, and 30. or 40. footemen to the prouince of Paracossi, to view the disposition of the countrie, and enforme himselfe of the land farther inward, and to send him word of such things as he found. Likewise he sent his shippes backe to the Iland of Cuba, that they might returne within a certaine time with victuals. Vasques Porcallo de Figueroa, which went with the Gouvernour as Captaine Generall, (whose principall intent was to send slaues from Florida, to the Iland of Cuba, where he had his goods and mines,) hauing made some inrodes, and seeing no Indians were to be got, because of the great bogs and thicke woods y were in the Countrie, considering the disposition of the same, determined to returne to Cuba. And though there was some difference between him & the Gouvernour, whereupon they neither dealt nor conuersed together with good countenance, yet notwithstanding with louing words he asked him leaue and departed from him. Baltasar de Gallégos came to the Paracossi: There came to him 30. Indians from the Cacique, which was absent from his towne, and one of them made this speech:

Paracossi, the Lord of this prouince, whose vassals we are, sendeth vs vnto your worship, to know what it is that you seeke in this his Countrie, and wherein he may doe you seruice.

Baltasar de Gallegos said vnto him, that hee thanked them very much for their offer, willing them to warne their Lord to come to his towne, and that there they would talke and confirme their peace and friendship, which he much desired. The Indians went their way, and returned the next day, and said, that their Lord was ill at ease, and therefore could not come, but that they came on his behalfe to see what he demanded. He asked them if they knew or had notice of any rich Countrie where there was gold or siluer. They told them, they did: and that toward the West, there was a Prouince which was called Cale; and that others that inhabited other Countries had warre with the people of that Countrie, where the most part of the yeere was sommer, and that there was much gold: and that when those their enemies came to make warre with them of Cale, these inhabitants of Cale did weare hats of gold, in manner of head peeces. Baltasar de Gallegos, seeing that the Cacique came not, thinking all that they said was fained, with intent that in the meane time they might set themselves in safetie, fearing, that if he did let them goe, they would returne no more, commanded the thirty Indians to be chained, and sent word to the Gouvernour, by eight horsemen, what had passed: whereof the Gouvernour with al that were with him, at the Port de Spirito Santo receiued great comfort, supposing, that that which the Indians reported, might be true. Hee left Captaine Calderan at the Port, with thirtie horsemen, and seuentie footemen, with prouision for two yeeres, and himselfe with all the rest marched into the maine land, and came to the Paracossi, at whose towne Baltasar de Gallegos was: and from thence with all his men tooke the way to Cale. He passed by a little towne called Acela,

Acela.
Tocaste.
Another towne.
A Lake.
A swift Riuer.

Cale.

Acela, and came to another, called Tocaste: and from thence hee went before with 30. horsemen, and 50. footemen toward Cale. And passing by a towne, whence the people were fled, they saw Indians a little from thence in a lake; to whom the Interpretour spake. They came vnto them and gaue them an Indian for a guide: and hee came to a Riuer with a great current, and vpon a tree, which was in the midst of it, was made a bridge, whereon the men passed: the horses swam ouer by a hawser, that they were pulled by from the otherside: for one, which they droue in at the first without it, was drowned. From thence the Gouvernour sent two horsemen to his people that were behind, to make haste after him; because the way grew long, and their victuals short. Hee came to Cale, and found the towne without people. He tooke three Indians, which were spies, and tarried there for his people that came after, which were sore vexed with hunger and euill waies, because the Countrey was very barren of Maiz, low, and full of water, bogs, and thicke woods; and the victuals, which they brought with them from the Port de Spirito Santo, were spent. Whersoever any towne was found, there were some beetes, and hee that came first gathered them, and sodden with water and salt, did eate them without any other thing: and such as could not get them, gathered the stalkes of Maiz and eate them, which because they were young, had no Maiz in them. When they came to the Riuer which the Gouvernour had passed, they found palmitos vpon low Palmetrees like those of Andalusia. There they met with the two horsemen which the Gouvernour sent vnto them, and they brought newes that in Cale there was plentie of Maiz: at which newes they all reioyced. Assoone as they came to Cale, the Gouvernour commanded them to gather all the Maiz that was ripe in the field, which was sufficient for three moneths. At the gathering of it the Indians killed three Christians, and one of them which were taken told the Gouvernour that within seuen dayes iournie, there was a very great Prouince, and plentifull of Maiz, which was called Apalache. And presently hee departed from Cale with 50. horsemen, and 50. footemen. He left the master of the Campe Luys de Moscoso with all the rest of the people there, with charge that hee should not depart thence vntill he had word from him. And because hitherto none had gotten any slaues, the bread that euery one was to eate, he was faine himselfe to beate in a mortar made in a peece of timber with a pestle, and some of them did sift the flower through their shirts of maile. They baked their bread vpon certaine tileshares which they set ouer the fire, in such sort as heretofore I haue said they vse to doe in Cuba. It is so troublesome to grind their Maiz, that there were many that would rather not eate it, then grind it: and did eate the Maiz parched and sodden.

Chap. XI.

How the Gouvernour came to Caliquen, and carrying from thence the Cacique with him went to Napetuca, where the Indians sought to haue taken him from him, and in an assault many of them were slaine, and taken prisoners.

Ytara.
Potano.
Vtinama.
The towne of
Euill peace.

THE 11. day of August 1539. the Gouvernour departed from Cale: hee lodged in a little town called Ytara, and the next day in another called Potano, and the third day at Vtinama, and came to another towne, which they named the towne of Euill peace; because an Indian came in peace, saying, That he was the Cacique, and that he with his people would serue the Gouvernour, and that if he would set free 28. persons, men and women, which his men had taken the night before, he would command prouision to be brought him, and would giue him a guide to instruct him in his way: The Gouvernour commanded them to be set at libertie, and to keepe him in safegard. The next day in the morning there came many Indians, and set themselues round about the towne neere to a wood. The Indian wished them to carrie him neere them; and that he would speake vnto them, and assure them, and that they would doe whatsoever hee commanded them. And when he saw himselfe neere vnto them he brake from them, and ran away so swiftly from the Christians, that there was none that could ouertake him, and all of them fled into the woods. The Gouvernour commanded to loose a grayhound, which was alreadie fleshed on them, which

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which passing by many other Indians, caught the counterfait Cacique, which had escaped from the Christians, and held him till they came to take him. From thence the Gouverneur lodged at a towne called Cholupaha: and because it had store of Maiz in it, they named it ^{Cholupaha.} Villa farta. Beyond the same there was a Riuer, on which he made a bridge of timber, ^{A Riuer.} and trauelled two daies through a desert. The 17. of August, he came to Caliquen, where ^{Caliquen.} he was informed of the Prouince of Apalache: They told him that Pamphilo de Naruaez had bin there, and that there hee tooke shipping, because hee could find no way to goe forward: That there was none other towne at al; but that on both sides was all water. The whole companie were very sad for these newes; and counselled the Gouverneur to goe backe to the Port de Spirito Santo, and to abandon the Countrie of Florida, lest hee should perish as Naruaez had done: declaring, that if he went forward, he could not returne backe when he would, and that the Indians would gather vp that small quantitie of Maiz which was left. Whereunto the Gouverneur answered, that he would not go backe, till he had seene with his eies that which they reported: saying, that he could not beleue it, and that wee should be put out of doubt before it were long. And he sent to Luys de Moscoso to come presently from Cale, and that he tarried for him here. Luys de Moscoso and many others thought, that from Apalache they should returne backe; and in Cale they buried their yron tooles, and diuers other things. They came to Caliquen with great trouble; because the Countrie, which the Gouverneur had passed by, was spoiled and destitute of Maiz. After all the people were come together, hee commanded a bridge to bee made ouer a Riuer that ^{A Riuer.} passed neere the towne. Hee departed from Caliquen the 10. of September, and carried the Cacique with him. After hee had trauelled three daies, there came Indians peaceably, to visit their Lord, and euery day met vs on the way playing vpon flutes: which is a token that they vse, that men may know that they come in peace. They said, that in our way before there was a Cacique, whose name was Vzachil, a kinseman of the Cacique of Caliquen their Lord, waiting for him with many presents, and they desired the Gouverneur that he would loose the Cacique. But he would not, fearing that they would rise, and would not giue him any guides, & sent them away from day to day with good words. He trauelled fiae daies, he passed by some smal townes, he came to a towne called Napetuca, ^{Some small townes. Napetuca.} the 15. day of September. Thither came 14. or 15. Indians, and besought y Gouverneur to let loose the Cacique of Caliquen their Lord. He answered them that he held him not in prison, but that hee would haue him to accompanie him to Vzachil. The Gouverneur had notice by Iohn Ortiz, that an Indian told him how they determined to gather themselves together, and come vpon him, and giue him battell, and take away the Cacique from him. The day that it was agreed vpon, the Gouverneur commanded his men to bee in a readines, and that the horsemen should bee readie armed and on horsebacke euery one in his lodging, because the Indians might not see them, and so more confidently come to the towne. There came foure hundred Indians in sight of the campe with their bowes and arrowes, and placed themselves in a wood, and sent two Indians to bid the Gouverneur to deliuer them the Cacique. The Gouverneur with sixe footemen leading the Cacique by the hand, and talking with him, to secure the Indians, went toward the place where they were: And seeing a fit time, commanded to sound a trumpet: and presently those that were in the towne in the houses, both horse and foot, set vpon the Indians, which were so suddenly assaulted, that the greatest care they had was which way they should flee: They killed two horses; one was the Gouvernours, and hee was presently horsed againe vpon another. There were 30. or 40. Indians slaine. The rest fled to two very great lakes, that were somewhat distant the one from the other: There they were swimming, and the Christians round about them. The calieuermen and crossebowmen shot at them from the banke: but the distance being great and shooting afarre off, they did them no hurt. The Gouverneur commanded that the same night they should compasse one of the lakes, because they were so great, that there were not mē enow to compasse them both: being beset, assoone as night shut in, the Indians, with determination to runne away, came swimming very softly to the banke; and to hide themselves, they put a water lillie leafe on their heads. The horsemen

Two very great lakes.

horsemen assoone as they perceiued it to stirre, ran into the water to the horses breasts, and the Indians fled againe into the lake. So this night passed without any rest on both sides. Iohn Ortiz perswaded them, that seeing they could not escape, they should yeeld themselues to the Gouvernour: which they did, enforced thereunto by the coldnes of the water; and one by one, hee first whom the cold did first ouercome, cried to Iohn Ortiz desiring that they would not kill him, for he came to put himselfe into the hands of the Gouvernour. By the morning watch they made an end of yeelding themselues: only 12. principall men, being more honorable and valorous then the rest, resolved rather to die then to come into his hands. And the Indians of Paracossi, which were now loosed out of chaines, went swimming to them, and pulled them out by the haire of their heads, and they were all put in chaines; and the next day were diuided among the Christians for their seruice. Being thus in captiuitie, they determined to rebell; and gaue in charge to an Indian, which was interpretour, and held to be valiant, that assoone as the Gouvernour did come to speak with him, hee should cast his hands about his necke, and choke him: Who, whē he saw opportunitie, laid hands on the Gouvernour, and before he cast his hands about his necke, he gaue him such a blow on the nostrils, that hee made them gush out with blood, and presently all the rest did rise. He that could get any weapons at hand, or the handle wherewith he did grind the Maiz, sought to kill his master, or the first hee met before him: and hee that could get a lance or sword at hand, bestirred himselfe in such sort with it, as though he had vsed it all his life time. One Indian in the market place enclosed betweene 15. or 20. footemen, made a way like a bull with a sword in his hand, till certaine halbardiers of the Gouvernour came, which killed him. Another gat vp with a lance to a loft made of canes, which they build to keepe their Maiz in, which they call a Barbacoa, and there hee made such a noise, as though tenne men had been there defending the doore: they slew him with a partisan. The Indians were in all about two hundred men. They were all subdued. And some of the youngest the Gouvernour gaue to them which had good chaines, and were carefull to looke to them that they gat not away. Al the rest he commanded to be put to death, being tied to a stake in the midst of the market place: and the Indians of the Paracossi did shoote them to death.

A new conspiracy.

Two hundred Indians taken.

Chap. XII.

How the Gouvernour came to Apalache, and was informed, that within the land, there was much gold.

A Riuer.

Hapaluya a great towne. Vzachil.

* Aboboras.

THE Gouvernour departed from Napetuca the 23. of September: he lodged by a Riuer, where two Indians brought him a buck from the Cacique of Vzachil. The next day he passed by a great towne called Hapaluya; and lodged at Vzachil, and found no people in it, because they durst not tarrie for the notice the Indians had of the slaughter of Napetuca. He found in that towne great store of Maiz, French beanes, and * pompions, which is their foode, and that wherewith the Christians there sustained themselues. The Maiz is like course millet, and the pompions are better and more sauorie than those of Spaine. From thence the Gouvernour sent two Captaines each a sundry way to seeke the Indians. They tooke an hundred men and women: of which aswel there as in other places where they made any inrodes, the Captaine chose one or two for the Gouvernour, and diuided the rest to himselfe, and those that went with him. They led these Indians in chaines with yron collars about their neckes: and they serued to carrie their stuffe, and to grind their Maiz, and for other seruices that such captiues could doe. Sometimes it happened that going for wood or Maiz with them, they killed the Christian that led them, and ran away with the chaine: others filed their chaines by night with a peece of stone, wherewith they cut them, and vse it in stead of yron. Those that were perceiued paid for themselues, and for the rest, because they should not dare to doe the like another time. The women and young boyes, when they were once an hundred leagues from their Countrie, and had forgotten things, they let goe loose, and so they serued; and in a very short space they vnderstood

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vnderstood the language of the Christians. From Vzachil the Gouverneur departed toward Apalache, and in two daies iournie, hee came to a towne called Axille, and from thence forward the Indians were carelesse, because they had as yet no notice of the Christians. The next day in the morning, the first of October, he departed from thence, and commanded a bridge to bee made ouer a Riuer which hee was to passe. The deepe of the Riuer where the bridge was made, was a stones cast, and forward a crossebow shot the water came to the waste; and the wood, whereby the Indians came to see if they could defend the passage, and disturbe those which made the bridge, was very hie and thicke. The crossebow men so bestirred themselves that they made them giue back: and certain plancks were cast into the Riuer, whereon the men passed, which made good the passage. The Gouverneur passed vpō Wednesday, which was S. Francis his day, and lodged at a towne which was called Vitachuco, subiect to Apalache: he found it burning; for the Indians had set it on fire. From thence forward the countrie was much inhabited, and had great store of Maiz. Hee passed by many granges like hamlets. On Sunday the 25. of October, he came to a towne, which is called Vzela, and vpon Tuesday to Anaica Apalache, where the Lord of all that Countrie and Prouince was resident: in which towne the Campemaster, whose office it is to quarter out, and lodge men, did lodge all the companie round about within a league, and halfe a league of it. There were other townes, where was great store of Maiz, Pompions, French Beanes, and Plummes of the Countrie, which are better then those of Spaine, and they grow in the fields without planting. The victuals that were thought necessarie to passe the winter, were gathered from these townes to Anaica Apalache. The Gouverneur was informed, that the sea was ten leagues from thence. Hee presently sent a Capitaine thither with horsemen and footemen: And sixe leagues on the way, he found a towne, which was named Ochete, and so came to the sea; and found a great tree felled, and cut into peeces, with stakes set vp like mangers, and saw the skulles of horses. Hee returned with this newes. And that was held for certaine, which was reported of Pamphilo de Naruaez, that there hee had builded the barkes wherewith he went out of the land of Florida, and was cast away at Sea. Presently the Gouverneur sent Iohn Danusco with 30. horsemen to the port de Spiritu Santo, where Calderan was, with order, that they should abandon the port, and all of them come to Apalache. Hee departed on Saturday the 17. of Nouember. In Vzachil and other townes that stood in the way he found great store of people alreadie carelesse. Hee would take none of the Indians, for not hindring himselfe, because it behooued him to giue them no leasure to gather themselves together. He passed through the townes by night, and rested without the townes three or foure houres. In tenne daies he came to the Port de Spirito Santo. He carried with him 20. Indian women, which he tooke in Ytara, and Potano, neere vnto Cale, and sent them to Donna Isabella in the two carauels, which hee sent from the Port de Spirito Santo to Cuba. And he carried all the footemen in the brigandines, and coasting along the shore, came to Apalache. And Calderan with the horsemen, and some crosse-bowmen on foote went by land; and in some places the Indians set vpon him, and wounded some of his men. Assoone as he came to Apalache; presently the Gouverneur sent sawed plankes and spikes to the sea-side, wherewith was made a piragna or barke, wherein were embarked 30. men well armed; which went out of the Bay to the Sea, looking for the brigandines. Sometimes they fought with the Indians, which passed along the harbour in their canoes. Vpon Saturday the 29. of Nouember, there came an Indian through the Watch vndiscovered, and set the towne on fire, and with the great wind that blew, two parts of it were consumed in a short time. On Sunday the 28. of December came Iohn Danusco with the brigandines. The Gouverneur sent Francisco Maldonado a Capitaine of footemen with 50. men to discouer the coast Westward, and to seeke some Port, because he had determined to go by land, and discouer f part. That day there went out eight horsemen by commandement of the Gouverneur into the field, two leagues about the towne to seeke Indians: for they were now so emboldened, that within two crossebow shot of f camp, they came and slew men. They found two men and a woman gathering French Beanes: the men, though they might haue fled, yet because

Axille.

A Riuer.

Vitachuco.

October 25.

Vzela.
 Anaica Apa-
 lache.

Apalache
 within 10
 leagues of the
 sea.
 Ochete.
 The sea.

The Port de
 Spiritu Santo
 tenne daies
 iournie from
 Apalache.

Nouem. 29.

Decem. 28.

Ochus 60.
leagues West of
Apalache.

Chap. 11.

Abundance of
gold.

they would not leaue the woman, which was one of their wiues, they resolu'd to die fighting: and before they were slaine, they wounded three horses, whereof one died within a few daies after. Calderan going with his men by the Sea-coast, from a wood that was neere the place, the Indians set vpon him, and made him forsake his way, and many of them that went with him forsooke some necessarie victuals, which they carried with them. Three or foure daies after the limited time giuen by the Gouvernour to Maldonado for his going and coming, being alreadie determined and resolu'd, if within eight daies he did not come to tarrie no longer for him, he came, and brought an Indian from a Prouince, which was called Ochus, sixtie leagues Westward from Apalache; where he had found a good Port of good depth and defense against weather. And because the Gouvernor hoped to find a good cuntry forward, he was very well contented. And he sent Maldonado for victuals to Hauana, with order, that he should tarrie for him at the Port of Ochus, which hee had discovered, for hee would goe seeke it by land: and if he should chance to stay, and not come thither that summer, that then hee should returne to Hauana, and should come againe the next summer after, and tarrie for him at that port: for hee said hee would doe none other thing but goe to seeke Ochus. Francisco Maldonado departed, and in his place for Captaine of the footemen remained Iohn de Guzman. "Of those Indians which were taken in Napetuca, the treasurer Iohn Gaytan had a young man, which said, that he was not of that Cuntry, but of another farre off toward the Sunrising, and that it was long since he had trauelled to see Countries; and that his Cuntry was called Yupaha, and that a woman did gouerne it: and that the towne where she was resident was of a wonderfull bignes, and that many Lords round about were tributaries to her: and some gaue her clothes, and others gold in abundance: and hee told, how it was taken out of the mines, and was moulten and refined, as if hee had seene it done, or the diuel had taught it him." So that all those which knew any thing concerning the same, said that it was impossible to giue so good a relation, without hauing seene it: And all of them, as if they had seene it, by the signes that he gaue, beleeued all that he said to be true.

Chap. XIII.

How the Gouvernour departed from Apalache to seeke Yupaha, and of that which happened vnto him.

March the 3.
1540.

A great Riuer.

Capachiqui.

Toalli.

ON Wednesday the third of March, of the yeere 1540. the Gouvernor departed from Anaica Apalache to seeke Yupaha. He commanded his men to goe prouided with Maiz for sixtie leagues of desert. The horsemen carried their Maiz on their horses, and the footemen at their sides: because the Indians that were for seruice, with their miserable life that they lead that winter, being naked and in chaines, died for the most part. Within foure daies iournie they came to a great Riuer: and they made a piragua or ferrie bote, and because of the great current, they made a cable with chaines, which they fastened on both sides of the Riuer; and the ferrie bote went along by it; and the horses swam ouer, being drawne with capstans. Hauing passed the Riuer, in a day and an halfe, they came to a towne called Capachiqui. Vpon Friday, the 11. of March, they found Indians in armes. The next day fise Christians went to seeke morters, which the Indians haue to beate their Maiz, and they went to certaine houses on the backside of the Campe enuironed with a wood: And within the wood were many Indians which came to spie vs; of the which came other fise and set vpon vs. One of the Christians came running away, giuing an alarme vnto the Campe. Those which were most readie answered the alarme. They found one Christian dead, and three sore wounded. The Indians fled vnto a lake adioyning neere a very thicke wood, where the horses could not enter. The Gouvernour departed from Capachiqui, and passed through a desert. On Wednesday the 21. of the moneth he came to a towne called Toalli: And from thence forward there was a difference in the houses. For those which were behind vs were thatched with straw, and those of Toalli were couered with reeds, in manner of tiles. These houses are verie cleanly. Some of them had walles daubed with clay, which shewed like a mudwall. In all the cold cuntry the Indians haue euery one a house for the winter daubed

daubed with clay within and without, and the doore is very little: they shut it by night, and make fire within; so that they are in it as warme as in a stoue: and so it continueth all night that they need not clothes: and besides these, they haue others for summer; and their kitchins neere them, where they make fire and bake their bread: and they haue barbacoes wherein they keepe their Maiz; which is an house set vp in the aire vpon foure stakes, boorded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles. The differēce which Lords or principall mens houses haue from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they haue great galleries in their fronts, and vnder them seates made of canes in manner of benches: and round about them they haue many lofts, wherein they lay vp that which the Indians doe giue them for tribute, which is Maiz, Deeres skins, and mantles of the Countrie, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barks of trees, and some of a kind of grasse like vnto nettles, which being beaten, is like vnto flaxe. ^{A grasse like flaxe.} The women couer themselves with these mantles; they put one about them from the wast downward; and another ouer their shoulder, with their right arme out, like vnto the Egyptians. The men weare but one mantle vpon their shoulders after the same manner: and haue their secrets hid with a Deeres skin, made like a linen breech, which was wont to be vsed in Spaine. The skins are well corried, and they giue them what colour they list, so perfect, that if it be red, it seemeth a very fine cloath in graine, and the blacke is most fine: and of the same leather they make shooes; and they die their mantles in the same colours. ^{Excellent colours.} The Gouverneur departed from Toalli the 24. of March: he came on Thursday at euening to a small Riuer, ^{A small Riuer.} where a bridge was made whereon the people passed, and Benit Fernandez a Portugall fell off from it, and was drowned. Assoone as the Gouverneur had passed the Riuer, a little distance thence he found a towne called Achese. The Indians had no notice of the Christians: Achese. they leaped into a Riuer: some men and women were taken; among which was one that vnderstood the youth which guided the Gouverneur to Yupaha: whereby that which he had reported was more confirmed. For they had passed through Countries of diuers languages, and some which he vnderstood not. The Gouverneur sent by one of the Indians that were taken to call the Cacique, which was on the other side of the Riuer. Hee came and made this speech following:

Right high, right mightie, and excellent Lord, those things which seldome happen doe cause admiration. What then may the sight of your Lordship, and your people doe to mee and mine, whom we neuer saw? especially being mounted on such fierce beasts as your horses are, entring with such violence and furie into my Countrie, without my knowledge of your comming. It was a thing so strange, and caused such feare and terrour in our mindes, that it was not in our power to stay and receiue your Lordship with the solemnitie due to so high and renowned a Prince, as your Lordship is. And trusting in your greatnesse and singular vertues, I doe not onely hope to be freed from blame, but also to receiue fauours: and the first which I demand of your Lordship is, that you will vse me, my Countrie, and subjects as your owne: and the second, that you will tell mee who you are, and whence you come, and whither you goe, and what you seeke, that I the better may serue you therein.

The Gouverneur answered him, that hee thanked him as much for his offer and good will, as if hee had receiued it, and as if hee had offered him a great treasure: and told him that he was the sonne of the Sun, and came from those parts where he dwelt, and trauelled through that Countrie, and sought the greatest Lord, and richest Prouince that was in it. The Cacique told him; that farther forward dwelt a great Lord, and that his dominion was called Ocute. He gaue him a guide, and an interpretour for that Prouince. The Gouverneur commanded his Indians to bee set free, and trauelled through his Countrie vp a Riuer very well inhabited. ^{A Riuer very well inhabited.} He departed from his towne the first of Aprill; and left a very high crosse of Wood set vp in the midst of the market place: and because the time gaue no more leasure, hee declared to him onely, that that crosse was a memorie of y same, whereon Christ, which was God and man, and created the heauens and the earth, suffered for our saluation: therefore he exhorted them that they should reuerence it: and they made shew as though they would doe so. The fourth of Aprill the Gouverneur passed by a towne called Altamaca, and Altamaca.

Ocute.

Conies, Partridges,
Hens, Dogges.

the 10. of the moneth he came to Ocute. The Cacique sent him two thousand Indians with a present, to wit, many conies, and partridges, bread of Maiz, two hens, and many dogs: which among the Christians were esteemed as if they had been fat wethers, because of the great want of flesh meate and salt, and hereof in many places, and many times was great need; and they were so scarce, that if a man fell sicke, there was nothing to cherish him withall: and with a sicknesse, that in another place easilie might haue been remedied, he consumed away till nothing but skinned bones were left: and they died of pure weaknes, some of them saying, If I had a slice of meate, or a few cornes of salt, I should not die. The Indians want no fleshmeat: for they kill with their arrowes many deere, hennes, conies, and other wild fowle: for they are very cunning at it: which skill the Christians had not: and though they had it, they had no leasure to vse it: for the most of the time they spent in trauell, and durst not presume to straggle aside. And because they were thus scanted of flesh, when sixe hundred men that went with Soto, came to any towne, and found 30. or 40. dogs, he that could get one and kill it, thought himselfe no small man: and he that killed it, and gaue not his Capitaine one quarter, if he knew it, he frowned on him, and made him feelee it, in the watches, or in any other matter of labour that was offered, wherein hee might doe him a displeasure. On Monday the 12. of Aprill, the Gouvernour departed from Ocute: The Cacique gaue him two hundred Tamenes, to wit, Indians to carrie burdens: hee passed through a towne, the Lord whereof was named Cofaqui, and came to a prouince of an Indian Lord, called Patofa, who, because he was in peace with the Lord of Ocute, and with the other bordering Lords, had many daies before notice of the Gouvernour, and desired to see him: He came to visit him, and made this speech following.

Cofaqui.
Patofa.

Mightie Lord, now with good reason I will craue of fortune to requite this my so great prosperitie with some small aduersitie; and I will count my selfe verie rich, seeing I haue obtained that, which in this world I most desired. which is, to see, and bee able to doe your Lordship some service. And although the tongue bee the image of that which is in the heart, and that the contentment which I feelee in my heart I cannot dissemble, yet is it not sufficient wholly to manifest the same. Where did this your Countrie, which I doe gouerne, deserue to be visited of so soueraigne, and so excellent a Prince, whom all the rest of the world ought to obey and serue? And those which inhabit it being so base, what shall bee the issue of such happines, if their memorie doe not represent vnto them some aduersitie that may betide them, according to the order of fortune? If from this day forward we may be capable of this benefit, that your Lordship will hold vs for your owne, we cannot faile to be fauoured and maintained in true iustice and reason, and to haue the name of men. For such as are void of reason and iustice, may bee compared to brute beasts. For mine owne part, from my very heart with reuerence due to such a Prince, I offer my selfe vnto your Lordship, & beseech you; that in reward of this my true good will, you will vouchsafe to make vse of mine owne person, my Countrie, and subiects.

An excellent
Countrie for 50.
leagues.

The Gouvernour answered him, that his offers and good wil declared by the effect, did highly please him, whereof he would alwaies be mindfull to honour and fauour him as his brother. This Countrie, from the first peaceable Cacique, vnto the Prouince of Patofa, which were fiftie leagues, is a fat Countrie, beautifull, and very fruitfull, and very well watered, and full of good Riuers. And from thence to the Port de Spirito Santo, where wee first ariued in the land of Florida, (which may bee 350. leagues little more or lesse) is a barren land, and the most of it groues of wild Pine-trees, low and full of lakes, and in some places very hie and thicke groues, whither the Indians that were in armes fled, so that no man could find them, neither could any horses enter into them. Which was an inconuenience to the Christians, in regard of the victuals which they found conueied away; and of the trouble which they had in seeking of Indians to bee their guides.

Chap. XIII.

How the Gouvernour departed from the Prouince of Patofa, and went through a desert, where he and all his men fell into great distresse, and extreme miserie.

IN the towne of Patofa the youth, which the Gouvernour carried with him for an interpreter and a guide, began to fume at the mouth, and tumble on the ground, as one possessed with the diuell: They said a Gospell ouer him; and the fit left him. And he said, that foure daies iournie from thence toward the Sunne rising, was the prouince that he spake of. The Indians of Patofa said, that toward that part they knew no habitation; but that toward the Northwest, they knew a Prouince which was called Coça, a verie plentifull countrie, which had very great townes in it. The Cacique told the Gouvernour, that if he would go thither, he would giue him guides and Indians for burdens; and if he would goe whither the youth spake of, that he would likewise giue him those that he needed: and so with louing words and offers of courtesie, they tooke their leaues the one of the other. Hee gaue him seuen hundred Indians to beare burdens. He tooke Maiz for foure daies iournie. Hee trauelled sixe daies by a path which grew narrow more and more, till it was lost altogether: He went where the youth did lead him, and passed two Riuers which were waded: each of them was two crossebowshot ouer: the water came to the stirrops, and had so great a current, that it was needfull for the horsemen to stand one before another, that the footemen might passe about them leaning vnto them. He came to another Riuer of a greater current and largenes, which was passed with more trouble, because the horses did swim at the comming out about a lances length. Hauing passed this Riuer, the Gouvernour came to a groue of pinetrees, and threatened the youth, and made as though hee would haue cast him to the dogges, because he had told him a lie, saying, it was but foure daies iournie, and they had trauelled nine, and euery day 7. or 8. leagues, and the men by this time were growne wearie and weake, and the horses leane through the great scanting of the Maiz. The youth said, that hee knew not where hee was. It saued him that he was not cast to the dogges, that there was neuer another whom John Ortiz did vnderstand. The Gouvernour with them two, and with some horsemen and footemen, leauing the Campe in a groue of pinetrees, trauelled that day 5. or 6. leagues to seek a way, and returned at night very comfortlesse, and without finding any signe of way or towne. The next day there were sundrie opinions deliuered, whether they should goe backe, or what they should doe: and because backward the Countrie whereby they had passed was greatly spoiled and destitute of Maiz, and that which they brought with them was spent, and the men were very weake, and the horses likewise, they doubted much whether they might come to any place where they might helpe themselves. And besides this, they were of opinion, that going in that sort out of order, that any Indians would presume to set vpon them, so that with hunger, or with warre, they could not escape. The Gouvernour determined to send horsemen from thence euery way to seeke habitation: and the next day he sent foure Captaines, euery one a sundrie way with eight horsemen. At night they came againe, leading their horses, or drining them with a stick before; for they were so wearie, that they could not lead them; neither found they any way nor signe of habitation. The next day, the Gouvernour sent other foure with as many horsemen that could swim, to passe the Ose and Riuers which they should find, and they had choice horses the best that were in the Campe. The Captaines were Baltasar de Gallegos, which went vp the Riuer; and John Danusco, downe the Riuer: Alfonso Romo, and John Rodriguez Lobillo went into the inward parts of the land. The Gouvernour brought with him into Florida thirtene sows, and had by this time three hundred swine: He commanded euery man should haue halfe a pound of hogs flesh euery day: and this hee did three or foure daies after the Maiz was all spent. With this small quantitie of flesh, and some sodden hearbs, with much trouble the people were sustained. The Gouvernour dismissed 5 Indians of Patofa, because hee had no food to giue them; who desiring to accompanie and serue the Christians in their necessitie, making shew that it grieved them very much to returne, vntill they had left them

Two swift Ri-
uers.

Another greater
Riuer.

Nine daies
iournie.

The great in-
crease of swine.

in a peopled Countrie, returned to their owne home. John Danusco came on Sunday late in the evening, and brought newes that he had found a little towne 12. or 13. leagues from thence: he brought a woman and a boy that he tooke there. With his comming and with those newes, the Gouvernour and all the rest were so glad, that they seemed at that instant to haue returned from death to life. Vpon Monday, the twentieth sixe of Aprill, the Gouvernour departed to goe to the towne, which was called Aymay; and the Christians named it the towne of Reliefe. He left where the Camp had lien at the foote of a Pinetree a letter buried, and letters carued in the barke of the pine, the contents whereof was this: Dig here at the foot of this pine, & you shal find a letter. And this he did, because when the Capitaines came, which were sent to seeke some habitation, they might see the letter, and know what was become of the Gouvernour, and which way he was gone. There was no other way to the town, but the markes that Iohn Danusco left made vpon the trees. The Gouvernour with some of them that had the best horses came to it on the Monday: And all the rest inforcing themselues the best they could, some of them lodged within two leagues of the towne, some within three and foure, euery one as he was able to goe, and his strength seru-ed him. There was found in the towne a storehouse full of the flowre of parched Maiz; and some Maiz, which was distributed by allowance. Here were foure Indians taken, and none of them would confesse any other thing, but that they knew of none other habitation. The Gouvernour commanded one of them to be burned; & presently another confessed, that two daies iournie from thence, there was a Prouince that was called Cutifa-Chiqui. Vpon Wednesday came the Capitaines Baltasar de Gallegos, Alfonso Romo, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo: for they had found the letter, and followed the way which the Gouvernour had taken toward the towne. Two men of Iohn Rodriguez companie were lost, because their horses tired: the Gouvernour checked him very sore for leauing them behind, and sent to seeke them: and assoone as they came, he departed toward Cutifa Chiqui. In the way three Indians were taken, which said, that the Ladie of that Countrie had notice alreadie of the Christians, and staied for them in a towne of hers. The Gouvernour sent by one of them to offer her his friendship, and to aduertise her how hee was comming thither. The Gouvernour came vnto the towne: and presently there came foure canoes to him; in one of them came a sister of the Ladie, and approaching to the Gouvernour she said these words:

Excellent Lord, my sister sendeth vnto you by me to kisse your Lordships hands, and to signifie vnto you, that the cause why she came not in person, is, that she thinketh to do you greater seruice staying behind, as she doth, giuing order, that with all speed, al her canoes be readie, that your Lordship may passe the Riuer, and take your rest, which shall bee presentlie performed.

The Gouvernour gaue her thanks, and she returned to the other side of the Riuer. Within a little while the Ladie came out of the towne in a Chaire, whereon certaine of the principall Indians brought her to the Riuer. She entred into a barge, which had the sterne tilted ouer, and on the floore her mat readie laied with two cushions vpō it one vpon another, where she sate her downe; and with her came her principall Indians in other barges, which did wait vpon her. She went to the place where the Gouvernour was, and at her comming she made this speech following:

Excellent Lord, I wish this comming of your Lordship into these your Countries, to be most happie: although my power be not answerable to my wil, and my seruices be not according to my desire, nor such as so high a Prince, as your Lordship, deserueth; yet since the good will is rather to be accepted, then all the treasures of the world, that without it are offered, with most vnfaileable and manifest affection, I offer you my person, lands, and subjects, and this small seruice.

And therewithal she presented vnto him great store of clothes of the Countrie, which shee brought in other canoes; to wit, mantles and skinnies; and tooke from her owne necke a great cordon of perles, and cast it about the necke of the Gouvernour, entertaining him with very gracious speeches of loue and courtesie, and commanded canoes to be brought thither, wherein the Gouvernour and his people passed the Riuer. Assoone as hee was lodged

in

Aymay.

An Indian burned for his falsehood.

Cutifa-Chiqui.

A great cordon of perles. They passe the Riuer, Cutifa-Chiqui.

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at that instant
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in the towne, she sent him another present of many hens. This Countrie was verie plea-
sant, fat, and hath goodly meadows by the Riuers. Their woods are thin, and ful of walnut
trees and Mulberrie trees. They said the sea was two daies iournie from thence. Within a
league, and halfe a league about this towne, were great townes dispeopled, and ouergrowne
with grasse; which shewed, that they had been long without inhabitants. The Indians said,
that two yeere before there was a plague in that Countrie, and that they remooued to other
townes. There was in their storehouses great quantitie of clothes, mantles of yarne made
of the barks of trees, and others made of feathers, white, greene, red, and yellow, very
fine after their vse, and profitable for winter. There were also many Deeres skinnnes, with
many compartments traced in them, and some of them made into hose, stockings, and
shoes. And the Ladie perceiuing, that the Christians esteemed the perles, aduised the
Gouvernour to send to search certaine graues that were in that towne, and that hee should
find many: and that if hee would send to the dispeopled townes, hee might load all his
horses. They sought the graues of that towne, and there found foureteene rooues of perles,
and little babies and birds made of them. The people were browne, well made, and well
proportioned, and more ciuill then any others that were seene in all the Countrie of Florida,
and all of them went shod and clothed. The youth told the Gouvernour, that hee began now
to enter into the land which he spake of: and some credit was giuen him that it was so,
because hee vnderstood the language of the Indians: and hee requested that he might bee
Christened, for he said hee desired to become a Christian: Hee was Christened, and named
Peter; and the Gouvernour commanded him to bee loosed from a chaine, in which vntill that
time he had gone. This Countrie, as the Indians reported, had been much inhabited, and
had the fame of a good Countrie. And, as it seemeth, the youth, which was the Gouvernours
guide, had heard of it, and that which he knew by heresay, hee affirmed that hee had seene,
and augmented at his pleasure. In this towne was found a dagger, and beades, that had
belonged to Christians. The Indians reported, that Christians had been in the hauen, which
was two daies iournie from this towne, many yeeres agoe. Hee that came thither was the
Gouvernour, the Licenciado Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, which went to conquer this Countrie,
and at his comming to the Port hee died; and there was a diuision, quarrels and slaughters
betweene some principall men which went with him, for the principall gouernment: And
without knowing any thing of the Countrie, they returned home to Hispaniola. All the
Companie thought it good to inhabit that Countrie, because it was in a temperat climate:
And that if it were inhabited, al the shippes of New Spaine, of Peru, Santa Martha, and
Tierra firme, in their returne for Spaine, might well touch there: because it was in their
way; and because it was a good Countrie, and sited fit to raise commoditie. The Gouvern-
our, since his intent was to seeke another treasure, like that of Atabalipa Lord of Peru,
was not contented with a good Countrie, nor with pearles, though many of them were worth
their weight in gold. And if the Countrie had been diuided among the Christians, those
which the Indians had fished for afterward, would haue been of more value: for those which
they had, because they burned them in the fire, did leese their colour. The Gouvernour an-
swered them, that vrged him to inhabit, That in all the Countrie, there were not victuals
to sustaine his men one moneth; and that it was needfull to resort to the Port of Ocus, where
Maldonado was to stay for them: and that if no richer Countrie were found, they might re-
turne againe to that whensoever they would: and in the meane time the Indians would sow
their fields, and it would be better furnished with Maiz. He inquired of the Indians, whether
they had notice of any great Lord farther into the land. They told him, that 12. daies iour-
nie from thence, there was a Prouince called Chiaha, subiect to the Lord of Coça. Pre-
sently the Gouvernour determined to seeke that land. And being a sterne man, and of few
words, though he was glad to sift and know the opinion of all men, yet after hee had deli-
uered his owne, hee would not be contraried, and alwaies did what liked himselfe, and so all
men did condescend vnto his will. And though it seemed an error to leaue that Countrie,
(for others might haue been sought round about, where the people might haue been sus-
tained,

Walnut trees.
Mulberry trees
for silke.
The sea two
daies iournie off.

Mantles of the
barks of trees.
Mantles of fea-
thers.

Three hundred
ninetic two
pounds of pearles
found.

This towne was
but two daies
iournie from the
hauen of Santa
Helena.
In the yeere
1535.

It is in 32. de-
grees 1/2.

Chiaha 12. daies
iournie from
Santa Helena:
and Coste 7.
daies iournie
from Chiaha: at
which towne of
Coste, they had
an ore hide 1
Chap. 16.

tained, vntill the haruest had been readie there, and the Maiz gathered) yet there was none that would say any thing against him, after they knew his resolution.

Chap. XV.

How the Gouvernour departed from Cutifa-Chiqui to seeke the Prouince of Coça ; and what happened vnto him in the way.

The Gouvernour departed from Cutifa-Chiqui the third day of May. And because the Indians had reuolted, and the will of the Ladie was perceiued, that if she could, she would depart without giuing any guides or men for burdens, for the wrongs which the Christians had done to the Indians : (for there neuer want some among many of a base sort, that for a little gaine doe put themselves and others in danger of vndoing.) The Gouvernour commanded her to be kept in safegard, and carried with him, not with so good vsage as she deserved for y good wil she shewed, and good entertainment that she had made him. And he verified that old prouerb which saith ; For weldoing I receiue euill. And so he carried her on foot with his bondwomen to looke vnto her. In all the townes where the Gouvernour passed, the Ladie commanded the Indians to come and carrie the burdens from one towne to another. We passed through her Countrie an hundred leagues, in which, as we saw, she was much obeyed. For the Indians did all that she commanded them with great efficacie and diligence. Peter the youth that was our guide, said, that she was not the Ladie her selfe, but a neece of hers, which came to that towne to execute certaine principal men by commandement of the Ladie, which had withheld her tribute : which words were not beleeued, because of the lies which they had found in him before : but they bare with all things, because of the need which they had of him, to declare what the Indians said. In seuen daies space the Gouvernour came to a Prouince called Chalaque, the poorest Country of Maiz that was seene in Florida. The Indians fed vpon rootes and herbes which they seeke in the fields, and vpon wild beasts, which they kil with their bowes and arrowes : and it is a verie gentle people. All of them goe naked, and are very leane. There was a Lord, which for a great present, brought the Gouvernour two Deeres skins : and there were in that Countrie many wild hennes. In one towne they made him a present of 700. hennes, and so in other townes they sent him those which they had or could get. From this Prouince to another, which is called Xualla, he spent fiue daies : here he found very little Maiz ; and for this cause, though the people were wearied, and the horses very weake, he staid no more but two daies. From Ocute to Cutifa-chiqui, may bee some hundred and thirtie leagues, whereof 80. are wilderness. From Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, two hundred and fiftie, and it is an hillie Countrie. The Gouvernour departed from Xualla toward Guaxule : he passed very rough and hie hilles. In that iournie, the Ladie of Cutifa-chiqui (whom the Gouvernour carried with him, as is afore said, with purpose to carrie her to Guaxule, because her territorie reached thither) going on a day with the bondwomen which lead her, went out of the way, and entred into a wood, saying, she went to ease her selfe, and so she deceiued them, and hid her selfe in the wood ; and though they sought her they could not find her. She carried away with her a little chest made of canes in manner of a coffer, which they call Petaca, full of vnborn perles. Some which could iudge of them, said, that they were of great value. An Indian woman that waited on her did carrie them. The Gouvernour not to discontent her altogether, left them with her, making account that in Guaxule he would ask them of her, when he gaue her leaue to returne : which coffer she carried away, and went to Xualla with three slaues which fled from the Campe, and one horseman which remained behind, who falling sicke of an ague went out of the way, and was lost. This man, whose name was Alimamos, dealt with the slaues to change their euill purpose, and returne with him to the Christians : which two of them did ; and Alimamos and they ouertooke the Gouvernour 50. leagues from thence in a Prouince called Chiaha ; and reported how the Ladie remained in Xualla with a slaue of Andrew de Vasconcellos, which would not come backe with them, and that of a certaintie they

Chalaque seuen
daies iournie
from Cutifa-
Chiqui.

700. Hennes.

Xualla 5. daies
off.

Rough and
hie hilles.

they lliued as man and wife together, and meant to goe both to Cutifa-chiqui. Within fve daies the Gouverneur came to Guaxule. The Indians there gaue him a present of 300. dogges, because they saw the Christians esteeme them, and sought them to feed on them : for among them they are not eaten. In Guaxule, and all that way, was very litle Maiz. The Gouverneur sent from thence an Indian with a message to the Cacique of Chiaha, to desire him to gather some Maiz thither, that he might rest a few daies in Chiaha. The Gouverneur departed from Guaxule, and in two daies iournie came to a towne called Canasagua. There met him on the way 20. Indians euery one loaden with a basket full of Mulberries : for there be many, and those very good, from Cutifa-chiqui thither, and so forward in other Prouinces, and also nuts and plummes. And the trees grow in the fields without planting or dressing them, and are as big and as rancke, as though they grew in gardens digged and watered. From the time that the Gouverneur departed from Canasagua, hee iournied fve daies through a desert ; and two leagues before hee came to Chiaha, there met him 15. Indians loaden with Maiz, which the Cacique had sent ; and they told him on his behalfe, that he waited his comming with 20. barnes full of it ; and farther, that himselfe, his Countrie, and subiects, & al things els were at his seruice. On the 5. day of Iune, the Gouverneur entred into Chiaha : The Cacique voided his owne houses, in which he lodged, & receiued him with much ioy, saying these words following :

Mightie and excellent Lord, I hold my selfe for so happie a man, in that it hath pleased your Lordship to vse me, that nothing could haue happened vnto me of more contentment, nor that I would haue esteemed so much. From Guaxule your Lordship sent vnto me, that I should prepare Maiz for you in this towne for two moneths : Here I haue for you 20. barnes full of the choisest that in all the Countrie could be found. If your Lordship bee not entertained by me in such sort, as is fit for so hie a Prince, respect my tender age, which excuseth me from blame, and receiue my good will, which with much loyaltie, truth, and sinceritie, I will alwaies shew in any thing, which shall concerne your Lordships seruice.

The Gouverneur answered him, that he thanked him very much for his seruice and offer, and that he would alwaies account him as his brother. There was in this towne much butter in gourds melted like oile : they said it was the fat of beares. There was found also great store of oile of walnuts, which was cleare as butter, and of a good taste, and a pot full of honie of bees, which neither before nor afterward was seene in all the Countrie. The towne was in an Island betweene two armes of a Riuer, and was seated nigh one of them. The Riuer diuiderh it selfe into those two branches two crossebow shot about the towne, and meeteth againe a league beneath the same. The plaine betweene both the branches is sometimes one crosse-bow shot, sometimes two crossebow shot ouer. The branches are very broad, and both of them may be waded ouer. There were all along them verie good meadows, and manie fields sowne with Maiz. And because the Indians staid in their towne, the Gouverneur only lodged in the houses of the Cacique, and his people in the fields ; where there was euer a tree, euerie one tooke one for himselfe. Thus the Camp lay separated one from another, and out of order. The Gouverneur winked at it, because the Indians were in peace, and because it was very hot, and the people should haue suffered great extremitie, if it had not bin so. The horses came thither so weake, that for feeblenesse, they were not able to carrie their masters : because that from Cutifa-chiqui, they alwaies trauelled with very litle prouender, and were hunger-starued and tired euer since they came from the desert of Ocute. And because the most of them were not in case to vse in battell, though need should require, they sent them to feed in the night a quarter of a league from the Camp. The Christians were there in great danger, because that if at this time the Indians had set vpon them, they had been in euill case to haue defended themselues. The Gouverneur rested there thirtie daies, in which time, because the Countrie was very fruitfull, the horses grew fat. At the time of his departure, by the importunitie of some, which would haue more then was reason, hee demanded of the Cacique 30. women to make slaues of. Hee answered that he would conferre with his chiefe men. And before hee returned an answer, one night all of them with their wiues and children forsooke the towne, and fled away. The

Guaxule fve
daies off.

Canasagua
two daies iournie
off.
Great store of
Mulberrie trees
to make silke.

Iune 5.
Chiaha fve daies
iournie off, and
50. leagues from
Xualla.

The fat of
beares.
Oile of Wal-
nuts.
Honie of Bees.
Chiaha seated in
an Island.

The desert of
Ocute, chap. 14.

30. Daies rest.

next day the Gouvernour purposing to goe to seeke them, the Cacique came vnto him, and at his comming vsed these words vnto the Gouvernour :

Mightie Lord, with shame and feare of your Lordship, because my subiects against my will haue done amisse in absenting themselves, I went my way without your license ; and knowing the errour which I haue committed, like a loyall subject, I come to yeeld my selfe into your power, to dispose of mee at your owne pleasure. For my subiects do not obey mee, nor doe any thing but what an Vncle of mine commandeth, which gouerneth this Countrie for me, vntill I be of a perfect age. If your Lordship will pursue them, and execute on them that, which for their disobedience they deserue, I will be your guide, since at this present my fortune will not suffer me to performe any more.

Presently the Gouvernour with 30. horsemen, and as many footmen, went to seeke the Indians. and passing by some townes of the principall Indians which had absented themselves, hee cut and destroyed great fields of Maiz ; and went vp the Riuer, where the Indians were in an Island, where the horse-men could not come at them. There he sent them word by an Indian to returne to their towne and feare nothing, and that they should giue him men to carrie burdens, as al those behind had done ; for he would haue no Indian women, seeing they were so loth to part with them. The Indians accepted his request, and came to the Gouvernour to excuse themselves ; and so all of them returned to their towne. A Cacique of a Prouince called Coste, came to this towne to visit the Gouvernour. After hee had offered himselfe, and passed with him some words of tendring his seruice and curtesie ; the Gouvernour asking him whether he had notice of any rich Countrie ? he said, yea : to wit, " that toward the North, there was a Prouince named Chisca : and that there was a melting of copper, and of another metall of the same colour, saue that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect colour, and farre better to the sight ; and that they vsed it not so much, because it was softer. And the selfe same thing was told the Gouvernour in Cutifa-chiqui ; where we saw some little hatchets of copper, which were said to haue a mixture of gold." But in that part the Countrie was not well peopled, and they said there were mountaines, which the horses could not passe : and for that cause, the Gouvernour would not goe from Cutifa-chiqui directly thither : And hee made account, that trauellling through a peopled Countrie, when his men and horses should bee in better plight, and hee were better certified of the truth of the thing, he would returne toward it, by mountaines, and a better inhabited Countrie, whereby hee might haue better passage. He sent two Christians from Chiaha with certain Indians which knew the Countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof to view it, and to make report of that which they should find ; where he told them that he would tarrie for them.

Certaine townes.

Mines of copper and gold in Chisca toward the North.

Hatchets of copper holding gold. Chisca is directly North from Cutifa-chiqui, which is within two daies of Santa Helena.

Two Christians sent from Chiaha to seeke Chisca.

Chap. XVI.

How the Gouvernour departeth from Chiaha, and at Coste was in danger to haue been slaine by the hands of the Indians, and by a stratageme escaped the same : And what more happened vnto him in this iournie, and how he came to Coça.

When the Gouvernour was determined to depart from Chiaha to Coste, he sent for the Cacique to come before him, and with gentle words tooke his leaue of him, and gaue him certaine things, wherewith he rested much contented : In seuen daies hee came to Coste. The second of Iulie he commanded his Campe to be pitched two crossebow shot from the town : and with eight men of his guard he went where he found the Cacique, which to his thinking receiued him with great loue. As hee was talking with him, there went from the Campe certaine footmen to the towne to seeke some Maiz, and not contented with it, they ransacked and searched the houses, and tooke what they found. With this despite the Indians began to rise and to take their armes : and some of them with cudgils in their hands, ran vpon fiue or sixe Christians, which had done them wrong, and beat them at their pleasure. The Gouvernour seeing them al in an vprere, and himselfe among them with so few Christians, to escape their hands vsed a stratagem, farre against his owne disposition, being, as hee was, very francke and open : and though it grieved him very much that any Indian should

Coste seuen daies from Chiaha, chap. 14.

A wise stratagem.

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should be so bold, as with reason, or without reason to despise the Christians, he tooke vp a cudgel, and tooke their parts against his owne men; which was a meanes to quiet them: And presently he sent word by a man very secretly to the Campe, that some armed men should come toward the place where he was; and hee tooke the Cacique by the hand, vsing very mild words vnto him, and with some principall Indians that did accompanie him, he drew them out of the towne into a plaine way, and vnto the sight of the Campe, whither by little and little with good discretion the Christians began to come and to gather about them. Thus the Gouvernour led the Cacique, and his chiefe men vntill he entred with them into the Campe: and neere vnto his tent, hee commanded them to be put in safe custodie: and told them, that they should not depart without giuing him a guide and Indians for burthens, and till certaine sicke Christians were come, which he had commanded to come downe the Riuer in canoes from Chiaha; and those also which he had sent to the Prouince of Chisca: (for they were not returned; and he feared that the Indians had slaine the one, and the other.) Within three daies after, those which were sent to Chisca returned, and made report, that the Indians had carried them through a Countrie so poore of Maiz, and so rough, and ouer so high mountaines, that it was impossible for the armie to trauell that way; and that seeing the way grew very long, and that they lingred much, they consulted to returne from a little poore towne, where they saw nothing that was of any profit, and brought an oxen hide, which the Indians gaue them, as thinne as a calues skinne, and the haire like a soft wool, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe. The Cacique gaue a guide, and men for burdens, and departed with the Gouvernours leaue. The Gouvernour departed from Coste the ninth of Iulie, and lodged at a towne called Tali: The Cacique came forth to receiue him on the way, and made this speech:

Excellent Lord and Prince, worthie to be serued and obeyed of all the Princes in the world; howsoeuer for the most part by the outward physiognomie, the inward vertue may bee iudged, and that who you are, and of what strength was knowne vnto mee before now: I will not inferre hereupon how meane I am in your presence, to hope that my poore seruices will bee gratefull and acceptable: since whereas strength faileth, the will doth not cease to be praised and accepted. And for this cause I presume to request your Lordship, that you will be pleased onely to respect the same, and consider wherein you will command my seruice in this your Countrie.

The Gouvernour answered him, that his good will and offer was as acceptable vnto him, as if he had offered him all the treasures of the world, and that hee would alwaies intreate, fauour, and esteeme him as if he were his owne brother. The Cacique commanded provision necessarie for two daies, while the Gouvernour was there, to be brought thither: and at the time of his departure, he gaue him foure women and two men, which hee had need of to beare burthens. The Gouvernour trauelled sixe daies through many townes subiect to the Cacique of Coça: & as he entred into his Countrie many Indians came vnto him euery day from the Cacique, and met him on the way with messages, one going, and another comming. Hee came to Coça vpon Friday, the 26. of Iulie. The Cacique came forth to receiue him two crossebow shot from the towne in a chaire, which his principall men carried on their shoulders, sitting vpon a cushion, and couered with a garment of Marterns, of the fashion and bignes of a womans huke: hee had on his head a diadem of feathers, and round about him many Indians playing vpon flutes, and singing. Assoone as he came vnto the Gouvernour, he did his obeysance, and vttered these words following:

Excellent and mightie Lord, aboue all them of the earth; although I come but now to receiue you, yet I haue receiued you many daies agoe in my heart, to wit, from the day wherein I had first notice of your Lordship; with so great desire to serue you, with so great pleasure and contentment, that this which I make shew of, is nothing in regard of that which is in my heart, neither can it haue any kind of comparison. This you may hold for certaine, that to obtaine the dominion of the whole world, would not haue reioyced me so much, as your sight, neither would I haue held it for so great a felicitie. Doe not looke for me to offer you that which is your owne: to wit, my person, my lands and subiects:

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mountaines.
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towne.
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ral. cap. 215.
saith so.
Tali, i. day
from Coste.

Many townes
of Coça.
Coça.
Iulie 26.
Marterns.

onely I will busie my selfe in commanding my men with all diligence and due reuerence to welcome you from hence to the towne with playing and singing, where your Lordship shall be lodged and attended vpon by my selfe and them: and all that I possesse, your Lordship shall vse as it were your owne. For your Lordship shall doe me a verie great fauour in so doing.

The towne.

Many great townes.

Many plum-trees of diuers sorts.

Two sorts of grapes.

The Gouvernour gaue him thanks, and with great ioy they both went conferring together, till they came to the towne: and he commanded his Indians to void their houses, wherein the Gouvernour and his men were lodged. There was in the barnes, and in the fields, great store of Maiz and French Beanes: The Country was greatly inhabited with many great townes, and many sowne fields, which reached from the one to the other. It was pleasant, fat, full of good meadows vpon Riuer. There were in the fields, many Plum trees, aswell of such as grow in Spaine, as of the Countrey: and wild tall vines, that runne vp the trees; and besides these, there were other low vines with big and sweet grapes; but for want of digging and dressing, they had great kirkels in them. The Gouvernour vsed to set a guard ouer the Caciques, because they should not absent themselues, and carried them with him, till he came out of their Countries: because that carrying them along with him, he looked to find people in the townes, and they gaue him guides, and men to carrie burdens: and before hee went out of their Countries, he gaue them licence to returne to their houses, and to their porters likewise, assoone as he came to any other Lordship, where they gaue him others. The men of Coça seeing their Lord detained, tooke it in euill part, and reuolted, and hid themselues in the woods, aswell those of the towne of the Cacique, as those of the other townes of his principall subiects. The Gouvernour sent out foure Capitaines, euery one his way to seeke them. They tooke many men and women, which were put into chaines: They seeing the hurt which they receiued, and how little they gained in absenting themselues, came againe, promising to do whatsoever they were commanded. Of those which were taken prisoners, some principall men were set at libertie, whom the Cacique demanded: and euery one that had any, carried the rest in chaines like slaues, without letting them goe to their Countrey: neither did any returne, but some few, whose fortune helped them with the good diligence which they vsed to file off their chaines by night, or such as in their traueilling could slippe aside out of the way, seeing any negligence in them that kept them: some escaped away with the chaines, and with the burdens, and clothes which they carried.

Chap. XVII.

How the Gouvernour went from Coça to Tascaluca.

20. of August.

Tallimuchase, a great towne. Ytaua.

A great Riuer. Vllibahali.

Vllibahali walled about. The fashion of their wallies.

THE Gouvernour rested in Coça 25. daies. He departed from thence the 20. of August to seeke a Prouince called Tascaluca: hee carried with him the Cacique of Coça. He passed that day by a great towne called Tallimuchase, the people were fled: he lodged halfe a league farther neere a brooke. The next day he came to a towne called Ytaua, subiect to Coça. Hee staid there sixe daies because of a Riuer that passed by it, which at that time was very hie; and assoone as the Riuer suffered him to passe, he set forward, and lodged at a towne named Vllibahali. There came to him on the way, on the Caciques behalfe of that Prouince, ten or twelue principall Indians to offer him his seruice; all of them had their plumes of feathers, and bowes and arrowes. The Gouvernour comming to the towne with twelue horsemen, and some footemen of his guard, leauing his people a crossebow shot from the towne, entred into it, hee found all the Indians with their weapons: and as farre as he could ghesse, they seemed to haue some euill meaning. It was knowne afterward, that they were determined to take the Cacique of Coça from the Gouvernour, if hee had requested it. The Gouvernour commanded all his people to enter the towne, which was walled about, and neere vnto it passed a small Riuer. The wall, aswell of that, as of others, which afterward wee saw, was of great posts thrust deepe into the ground and very rough, and many long railes as big as ones arme laid acrosse between them,

them, and the wall was about the height of a lance, and it was daubed within and without with clay, and had loope holes. On the otherside of the Riuer was a towne, where at that present the Cacique was. The Gouvernour sent to call him, and hee came presently. After he had passed with the Gouvernour some words of offering his seruices, he gaue him such men for his cariages as he needed, and thirtie women for slaues. In that place was a Christian lost, called Mançano, borne in Salamanca, of noble parentage, which went astray to seeke for grapes, whereof there is great store, and those very good. The day that the Gouvernour departed from thence, he lodged at a towne subiect to the Lord of Vllibahali: and the next day hee came to another towne called Toasi. The Indians gaue the Gouvernour thirtie women, and such men for his cariages as he needed. Hee trauelled ordinarily 5. or 6. leagues a day when he trauelled through peopled Countries: and going through deserts, he marched as fast as he could, to eschew the want of Maiz. From Toasi, passing through some townes subiect to a Cacique, which was Lord of a prouince called Tallise, hee trauelled fūe daies: He came to Tallise the 18. of September: The towne was great, and situated neere vnto a maine Riuer. On the other side of the Riuer were other townes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. On both sides it was a very plentifull Countrie, and had store of Maiz: they had voided the towne. The Gouvernour commanded to call the Cacique; who came, and betweene them passed some words of loue and offer of his seruices, and hee presented vnto him 40. Indians. There came to the Gouvernour in this towne a principall Indian in the behalfe of the Cacique of Tascaluca, and made this speech following:

Mightie, vertuous, and esteemed Lord, the great Cacique of Tascaluca my Lord, sendeth by me to kisse your Lordships hands, and to let you vnderstand, that he hath notice, how you iustly rauish with your perfections and power, all men on the earth; and that euerie one by whom your Lordship passeth doth serue and obey you; which he acknowledgeth to be due vnto you, and desireth, as his life, to see, and to serue your Lordship. For which cause by me he offereth himselfe, his lands and subiects, that when your Lordship pleaseth to go through his Countrie, you may be receiued with all peace and loue, serued and obeyed; and that in recompense of the desire he hath to see you, you will doe him the fauour to let him know when you will come: for how much the sooner, so much the greater fauour he shall receiue.

The Gouvernour receiued and dispatched him graciously, giuing him beades, which among them were not much esteemed, and some other thinges to carrie to his Lord. And he gaue licence to the Cacique of Coça to returne home to his owne Countries. The Cacique of Tallise gaue him such men for burthens as he needed. And after he had rested there 20. daies, hee departed thence toward Tascaluca. That day when hee went from Tallise, hee lodged at a great towne called Casiste. And the next day passed by another, and came to a small towne of Tascaluca; and the next day hee camped in a wood two leagues from the towne where the Cacique resided, and was at that time. And he sent the Master of the Camp, Luys de Moscoso, with 15. horsemen, to let him know how hee was comming. The Cacique was in his lodgings vnder a Canopie: and without doores, right against his lodgings, in an high place, they spread a mat for him, & two cushions one vpon another, where he sat him downe, and his Indians placed themselues round about him, somewhat distant from him, so that they made a place, and a void roome where he sate: and his chieftest men were neerest to him, and one with a shadow of Deeres skinn, which kept the Sunne from him, being round, and of the bignes of a target, quartered with black and white, hauing a rundell in the midst: a farre off it seemed to be of taffata, because f colours were very perfect. It was set on a small staffe stretched wide out. This was the deuice which hee carried in his warres. Hee was a man of a very tall stature, of great limmes, and spare, and well proportioned, and was much feared of his neighbours and subiects. He was Lord of many territories and much people: In his countenance hee was very graue. After the Master of the Campe had spoken with him, he and those that went with him coursed their horses, pransing them to and fro, and now and then toward the place

A towne.

Great store of good grapes. A towne.

Toasi.

He trauelled ordinarily fūe or sixe leagues a day.

Tallise, a great towne. September 18. A maine Riuer

Casiste a great towne. Tascaluca.

place where the Cacique was, who with much grauitie and dissimulation now and then lifted vp his eies, and beheld them as it were with disdain. At the Gouvernours comming, hee made no offer at all to rise. The Gouvernour tooke him by the hand, and both of them sat downe together on a seate which was vnder the cloth of estate. The Cacique said these words vnto him:

Mighty Lord, I bid your Lordship right hartily welcome. I receiue as much pleasure and contentment with your sight, as if you were my brother whom I dearly loued: vpon this point it is not needfull to vse many reasons; since it is no discretion to speake that in many wordes, which in few may be vttered. How much the greater the will is, so much more giueth it name to the workes, and the workes giue testimonie of the truth. Now touching my will, by it you shall know, how certaine & manifest it is, and how pure inclination I haue to serue you. Concerning the fauour which you did me, in the things which you sent me, I make as much account of them as is reason to esteeme them: and chiefly because they were yours. Now see what seruice you will command me.

Piache.
A great Riuer.

The Gouvernour satisfied him with sweet words, and with great breuitie. When hee departed from thence he determined to carrie him along with him for some causes, and at two daies iournie hee came to a towne called Piache, by which there passed a great Riuer. The Gouvernour demanded canoes of the Indians: they said, they had them not, but that they would make rafts of canes and drie timber, on which he might passe well enough: And they made them with all diligence and speed, and they gouerned them; and because the water went very slow, the Gouvernour and his people passed very well.

From the Port de Spirito Santo to Apalache, which is about an hundred leagues, the Gouvernour went from East to West: And from Apalache to Cutifa-chiqui, which are 430. leagues, from the Southwest to the Northeast: and from Cutifa-chiqui to Xualla, which are about two hundred and fiftie leagues, from the South to the North: And from Xualla to Tascaluca, which are two hundred and fiftie leagues more, an hundred and ninetie of them he trauelled from East to West, to wit, to the Prouince of Coça: and the other 60. from Coça to Tascaluca from the North to the South.

Mauilla.
18. Of October.

Having passed the Riuer of Piache, a Christian went from his companie from thence to seeke a woman slaue that was runne away from him, and the Indians either tooke him captiue, or slue him. The Gouvernour vrged the Cacique that he should giue account of him, and threatened him, that if he were not found, he would neuer let him loose. The Cacique sent an Indian from thence to Mauilla, whither they were traueilling, which was a towne of a principall Indian and his subiect, saying, that he sent him to aduise them to make readie victuals, and men for carriages. But, (as afterward appeared) hee sent him to assemble all the men of warre thither, that hee had in his Countrie. The Gouvernour trauelled three daies; and the third day he passed all day through a peopled Countrie: and he came to Mauilla vpon Monday the 18. of October. He went before the Camp with 15. horsemen and 30. footemen. And from the towne came a Christian, whom he had sent to the principall man, three or foure daies before, because he should not absent himselfe, and also to learne in what sort the Indians were: who told him that hee thought they were in an euill purpose: for while hee was there, there came manie people into the towne, and many

Mauilla walled.

weapons, and that they made great haste to fortifie the wall. Luys de Moscoso told the Gouvernour, that it would bee good to lodge in the field, seeing the Indians were of such disposition: and hee answered, that he would lodge in the towne, for hee was wearie of lodging in the field. When hee came neere vnto the towne, the Cacique came forth to receiue him with many Indians playing vpon flutes and singing: And after hee had offered himselfe, hee presented him with three mantles of martens. The Gouvernour, with both the Caciques, and seuen or eight men of his guard, and three or foure horsemen which alighted to accompanie him, entred into the towne, and sat him downe vnder a cloth of estate. The Cacique of Tascaluca requested him, that hee would let him remaine in that towne, and trouble him no more with traueilling: And seeing he would not giue him leaue, in his talke he changed his purpose, and dissemblinglie fained that he would speake with some principall

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cipall Indians, and rose vp from the place where hee sate with the Gouvernour, and entred into a house, where many Indians were with their bowes and arrowes. The Gouvernour when he saw he returned not, called him, and he answered, that he would not come out from thence, neither would he goe any farther then that towne, and that if he would goe his way in peace, hee should presently depart, and should not seeke to carrie him perforce out of his Countrie and territorie.

Chap. XVIII.

How the Indians rose against the Gouvernour, and what ensued thereupon.

THE Gouvernour seeing the determination, and furious answere of the Cacique, went about to pacifie him with faire words: to which he gaue no answere, but rather with much pride and disdain, withdrew himselfe where the Gouvernour might not see him, nor speake with him. As a principall Indian passed that way, the Gouvernour called him, to send him word, that hee might remaine at his pleasure in his Countrie, and that it would please him to giue him a guide, and men for carriages, to see if he could pacifie him with mild words. The Indians answered with great pride, that hee would not hearken vnto him. Baltasar de Gallegos, which stood by, tooke hold of a gowne of martenes which hee had on; and hee cast it ouer his head, and left it in his hands: and because all of them immediatly began to stirre, Baltasar de Gallegos gaue him such a wound with his coutilas, that hee opened him downe the backe, and presently all the Indians with a great crie came out of the houses shooting their arrowes. The Gouvernour considering, that if hee tarried there, hee could not escape, and if hee commanded his men to come in, which were without the towne, the Indians within the houses might kill their horses, and doe much hurt, ranne out of the towne, and before hee came out, hee fell twice or thrice, and those that were with him did helpe him vp againe; and he and those that were with him were sore wounded: and in a moment there were fise Christians slaine in the towne. The Gouvernour came running out of the towne, crying out, that euery man should stand farther off, because from the wall they did them much hurt. The Indians seeing that the Christians retired, and some of them, or the most part, more then an ordinary pase, shot with great boldnesse at them, and strooke downe such as they could ouertake. The Indians which the Christians did lead with them in chaines, had laid downe their burthens neere vnto the wall: and assoone as the Gouvernour and his men were retired, the men of Mauilla laid them on the Indians backs againe, and tooke them into the towne, and loosed them presently from their chaines, and gaue them bowes and arrowes to fight withall. Thus they possessed themselues of al the clothes and perles, and all that the Christians had, which their slaues carried. And because the Indians had been alwaies peaceable vntill wee came to this place, some of our men had their weapons in their sardels and remained vnarmed. And from others that had entred the towne with the Gouvernour they had taken swords and halebards, and fought with them. When the Gouvernour was gotten into the field, hee called for an horse, and with some that accompanied him, hee returned and slew two or three Indians: All the rest retired themselues to the towne, and shot with their bowes from the wall. And those which presumed of their nimblenes, sallied forth to fight a stones cast from the wall: And when the Christians charged them, they retired themselues at their leasure into the towne. At the time that the broile began, there were in the towne a Frier, and a Priest, and a seruant of the Gouvernour, with a woman slaue: and they had no time to come out of the towne: and they tooke an house, and so remained in the towne. The Indians beeing become Masters of the place, they shut the doore with a field gate: and among them was one sword which the Gouvernours seruant had, and with it he set himselfe behind the doore, thrusting at the Indians which sought to come into them: and the Frier and the Priest stood on the other side, each of them with a barre in their hands to beate him downe that first came in. The Indians seeing they could not get in by the doore, began to vncouer the house top. By this time, all the horsemen and footemen which were behind, were come to Mauilla. Here there were sundrie opinions, whether they should charge the Indians to enter the towne, or whether they should leaue it, because it was hard to enter: and in the end it was resolved to set vpon them.

A gowne of
martenes.

All the clothes
and perles of the
Christians were
lost.

Chap.

Chap. XIX.

How the Gouvernour set his men in order, and entred the towne of Mauilla.

A consultation
of the Indians to
send away their
Cacique.

ASsoone as the battell and the rereward were come to Mauilla, the Gouvernour commanded all those that were best armed to alight, and made foure squadrons of footmen. The Indians, seeing how he was setting his men in order, concluded with the Cacique, that hee should goe his way, saying vnto him, as after it was knowne by certaine women that were taken there, that he was but one man, and could fight but for one man, and that they had there among them many principall Indians verie valiant and expert in feates of armes, that any one of them was able to order the people there; and forasmuch as matters of warre were subiect to casualtie, and it was vncertaine which part should ouercome, they wished him to saue himselfe, to the end, that if it fel out that they should end their daies there, as they determined, rather then to be ouercome, there might remaine one to gouerne the Countrie. For all this hee would not haue gon away: but they vrged him so much, that with fifteene or twentie Indians of his owne, hee went out of the towne, and carried away a skarlat cloke, and other things of the Christians goods; as much as hee was able to carrie, and seemed best vnto him. The Gouvernour was informed how there went men out of the towne, and hee commanded the horsemen to beset it, and sent in euery squadron of footemen one souldier with a firebrand to set fire on the houses, that the Indians might haue no defense: all his men being set in order, hee commanded an harcubuz to bee shot off. The signe being giuen, the foure squadrons, euery one by it selfe with great furie, gaue the onset, and with great hurt on both sides they entred the towne. The Frier and the Priest, and those that were with them in the house were saued, which cost the liues of two men of account, and valiant, which came thither to succour them. The Indians fought with such courage, that many times they draue our men out of the towne. The fight lasted so long, that for wearinease and great thirst many of the Christians went to a poole that was neere the wal, to drink, which was all stained with the blood of the dead, and then came againe to fight. The Gouvernour seeing this, entred among the footemen into the towne on horseback, with certaine that accompanied him, and was a meane that the Christians came to set fire on the houses, and brake and ouercame the Indians, who running out of the towne from the footemen, the horsemen without draue in at the gates again, where being without all hope of life, they fought valiantly, & after the Christians came among thē to handy blowes, seeing themselues in great distresse without any succour, many of them fled into the burning houses, where one vpon another they were smothered and burnt in the fire. The whole number of the Indians that died in this towne, were two thousand and fife hundred, little more or lesse. Of the Christians there died eighteene; of which one was Don Carlos, brother in law to the Gouvernour, and a nephew of his, and one Iohn de Gamez, and Men Rodriguez Portugals, and Iohn Vasquez de Villanoua de Barca Rota, all men of honoûr, and of much valour: the rest were footemen. Besides those that were slaine, there were an hundred and fiftie wounded with 700. wounds of their arrowes: and it pleased God that of very dangerous wounds they were quickly healed. Moreouer, there were twelue horses slaine, and seuentie hurt. All the clothes which the Christians carried with them to clothe themselues withall, and the ornaments to say Masse, and the perles, were all burnt there: and the Christians did set them on fire themselues; because they held for a greater inconuenience, the hurt which the Indians might doe them from those houses, where they had gathered all those goods together, then the losse of them. Here the Gouvernour vnderstood, that Francisco Maldonado waited for him at the Port of Ochuse, and that it was sixe daies iournie from thence; and he dealt with Iohn Ortiz to keepe it secret, because he had not accomplished that which he determined to doe; and because the perles were burnt there, which he meant to haue sent to Cuba for a shew, that the people hearing the newes, might be desirous to come to that Countrie. He feared also, that if they should haue newes of him without seeing from Florida neither gold nor siluer, nor any thing of value, it would get such a name, that no man would seek to goe thither

The death of
2500. Indians.

The Port of
Ochuse sixe
daies iournie
from Mauilla.

thither, when he should haue neede of people. And so he determined to send no newes of himselfe, vntill hee had found some rich Countrie.

Chap. XX.

How the Gouvernour departed from Mauilla toward Chicaça, and what happened vnto him.

FROM the time that the Gouvernour entred into Florida, vntill his departure from Mauilla, there died an hundred and two Christians, some of sicknesse, and others which the Indians slew. He staid in Mauilla, because of the wounded men, eight and twentie daies: all which time he lay in the field. It was a well inhabited and a fat Countrie, there were some great & walled townes: and many houses scattered all about the fields, to wit, a crossebow shot or two, the one from the other. Vpon Sunday, the eighteenth of Nouember, when the hurt men were knowne to bee healed, the Gouvernour departed from Mauilla. Euery one furnished himselfe with Maiz for two daies, and they trauelled fife daies through a desert: they came to a Prouince called Pafallaya, vnto a towne, named Taliepataua: and from thence they went to another, called Cabusto: neere vnto it ran a great Riuer. The Indians on the other side cried out, threatning the Christians to kill them, if they sought to passe it. The Gouvernour commanded his men to make a barge within the towne, because the Indians should not perceiue it: it was finished in foure daies, and being ended, he commanded it to be carried one night vpon sleds halfe a league vp the Riuer. In the morning there entred into it thirtie men well armed. The Indians perceiued what was attempted, and those which were neereest, came to defend the passage. They resisted what they could, till the Christians came neere them; and seeing that the barge came to the shore, they fled away into the groues of canes. The Christians mounted on horsebacke, and went vp the Riuer to make good the passage, whereby the Gouvernour and his companie passed the Riuer. There were along the Riuer some townes well stored with Maiz and French Beanes. From thence to Chicaça the Gouvernour trauelled fife daies through a desert. Hee came to a Riuer, where on the other-side were Indians to defend the passage. He made another barge in two daies; and when it was finished, the Gouvernour sent an Indian to request the Cacique to accept of his friendship, and peaceably to expect his coming: whom the Indians that were on the other side the Riuer slew before his face, and presently making a great shout went their way. Hauing passed the Riuer, the next day, being the 17. of December, the Gouvernour came to Chicaça, a small towne of twentie houses. And after they were come to Chicaça, they were much troubled with cold, because it was now winter and it snowed, while most of them were lodged in the field, before they had time to make themselues houses. This Countrie was very well peopled, and the houses scattered like those of Mauilla, fat and plentifull of Maiz, and the most part of it was fielding: they gathered as much as sufficed to passe the winter. Some Indians were taken, among which was one whom the Cacique esteemed greatly. The Gouvernour sent an Indian to signifie to the Cacique, that he desired to see him and to haue his friendship. The Cacique came vnto him, to offer him his person, Countrie and subjects, and told him, that he would cause two other Caciques to come to him in peace; who within few daies after came with him, and with their Indians: The one was called Alimamu, the other Nicalasa. They gaue a present vnto the Gouvernour of an hundred and fiftie conies, and of the Countrie garments, to wit, of mantles and skinnes. The Cacique of Chicaça came to visit him many times; and sometimes the Gouvernour sent to call him, and sent him a horse to goe and come. He complained vnto him, that a subject of his was risen against him, and depriued him of his tribute, requesting his aide against him, for hee meant to seeke him in his Countrie, and to punish him according to his desert. Which was nothing els but a fained plot. For they determined, assoone as the Gouvernour was gone with him, and the Campe was diuided into two parts, the one part of them to set vpon the Gouvernour, and the other vpon them that remained in Chicaça. Hee went to the towne where he ved to keepe his residence, and brought with him two hundred Indians with their bowes and arrows,

Saquechuma.

A walled towne.

rowes. The Gouvernour tooke thirtie horsemen, and eightie footemen, and they went to Saquechuma (for so was the Prouince called of that chiefe man, which he said had rebelled.) They found a walled towne, without any men: and those which went with the Cacique set fire on the houses, to dissemble their treason. But by reason of the great care and heedfulness, that was as well in the Gouvernours people which hee carried with him, as of those which remained in Chicaça, they durst not assault them at that time. The Gouvernour inuited the Cacique, and certaine principall Indians, and gaue them hogges flesh to eate. And though they did not commonly vse it, yet they were so greedie of it, that euerynight there came Indians to certaine houses a crossebow shot from the Camp, where the hogges lay, and killed, and carried away as many as they could. And three Indians were taken in the manner. Two of them the Gouvernour commanded to be shot to death with arrowes; and to cut off the hands of the other; & he sent him so handled to the Cacique. Who made as though it grieved him y they had offended the Gouvernour, and that he was glad that he had executed that punishment on them. He lay in a plaine Countrie half a league from the place, where the Christians lodged. Foure horsemen went a straggling thither, to wit, Francisco Osorio, and a seruant of the Marques of Astorga called Reynoso, and two seruants of the Gouvernour, the one his page called Ribera, and the other Fuentes his Chamberlaine: and these had taken from the Indians some skinnes, and some mantles, wherewith they were offended, and forsooke their houses. The Gouvernour knew of it, and commanded them to bee apprehended; and condemned to death Francisco Osorio, and the Chamberlaine as principals, and al of them to losse of goods. The Friers and Priests and other principall persons were earnest with him to pardon Francisco Osorio his life, & to moderate his sentence, which hee would not grant for any of them. While he was readie to command them to be drawne to the market place to cut off their heads, there came certaine Indians from the Cacique to complaine of them. John Ortiz, at the request of Baltasar de Gallegos and other persons, changed their words, and told the Gouvernour, that the Cacique said he had notice how his Lordship held those Christians in prison for his sake, and that they were in no fault, neither had they done him any wrong, and that if he would do him any fauour he would set them free. And he told the Indians; That the Gouvernour said, he had them in prison, & that he would punish them in such sort, that they should bee an example to others. Hereupon the Gouvernour commanded the prisoners to be loosed. Assoone as March was come, hee determined to depart from Chicaça, and demanded of the Cacique two hundred men for cariages. He sent him answere, that hee would speake with his principall men. Vpon Tuesday the eight of March, the Gouvernour went to the towne where he was, to aske him for the men: Hee told him, he would send them the next day. Assoone as the Gouvernour was come to Chicaça, he told Luys de Moscoso the Camp-master, that hee misliked the Indians, and that he should keepe a strong watch that night, which hee remembred but a little. The Indians came at the second watch in foure squadrons, euery one by it selfe, and assoone as they were descried, they sounded a drum, and gaue the assault with a great cry, and with so great celeritie, that presently they entred with the scoutes, that were somewhat distant from the Campe. And when they were perceiued of them which were in the towne, halfe the houses were on fire, which they had kindled. That night three horsemen chanced to bee skouts, two of them were of base calling, and the worst men in all the Camp, and the other, which was a nephew of the Gouvernour, which vntill then was held for a tall man, shewed himselfe there as great a coward, as any of them: for all of them ran away. And the Indians without any resistance came and set the towne on fire; and taried without behind the doores for the Christians, which ran out of the houses, not hauing any leasure to arme themselves; and as they ran hither and thither amazed with the noise, and blinded with the smoke & flame of the fire, they knew not which way they went, neither could they light vpon their weapons, nor saddle their horses, neither saw they the Indians that shot them. Manie of the horses were burned in the stables, and those which could breake their halters gat loose. The disorder and flight was such, that euery man fled which way he could, without leauing any to resist the Indians. But God, (which chastiseth his according to his pleasure, and in the greatest necessities and dangers

Chicaça set on fire by the Indians.

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dangers sustaineth them with his hand,) so blinded the Indians, that they saw not what they had done, and thought that the horses which ran loose, were men on horsebacke, that gathered themselves together to set vpon them. The Gouvernour only rod on horsebacke, and with him a souldier called Tapia, and set vpon the Indians, and striking the first he met with his lance, the saddle fell with him, which with haste was euill girded, and so hee fell from his horse. And all the people that were on foote were fled to a wood out of the towne, and there assembled themselves together. And because it was night, and that the Indians thought the horses were men on horsebacke which came to set vpon them, as I said before, they fled; and one onely remained dead, and that was he whom the Gouvernour slew with his lance. The towne lay all burnt to ashes. There was a woman burned, who, after shee and her husband were both gone out of their house, went in againe for certaine perles, which they had forgotten, and when she would haue come out, the fire was so great at the doore that shee could not, neither could her husband succour her. Other three Christians came out of their lodgings so cruelly burned, that one of them died within three daies, and the other two were carried many daies each of them vpon a couch betweene staues, which the Indians carried on their shoulders, for otherwise they could not trauell. There died in this hurliburle eleuen Christians, and fiftie horses; and there remained an hundred hogges, and foure hundred were burned. If any perchance had saued any clothes from the fire of Mauilla, here they were burned, and many were clad in skinner, for they had no leasure to take their coates. They endured much cold in this place, and the chiefest remedie were great fires. They spent all night in turnings without sleepe: for if they warmed one side, they freed on the other. Some inuented the weauing of certaine mats of drie iuie, & did weare one beneath, and another aboue: many laughed at this deuice, whom afterward necessitie inforced to doe the like. The Christians were so spoiled, and in such want of saddles & weapons which were burned, that if the Indians had come the second night, they had ouercome them with little labour. They remoued thence to the towne where the Cacique was wont to lie, because it was in a champion countrie. Within eight daies after, there were many lances and saddles made. There were ash trees in those parts, whereof they made as good lances as in Biscay. Ash trees.

The increase of
hogges.

The towne
where the Ca-
cique lay.

Chap. XXI.

How the Indians set againe vpon the Christians, and how the Gouvernour went to Alimamu, beyond which towne in warlike sort they tarried for him in the way.

Vpon Wednesday the 15. of March 1541. after the Gouvernour had lodged 8. daies in a plaine, halfe a league from the place which he had wintered in, after he had set vp a forge, and tempered the swords which in Chicaça were burned, and made many targets, saddles, and lances, on Tuesday night, at the morning watch, many Indians came to assault the Campe in three squadrons, euery one by themselves: Those which watched gaue the alarme. The Gouvernour with great speed set his men in order in other three squadrons, and leauing some to defend the Campe, went out to incounter them. The Indians were ouercome and put to flight. The ground was champion and fit for 5 Christians to take the aduantage of them; and it was now breake of day. But there happened a disorder, whereby there were not past thirtie or fortie Indians slaine: and this it was: that a Frier cried out in the Campe without any iust occasion, To the Campe, To the Campe: Whereupon the Gouvernour and all the rest repaired thither, and the Indians had time to saue themselves. There were some taken, by whom the Gouvernour informed himselfe of the Countrie, through which hee was to passe. The 25. of Aprill, he departed from Chicaça, and lodged at a small towne called Alimamu. They had very little Maiz, and they were to passe a desert of seuen daies iournie. The next day, the Gouvernour sent three Capitaines euerie one his way with horsemen and footemen to seeke prouision to passe the desert. And Iohn Dannusco the Auditor went with fiftene horsemen, and 40. footemen that way that the Gouvernour was to goe, and found a strong fort made, where the Indians staid for him, and many of them walked on the top of it with their weapons, hauing their bodies, thighs and armes okered and died with blacke, white,

25. of Aprill.
Alimamu.

Blacke, white,
yellow and red
yellow colours.

yellow and red, striped like vnto paines, so that they shewed as though they went in hose and doublets: and some of them had plumes, and others had hornes on their heads, and their faces blacke, and their eies done round about with strakes of red, to seeme more fierce. As-soone as they saw that the Christians approched, with a great crie sounding two drummes with great furie they sallied forth to receiue them. Iohn Dannusco and those that were with him, thought good to auoid them, and to acquaint the Gouvernour therewith. They retired to a plaine place, a crossebowshot from the fort in sight of it, the footemen, the crossebowmen, and targetters placed themselves before the horsemen, that they might not hurt the horses. The Indians sallied out by seuen and seuen, and eight and eight to shoote their arrowes, and retired againe: and in sight of the Christians they made a fire, and tooke an Indian, some by the feete, and some by the head, and made as though they went to cast him into the fire, and gaue him first many knocks on the head: signifying, that they meant so to handle the Christians. Iohn Danusco sent three horsemen to aduertise the Gouvernour hereof. He came presently: for his intent was to driue them from thence, saying, that if he did it not, they would be emboldned to charge him another time, when they might doe him more harme. He made the horsemen to alight, and set his men in foure squadrons: The signe being giuen, they set vpon the Indians, which made resistance till the Christians came neere the fort, and assoone as they saw they could not defend theselues, by a place where a brooke passed neere the fort, they ran away, and from the otherside they shot some arrowes: and because at that instant we knew no ford for the horses to passe, they had time enough to get out of our danger. Three Indians were slaine there, and many Christians were hurt, whereof within few daies, there died fiteene by the way. All men thought the Gouvernour to bee in fault, because he sent not to see the disposition of the place on the other side of the Riuer, and to know the passage before hee set vpon them. For with the hope they had to saue themselves by flight that way, when they saw none other meanes, they fought til they were broken, and it was an incouragement to defend themselves vntill then, and to offend the Christians without any danger to themselves.

Chap. XXII.

How the Gouvernour went from Alimamu to Quizquiz, and from thence to Rio Grande, or the great Riuer.

THree daies after they had sought some Maiz, whereof they found but little store, in regard of that which was needfull, and that for this cause, as well for their sakes that were wounded, it was needfull for them to rest, as for the great iournie they were to march to come where store of Maiz was: yet the Gouvernour was inforced to depart presentlie toward Quizquiz. He trauelled seuen daies through a desert of many marishes and thicke woods: but it might all be trauelled on horseback, except some lakes which they swamme ouer. Hee came to a towne of the Prouince of Quizquiz without being descried, and tooke all the people in it before they came out of their houses. The mother of the Cacique was taken there: and he sent vnto him by an Indian, that he should come to see him, and that he would giue him his mother, and al the people which he had taken there. The Cacique sent him answere againe, that his Lordship should loose and send them to him, and that he would come to visit and serue him. The Gouvernour, because his people for want of Maiz were somewhat weake and wearie, and the horses also were leane, determined to accomplish his request, to see if hee could haue peace with him, and so commanded to set free his mother and all the rest, and with louing words dismissed them and sent them to him. The next day, when the Gouvernour expected the Cacique, there came many Indians with their bowes and arrowes with a purpose to set vpon the Christians. The Gouvernour had commanded all the horsemen to be armed, and on horsebacke, and in a readines. When the Indians saw that they were readie, they staid a crossebowe shot from the place where the Gouvernour was neere a brooke. And after halfe an houre that they had stood there stil, there came to the Camp sixe principall Indians, and said, they came to see what people they were, and that long agoe, they had been

A desert of
seuen daies.

A towne of
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been informed by their forefathers, "That a white people should subdue them: and that
"therefore they would returne to their Cacique, and bid him come presently to obey and
"serue the Gouverneur:" and after they had presented him with sixe or seuen skinnies and
mantles which they brought, they tooke their leaue of him, and returned with the other,
which waited for them by the brookeside. The Cacique neuer came againe nor sent other
message. And because in the towne where the Gouverneur lodged, there was small store
of Maiz, he remooued to another halfe a league from Rio Grande, where they found plentie
of Maiz: And he went to see the Riuer, and found, that neere vnto it was great store of
timber to make barges, and good situation of ground to incampe in. Presently he remooued
himselfe thither. They made houses, and pitched their Campe in a plaine field a crossebow
shot from the Riuer. And thither was gathered all the Maiz of the townes, which they had
lately passed. They began presently to cut and hew down timber, and to saw plankes for
barges. The Indians came presently down the Riuer: they leaped on shore, and declared
to y Gouverneur, That they were subiects of a great Lord, whose name was Aquixo, who was
Lord of many townes, and gouerned many people on the other side of the Riuer, and came
to tell him on his behalfe, that the next day he with al his men would come to see, what it
would please him to command him. The next day with speed, the Cacique came with two
hundred canoes full of Indians with their bowes and arrowes, painted, and with great plumes
of white feathers, and many other colours, with shields in their hands, wherewith they de-
fended the rowers on both sides, and the men of warre stood from the head to the sterne,
with their bowes and arrowes in their hands. The canoe wherein the Cacique was, had a
tilt ouer the sterne, and hee sate vnder the tilt; and so were other canoes of the principall
Indians. And from vnder the tilt where the chiefe man sat, hee gouerned and commanded
the other people. All ioyned together, and came within a stones cast of the shore. From
thence the Cacique said to the Gouverneur, which walked along the Riuer side with others
that waited on him, that he was come thither to visit, to honour, and to obey him; because
he knew he was the greatest and mightiest Lord on the earth: therefore he would see what
he would command him to doe. The Gouverneur yeelded him thanks, and requested him
to come on shore, that they might the better communicate together. And without any answer
to that point, hee sent him three canoes, wherein was great store of fish and loaves, made of
the substance of prunes like vnto bricke. After he had receiued al, he thanked him, and
prayed him againe to come on shore. And because the Caciques purpose was, to see if with
dissimulation he might doe some hurt, when they saw that the Gouverneur and his men were in
readinesse, they began to goe from the shore: and with a great crie, the crossebowmen which
were ready, shot at them, and slue fiue or sixe of them. They retired with great order:
none did leaue his oare, though the next to him were slaine; and shielding themselves, they
went farther off. Afterward they came many times and landed: and when any of vs came
toward them, they fled vnto their canoes, which were verie pleasant to behold: for they were
very great and well made, and had their tilts, plumes, pauseses, and flagges, and with the
multitude of people that were in them, they seemed to be a faire armie of gallies. In thir-
tie dayes space, while the Gouverneur remained there, they made foure barges: In three of
which hee commanded twelue horsemen to enter, in each of them foure; in a morning, three
houres before day, men which hee trusted would land in despite of the Indians, and make
sure the passage, or die, and some footemen being crossebowmen went with them, and
rowers to set them on the other side. And in the other barge he commanded Iohn de Guz-
man to passe with the footemen, which was made Captaine in stead of Francisco Maldonado.
And because the streame was swift, they went a quarter of a league vp the Riuer along the
bancke, and crossing ouer, fell downe with the streame, and landed right ouer against
the Camp. Two stones cast before they came to land, the horsemen went out of the barges
on horsebacke to a sandie plot very hard and cleere ground, where all of them landed with-
out any resistance. Assoone as those that passed first, were on land on the other side, the
barges returned to the place where the Gouverneur was: and within two houres after Sunne-
rising, all the people were ouer. The Riuer was almost halfe a league broad. If a man
stood

An old pro-
phecie.Another towne.
Rio Grande, or
Rio de Espiritu
Santo.Aquixo, a great
Lord on the
West side of Rio
Grande.Two hundred
canoes.Loaves made of
prunes.Goodly great
canoes.Foure barges
made.They passe ouer
Rio Grande.The Riuer here
almost halfe a
league broad.

stood still on the other side, it could not be discerned, whether he were a man or no. The Riuer was of great depth, and of a strong current: the water was alwaies muddie: there came downe the Riuer continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and streame brought downe. There was great store of fish in it of sundrie sorts, and the most of it differing from the freshwater fish of Spaine, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Chap. XXIII.

How the Gouvernour departed from Aquixo to Casqui, and from thence to Pacahá: and how this Countrey differeth from that which we had passed.

HAuing passed Rio grande, the Gouvernour trauelled a league and an halfe, and came to a great towne of Aquixo, which was dispeopled before hee came thither. They espied thirtie Indians comming ouer a plaine, which the Cacique sent, to discover the Christians determination: and assoone as they had sight of them, they tooke themselves to flight. The horsemen pursued them, and slue tenne, and tooke fiftene. And because the towne, whither the Gouvernour went, was neere vnto the Riuer, he sent a Captaine, with as many men as he thought sufficient to carrie the barges vp the Riuer. And because in his traouelling by land many times he went farre from the Riuer to compasse the creekes that came from it, the Indians tooke occasion to set vpon them of the barges, and put them in great danger, because that by reason of the great current, they durst not leaue the shore, and from the bancke they shot at them. Assoone as the Gouvernour was come to the towne, hee presently sent crossebow men downe the Riuer, which came to rescue them: and vpon the comming of the barges to the towne, hee commanded them to bee broken, and to saue the iron for others, when it should bee needfull. Hee lay there one night, and the day following, hee set forward to seeke a Prouince, called Pacaha: which hee was informed to bee neere vnto Chisca, where the Indians told him there was gold. He passed through great townes of Aquixo, which were all abandoned for feare of the Christians. Hee vnderstood by certaine Indians that were taken, that three daies iournie from thence dwelt a great Cacique, whose name was Casqui. Hee came to a small Riuer, where a bridge was made, by which they passed: that day till Sunset, they went all in water, which in some places came to the waste, and in some to the knees. When they saw themselves on dry land, they were very glad, because they feared they should wander vp and downe as forlorne men al night in the water. At noone they came to the first towne of Casqui: they found the Indians carelesse, because they had no knowledge of them. There were many men and women taken, and store of goods, as mantles and skinnies, as well in the first towne, as in another, which stood in a field halfe a league from thence in sight of it; whither the horsemen ran. This Countrey is higher, drier, and more champion, than any part bordering neere the Riuer, that vntill then they had seene. There were in the fields many Walnut trees, bearing soft shelled Walnuts in fashion like bullets, and in the houses they found many of them, which the Indians had laid vp in store. The trees differed in nothing else from those of Spaine, nor from those which we had seene before, but onely that they haue a smaller leafe. There were many Mulberrie trees and Plum trees, which bare red plums like those of Spaine, and other gray, somewhat differing, but farre better. And all the trees are all the yeere so fruitfull, as if they were planted in orchards: and the woods were verie thinne. The Gouvernour trauelled two daies through the Countrey of Casqui, before hee came to the towne where the Cacique was: and the most of the way was alway by champion ground, which was full of great townes, so that from one towne, you might see two or three. He sent an Indian to certifie the Cacique, that hee was comming to the place where hee was, with intent to procure his friendship, and to hold him as his brother. Whereunto he answered, That he should be welcome, and that he would receiue him with speciall good wil, and accomplish all that his Lordship would command him. Hee sent him a present vpon the way; to wit, skinnies, mantles, and fish: And after these complements, the Gouvernour found all the townes, as he passed, inhabited with people, which peaceable attended his comming, and offered him skinnies, mantles, and fish. The Cacique accom-

panied

A towne.

Pacaha neere vnto Chisca.

Great townes.

The first towne of Casqui.

Another towne.

Walnut trees with soft shels.

Many Mulberrie trees and plum trees.

Many great townes.

a man or no.
muddle: there
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o Pacaha:

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panied with many Indians came out of the towne, and staied halfe a league on the way to receiue the Gouvernour, and when hee came to him, he spake these words following:

Right high, right mighty, and renowned Lord, your Lordship is most hartlie welcome. Assoone as I had notice of your Lordship, of your power, and your perfections, although you came into my Countrie, killing and taking captiues the inhabitants thereof and my subjects: yet I determined to conforme my will vnto yours, and as your owne to interpret in good part all that your Lordship did: beleeuing, that it was conuenient it should be so for some iust respect, to preuent some future matter reuealed vnto your Lordship, and concealed from me. For well may a mischief be permitted to auoid a greater, and that good may come thereof: which I beleue will so fall out. For it is no reason to presume of so excellent a Prince, that the noblesse of his heart, and the effect of his will would permit him to suffer any vniust thing. My abilitie is so small to serue you as your Lordship deserueth, that if you respect not mine abundant good will, which humblie offereth all kind of seruice, I deserue but little in your presence. But if it bee reason that this be esteemed, receiue the same, my selfe, my Countrie, and subjects for yours, and dispose of me and them at your pleasure. For if I were Lord of all the world, with the same good will should your Lordship by me be receiued, serued and obeyed.

The Gouvernour answered him to the purpose, and satisfied him in few words. Within a while after both of them vsed words of great offers & courtesie the one to the other, and the Cacique requested him to lodge in his houses. The Gouvernour, to preserue the peace the better, excused himselfe, saying, that hee would lodge in the fields. And because it was very hot, they camped neere certaine trees a quarter of a league from the towne. The Cacique went to his towne, and came againe with many Indians singing. Assoone as they came to the Gouvernour, all of them prostrated themselves vpon the ground. Among these came two Indians that were blind. The Cacique made a speech: to auoid tediousnesse, I will onely tell in few words the substance of the matter. Hee said, that seeing the Gouvernour was the sonne of the Sunne, and a great Lord, he besought him to doe him the fauour to giue sight to those two blind men. The blind men rose vp presently, and very earnestly requested the same of the Gouvernour. He answered, That in the high heauens was he that had power to giue them health, and whatsoever they could aske of him, whose seruant he was: And that this Lord made the heauens and the earth, and man after his owne likenesse, and that he suffered vpon the crosse to saue mankind, and rose againe the third day, and that he died as he was man, and as touching his diuinitie, he was, and is immortall; and that he ascended into heauen, where he standeth with his armes open to receiue all such as turne vnto him: and straightway he commanded him to make a verie high crosse of wood, which was set vp in the highest place of the towne; declaring vnto him, that the Christians worshipped the same in resemblance and memorie of that whereon Christ suffered. The Gouvernour and his men kneeled downe before it, and the Indians did the like. The Gouvernour willed him, that from thenceforth hee should worship the same, and should aske whatsoever they stood in need of, of that Lord that he told him was in heauen. Then he asked him how far it was from thence to Pacaha: He said, one daies iournie, and that at the end of his Countrie, there was a lake like a brooke which falleth into Rio Grande, and that hee would send men before to make a bridge whereby he might passe. The same day that the Gouvernour departed thence, he lodged at a towne belonging to Casqui: and the next day hee passed in sight of other townes, and came to the lake, which was halfe a crossebow shot ouer, of a great depth and current. At the time of his comming, the Indians had made an end of the bridge, which was made of timber, laid one tree after another: and on one side it had a course of stakes higher then the bridge, for them that passed to take hold on. The Cacique of Casqui came to the Gouvernour, and brought his people with him. The Gouvernour sent word by an Indian to the Cacique of Pacaha, that though hee were enemie to the Cacique of Casqui, and though hee were there, yet he would doe him no disgrace nor hurt, if he would attend him peaceablie, and embrace his friendship; but rather would intreate him as a brother. The Indian, which the Gouvernour sent, came againe, and said, that the Cacique made none account of that which hee told him, but fled with all his men out at the other side of the towne.

The chiefe
towne of the
Cacique of
Casqui.

A towne belong-
ing to Casqui.

Other townes.

towne. Presentlie the Gouvernour entred, and ran before with the horsemen, that way, by which the Indians fled; and at another towne distant a quarter of a league from thence, they tooke many Indians: and assoone as the horsemen had taken them, they deliuered them to the Indians of Casqui, whom, because they were their enemies, with much circumspection and reioycing, they brought to the towne where the Christians were: and the greatest grieve they had, was this, that they could not get leaue to kill them. There were found in the towne many mantles, and Deere skinnes, Lions skins, and Beares skinnes, and many Cats skins. Many came so farre poorely appparelled, and there they clothed themselves: of the mantles, they made them cotes and cassocks, and some made gowns, and lined them with Cats skins; and likewise their cassocks. Of the Deeres skinnes, some made them also ierkins, shirts, hose and shooes: and of the Beare skinnes, they made them verie good clokes: for no water could pierce them. There were targets of raw oxe hides found there; with which hides they armed their horses.

Mantles,
Deeres skins,
Lions skinnes,
Beares skins,
and Cats skinnes.

Targets of raw
oxe hides.

Chap. XXIII.

How the Cacique of Pacaha came peaceable to the Gouvernour, and the Cacique of Casqui absented himselfe, and came againe to make his excuse, and how the Gouvernour made them both friends.

Vpon Wednesday, the 19. of Iune, the Gouvernour entred into Pacaha: He lodged in the towne, where the Cacique vsed to reside, which was very great, walled, and beset with towers, and many loopeholes were in the towers and wall. And in the towne was great store of old Maiz, and great quantitie of new in the fields. Within a league and halfe a league were great townes all walled. Where the Gouvernour was lodged, was a great lake, that came neere vnto the wall: and it entred into a ditch that went round about the towne, wanting but a little to enuiron it round. From the lake to the great Riuer was made a weare by the which the fish came into it; which the Cacique kept for his recreation and sport: with nets, that were founde in the towne, they tooke as much as they would: and tooke they neuer so much, there was no want perceiued. There was also great store of fish in many other lakes that were thereabout, but it was soft, and not so good as that which came from the Riuer, and the most of it was different from the fresh water fish of Spaine. There was a fish which they called Bagres: the third part of it was head, and it had on both sides the gilles, and along the sides great prickles like very sharpe aules: those of this kind that were in the lakes were as big as pikes: and in the Riuer, there were some of an hundred, and of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, and many of them were taken with the hooke. There was another fish like barbilles; and another like breames, headed like a delicate fish, called in Spaine besugo, betwene red and gray. This was there of most esteeme. There was another fish called a pele fish: it had a snout of a cubit long, and at the end of the vpper lip it was made like a peepe. There was another fish like a Westerne shad: And all of them had scales, except the bagres, and the pele fish. There was another fish, which sometimes the Indians brought vs, of the bignes of an hog, they called it the Pereo fish: it had rowes of teeth beneath and aboue. The Cacique of Casqui sent many times great presents of fish, mantles, and skinnes. Hee told the Gouvernour that he would deliuer the Cacique of Pacaha into his hands. He went to Casqui, and sent many canoes vp the Riuer, and came himselfe by land with many of his people. The Gouvernour with 40. horsemen and 60. footemen tooke him along with him vp the Riuer. And his Indians which were in the canoes, discovered where the Cacique of Pacaha was in a little Island, situated betwene two armes of the Riuer. And fise Christians entred into a canoe, wherein Don Antonio Osorio went before, to see what people the Cacique had with him. There were in the Isle fise or sixe thousand soules. And assoone as they saw them, supposing that the Indians which were in the other canoes were also Christians, the Cacique, and certaine which were in three canoes, which they had there with the, fled in great haste to the other side of the Riuer: The rest with great feare and danger, lept into the Riuer, where much people was drowned, especially women and little children. Presently the Gouvernour which was on land, not knowing what

Pacaha, a very
great towne be-
set with towers.

Great walled
townes.

Nets found.

The diuers sorts
of excellent fish
in Rio Grande.

Fise, or sixe
thousand In-
dians.

what had happened to Don Antonio, and those that went with him, commanded ſ Christians with all speed to enter with the Indians of Casqui in the canoes, which were quickly with Don Antonio in the little Island, where they tooke many men and women, and much goods. Great store of goods, which the Indians had laid vpon hurdles of canes, and rafts of timber to carrie ouer to the other side, draue down the riuer, wherewith the Indians of Casqui filled their canoes: and for feare lest the Christians would take it from them, the Cacique went home with them downe the Riuer, without taking his leaue of the Gouvernour: whereupon the Gouvernour was highly offended with him: and presently returning to Pacaha, he ouerran the Countrie of Casqui the space of two leagues, where hee tooke twentie or thirtie of his men. And because his horses were wearie, and he wanted time that day to goe any farther, hee returned to Pacaha, with determination within three or foure daies after to inuade Casqui. And presently he let loose one of the Indians of Pacaha, and sent word by him to the Cacique, that if hee would haue his friendship, he should repaire vnto him, and that both of them would make warre vpon Casqui. And presently came many Indians that belonged to Pacaha, and brought an Indian, in stead of the Cacique, which was discovered by the Caciques brother which was taken prisoner. The Gouvernour wished the Indians that their Master himselfe should come: for hee knew very well that that was not hee, and told them, that they could doe nothing, which he knew not before they thought it. The next day the Cacique came, accompanied with many Indians, and with a present of much fish, skinnes and mantles. He made a speech that all were glad to heare, and concluded, saying, That though his Lordship, without his giuing occasion of offence had done him hurt in his Countrie and subiects, yet he would not therefore refuse to bee his, and that he would alwaies be at his commandement. The Gouvernour commanded his brother to be loosed, and other principall Indians that were taken prisoners. That day came an Indian from the Cacique of Casqui, and said, that his Lord would come the next day to excuse himselfe of the error which he had committed, in going away without licence of the Gouvernour. The Gouvernour willed the messenger to signifie vnto him, that if he came not in his owne person, he would seeke him himselfe, and giue him such punishment as he deserved. The next day with all speede came the Cacique of Casqui, and brought a present to the Gouvernour of many mantles, skinnes, and fish, and gaue him a daughter of his, saying, that he greatly desired to match his blood with the blood of so great a Lord as he was, and therefore he brought him his daughter, and desired him to take her to his wife. Hee made a long and discreet oration, giuing him great commendations, and concluded, saying, that hee should pardon his going away without licence, for that Crosses sake, which he had left with him: protesting that hee went away for shame of that which his men had done without his consent. The Gouvernour answered him, that hee had chosen a good patrone; and that if he had not come to excuse himselfe, hee had determined to seeke him, to burne his townes, to kill him and his people, and to destroy his Countrie. To which he replied saying:

My Lord, I and mine are yours, and my Countrie likewise is yours: therefore if you had done so, you should haue destroyed your owne Countrie, and haue killed your owne people: whatsoever shall come vnto me from your hand, I will receiue as from my Lord, as well punishment as reward: And know you, that the fauour which you did me in leauing me the Crosse, I do acknowledge the same to be a very great one, and greater then I haue euer deserved. For you shall vnderstand, that with great droughts, the fields of Maiz of my Countrie were withered; and assoone as I and my people kneeled before the Crosse, and prayed for raine, presently our necessitie was relieved.

The Gouvernour made him, and the Cacique of Pacaha friends; and set them with him at his table to dine with him: and the Caciques fell at variance about the seates, which of them should sit on his right hand. The Gouvernour pacified them; telling them, that among the Christians, all was one to sit on the one side, or on the other, willing them so to behaue themselves, seeing they were with him, that no bodie might heare them, and that euery one should sit in the place that first hee lighted on. From thence he sent thirtie horsemen, and fiftie footemen to the Prouince of Caluca, to see if from thence hee might trauel to

5 B

Chisca,

The Cacique of Pacaha commeth to the Gouvernour.

Gold and copper
in Chisca.

A poore towne.

Great store of
Oxen toward
the North of
Pacaha.
This is like
Quigauca.

Chisca, where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. They trauelled seuen daies iournie through a desert, and returned verie wearie, eating greene plums and stalkes of Maiz, which they found in a poore towne of sixe or seuen houses. From thence forward toward the North; the Indians said, That the Country was very ill inhabited, because it was very cold: And that there were such store of Oxen, that they could keepe no corne for them: that the Indians liued vpon their flesh. The Gouvernor seeing that toward that part the Countrie was so poore of Maiz, that in it they could not bee sustained, demanded of the Indians, which way it was most inhabited: and they said, they had notice of a great Prouince, and a very plentifull Countrie, which was called Quigauca, and that it was toward the South.

Chap. XXV.

How the Gouvernor departed from Pacaha to Quigauca, and to Coligoa, and came to Cayas.

The Caciques
towne.

A towne of
Casqui.
Another towne.
Quigauca.
The fourth of
August.

The greatest
towne scene in
Florida.

A towne.

THE Gouvernor rested in Pacaha fortie daies. In all which time the two Caciques serued him with great store of fish, mantles, and skinnes, and stroue who should doe him greatest seruice. At the time of his departure, the Cacique of Pacaha gaue him two of his sisters, saying, that in signe of loue that he might remember him, he should take them for his wiues: the ones name was Macanоче, and the others Mochila: they were well proportioned, tall of bodie, and well fleshed. Macanоче was of a good countenance, and in her shape and physiognomie looked like a Ladie: the other was strongly made. The Cacique of Casqui commanded the bridge to be repaired, and the Gouvernor returned through his Countrey, and lodged in the field neere his towne, whither hee came with great store of fish, and two women, which hee exchanged with two Christians for two shirts. He gaue vs a guide and men for cariages. The Gouvernor lodged at a towne of his, and the next day at another neere a Riuer, whither he caused canoes to be brought for him to passe ouer, and with his leaue returned. The Gouvernor tooke his iournie toward Quigauca. The fourth day of August, he came to the towne, where the Cacique vsed to keep his residencie: on the way he sent him a present of many mantles and skinnes, and not daring to stay for him in the towne, he absented himselfe. The towne was the greatest that was scene in Florida. The Gouvernor and his people lodged in the one halfe of it: and within few daies, seeing the Indians became liars, he commanded the other halfe to be burned, because it should not bee a shelter for them, if they came to assault him by night, nor an hindrance to his horsemen for the resisting of them. There came an Indian very well accompanied with many Indians, saying, that hee was the Cacique. He deliuered him ouer to the men of his guard to look vnto him. There went and came many Indians, and brought mantles and skinnes. The counterfeited Cacique, seeing so little opportunitie to execute his euill thought, as hee went one day abroad talking with the Gouvernor, he shewed him such a paire of heeles, that there was no Christian that could ouertake him, and he leaped into the Riuer, which was a crossebow shot from the towne: and assoone as hee was on the other side, many Indians that were thereabout making a great crie began to shoote. The Gouvernor passed presently ouer to them with horsemen and footemen, but they durst not tarrie for him. Going forward on his way, hee came to a towne where the people were fled, and a little further to a lake, where the horses could not passe, and on the otherside were many women. The footemen passed, and tooke many of them, and much spoile. The Gouvernor came to the Camp: And that night was a spie of the Indians taken by them of the watch. The Gouvernor asked him, whether he would bring him where the Cacique was? he said, he would. And he went presently to seeke him with twentie horsemen, and fiftie footemen: and after he had sought him a day, and an halfe, hee found him in a strong wood: And a souldiour not knowing him, gaue him a wound on the head; and he cried out, that he should not kill him, saying, that he was the Cacique: so he was taken, & an hundred and fortie of his men with him. The Gouvernor came againe to Quigauca, and willed him to cause his men to come to serue the Christians: and staying some daies for their comming, and seeing they came not, he sent two Captaines, euery

euery one his way on both sides of the Riuer with horsemen and footemen. They tooke many men and women. Now seeing the hurt which they sustained for their rebellion, they came to see what the Gouvernour would command them, and passed to and fro many times, and brought presents of cloth and fish. The Cacique and his two wiues were in the lodging of the Gouvernour loose, and the halbardiers of his guard did keepe them. The Gouvernour asked them which way the Countrey was most inhabited? They said, that toward the South downe the Riuer, were great townes and Caciques, which commanded great Countries, and much people: And that toward the Northwest, there was a Prouince neere to certaine mountaines, that was called Coligoa. The Gouvernour and all the rest thought good to goe first to Coligoa: saying, that peradventure the mountains would make some difference of soile, and that beyond them there might be some gold or siluer: As for Quigaute, Casqui, and Pacaha, they were plaine Countries, fat grounds, and full of good medowes on the Riuers, where the Indians sowed large fields of Maiz. From Tascaluca to Rio grande, or the great Riuer, is about 300. leagues: it is a very low Countrey, and hath many lakes. From Pacaha to Quigaute may bee an hundred leagues. The Gouvernour left the Cacique of Quigaute in his owne towne: And an Indian, which was his guide, led him through great woods without any way seuē daies iournie through a desert, where, at euery lodging, they lodged in lakes and pooles in verie shold water: there were such store of fish, that they killed them with cudgils; and the Indians which they carried in chaines, with the mud troubled the waters, and the fish being therewith, as it were, astonied, came to the top of the water, and they tooke as much as they listed. The Indians of Coligoa had no knowledge of the Christians, & when they came so neere the towne, that the Indians saw them, they fled vp a Riuer, which passed neere the towne, and some leaped into it: but the Christians went on both sides of the Riuer, and tooke them. There were many men and women taken, and the Cacique with them. And by his commandement within three daies came many Indians with a present of mantles and Deeres skinnēs, and two oxe hides: And they reported, that 5. or 6. leagues from thence toward the North, there were many of these oxen, and that because the Countrey was cold, it was euill inhabited: That the best Countrey which they knew, the most plentifull, and most inhabited, was a Prouince called Cayas, lying toward the South. From Quiguate to Coligoa may be 40. leagues. This towne of Coligoa stood at the foote of an hill, on the bank of a meane Riuer, of the bignesse of Cayas, the Riuer that passeth by Estremadura. It was a fat soile and so plentifull of Maiz, that they cast out the old, to bring in the new. There was also great plentie of French beanes and pompions. The French beanes were greater, and better than those of Spaine, and likewise the pompions, and being roasted, they haue almost the taste of chestnuts. The Cacique of Coligoa gaue a guide to Cayas, and staid behind in his owne towne. Wee trauelled fīue daies, and came to the Prouince of Palisema. The house of the Cacique was found couered with Deeres skinnēs of diuers colours and works drawne in them, and with the same in manner of carpets was the ground of the house couered. The Cacique left it so, that the Gouvernour might lodge in it, in token that he sought peace and his friendship. But hee durst not tarrie his comming. The Gouvernour, seeing he had absented himselfe, sent a Captaine with horsemen and footemen to seeke him. Hee found much people, but by reason of the roughnesse of the Countrey, he tooke none saue a few women and children. The towne was little and scattering, and had very little Maiz. For which cause the Gouvernour speedilie departed from thence. Hee came to another towne called Tatalicoya, hee carried with him the Cacique thereof, which guided him to Cayas. From Tatalicoya are foure daies iournie to Cayas. When hee came to Cayas, and saw the towne scattered; hee thought they had told him a lie, and that it was not the Prouince of Cayas, because they had informed him that it was well inhabited: He threatned the Cacique, charging him to tell him where hee was: and he and other Indians which were taken neere about that place, affirmed that this was the towne of Cayas, and the best that was in that Countrey, and that though the houses were distant the one from the other, yet the ground that was inhabited was great, and that there was great store of people, and many fields of Maiz. This towne was called Tanico: he pitched his Campe in the best part of it neere

Cloth.

Coligoa neere to certain mountaines Northwest.

A new way to take fish.

Coligoa. A Riuer.

Two oxe hides. Store of oxen toward the North.

From Quiguate to Coligoa are 40. leagues.

The Prouince of Palisema.

Tatalicoya. Cayas.

Tanico. vnto

vnto a Riuer. The same day that the Gouvernour came thither, he went a league farther with certaine horsemen, and without finding any people, hee found many skinnes in a path-way, which the Cacique had left there, that they might bee found, in token of peace. For so is the custome in that Countrie.

Chap. XXVI.

How the Gouvernour discovered the Prouince of Tulla, and what happened vnto him.

A lake of hot
and somewhat
brackish water.
Store of salt
made at Cayas.

The Gouvernour rested a moneth in the Prouince of Cayas. In which time the horses fattened and thriued more, then in other places in a longer time, with the great plentie of Maiz and the leaues thereof, which I thinke was the best that hath been seene, and they dranke of a lake of very hot water, and somewhat brackish, and they dranke so much, that it swelled in their bellies when they brought them from the watering. Vntill that time the Christians wanted salt, and there they made good store, which they carried along with them. The Indians doe carrie it to other places to exchange it for skinnes and mantles. "They make it along the Riuer, which when it ebbeth, leaueth it vpon the vpper part of the sand. And because they cannot make it, without much sand mingled with it, they throw it into certaine baskets which they haue for that purpose, broad at the mouth, and narrow at the bottom, and set it in the aire vpon a barre, and throw water into it, and set a small vessell vnder it, wherein it falleth: Being strained and set to boile vpon the fire, when the water is sodden away, the salt remaineth in the bottome of the pan." On both sides of the Riuer the Countrie was full of sowne fields, and there was store of Maiz. The Indians durst not come ouer where wee were: & when some of them shewed themselues, the souldiers that saw them called vnto them; then the Indians passed the Riuer, and came with them where the Gouvernour was. He asked the for the Cacique. They said, that he remained quiet, but that he durst not shew himselfe. The Gouvernour presently sent him word, that he should come vnto him, and bring him a guide and an interpretour for his iournie, if he made account of his friendship: and if he did not so, he would come himselfe to seeke him, and that it would bee the worse for him. Hee waited three daies, and seeing he came not, he went to seeke him, and brought him prisoner with 150. of his men. He asked him, whether hee had notice of any great Cacique, & which way the Countrie was best inhabited. Hee answered, that the best Countrie thereabout was a Prouince toward the South, a day and an halfe iournie, which was called Tulla; and that he could giue him a guide, but no interpretour, because the speech of that Countrie was different from his, and because he and his ancestors had alwaies warres with the Lords of that Prouince; therefore they had no commerce, nor vnderstood one anothers language. Immediately the Gouvernour with certaine horsemen, and 50. footemen, departed toward Tulla, to see if the Countrie were such, as hee might passe through it with all his companie: and assoone as he arriued there, and was espied of the Indians, the Countrie gathered together, and assoone as 15. and 20. Indians could assemble themselues, they set vpon the Christians: and seeing that they did handle them shrewdly, and that the horsemen ouertooke them when they fled, they gat vp into the tops of their houses, and sought to defend themselues with their arrowes: and being beaten downe from one, they gat vp vpon another. And while our men pursued some, others set vpon them another way. Thus the skirmish lasted so long, that the horses were tired, and they could not make them runne. The Indians killed there one horse, and some were hurt. There were 15. Indians slaine there, and 40. women and boies were taken prisoners. For whatsoever Indian did shoot at them, if they could come by him, they put him to the sword. The Gouvernour determined to returne toward Cayas, before the Indians had time to gather a head; and presently that euening, going part of the night to leaue Tulla, he lodged by the way, and the next day came to Cayas: and within three daies after he departed thence toward Tulla with all his companie: He carried the Cacique along with him, and among all his men, there was not one found that could vnderstand the speech of Tulla. He staid three daies by the way, and the day that he came thither, he found the towne abandoned:

The Gouvernour
cometh againe
to Tulla with all
his companie.

for

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ague farther
es in a path-
peace. For

unto him.

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for the Indians durst not tarrie his comming. But assoone as they knew that the Gouvernour was in Tulla, the first night about Ʒ morning watch, they came in two squadrons two seuerall waies, with their bowes and arrowes, and long staues like pikes. Assoone as they were descried, both horse and foot sallied out vpon them, where many of the Indians were slaine: And some Christians and horses were hurt: Some of the Indians were taken prisoners, whereof the Gouvernour sent sixe to the Cacique, with their right hands and noses cut off: and sent him word, that if he came not to him to excuse and submit himselfe, that hee would come to seeke him, and that hee would doe the like to him, and as many of his as hee could find, as hee had done to those which hee had sent him: and gaue him three daies respit for to come. And this he gaue them to vnderstand by signes, as well as hee could, for there was no interpretour. At the three daies end, there came an Indian laden with Oxe hides. He came weeping with great sobs, and comming to the Gouvernour cast himselfe downe at his feete: He tooke him vp, and he made a speech, but there was none that vnderstood him. The Gouvernour by signes commanded him, to returne to the Cacique, and to will him, to send him an interpretor, which could vnderstand the men of Cayas. The next day came three Indians laden with oxen hides: and within three daies after came 20. Indians, and among them one that vnderstood them of Cayas: Who, after a long oration of excuses of the Cacique, and praises of the Gouvernour, concluded with this, that he and the other were come thither on the Caciques behalfe, to see what his Lordship would command him to doe, for he was readie at his commandement. The Gouvernour and all his companie were verie glad. For in no wise could they trauell without an interpretour. The Gouvernour commanded him to be kept safe, and bad him tell the men that came with him, that they shuld returne to the Cacique, and signifie vnto him, that he pardoned him for that which was past, and thanked him much for his presents and interpretour, which he had sent him, and that he would bee glad to see him, and that he should come the next day to talke with him. After three daies, the Cacique came, and 80. Indians with him: and himselfe and his men came weeping into the Camp, in token of obedience and repentance for the error passed, after the manner of that Countrie: He brought a present of many oxen hides: which, because the Countrie was cold, were verie profitable, and serued for couerlets, because they were very soft, and wolled like sheepe. Not farre from thence toward the North were many oxen. The Christians saw them not, nor came into the Countrie where they were, because those parts were euil inhabited, and had small store of Maiz where they were bred. The Cacique of Tulla made an oration to the Gouvernour, wherein he excused himselfe, and offered him his Countrie, subiects, and person. Aswell this Cacique as the others, and all those which came to the Gouvernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in so good order, that no oratour could vtter the same more eloquentlie.

Indians haue
their right hands
and noses cut
off.

Oxe hides.

Oxe hides.

The Cacique of
Tulla.

Many Oxe
hides with wooll
on them, as soft
as sheepes wooll.
Gomara Histor.
Gener. cap. 215.
Many Oxen
toward the
North.

The great elo-
quence of the
Indians.

Chap. XXVII.

How the Gouvernour went from Tulla to Autiamque, where he passed the winter.

The Gouvernour enformed himselfe of all the Countrie round about; and vnderstood, that toward the West was a scattered dwelling, and that toward the Southeast were great townes, especially in a Prouince called Autiamque, tenne daies iournie from Tulla; which might be about 80. leagues; and that it was a plentifull Countrie of Maiz. And because winter came on, and that they could not trauell two or three moneths in the yeere for cold, waters, and snow: and fearing, that if they should stay so long in the scattered dwelling, they could not be sustained; and also because the Indians said, that neere to Autiamque was a great water, and according to their relation, the Gouvernour thought it was some arme of the Sea: And because he now desired to send newes of himselfe to Cuba, that some supplie of men & horses might be sent vnto him: for it was aboue three yeeres, since Donna Isabella, which was in Hauana, or any other person in Christendome had heard of him, and by this time he had lost 250. men, and 150. horses) he determined to winter in Autiamque, and the

A winter of
two or three
moneths.

Quipana, sixe
daies iournie
from Tulla.

Guahate.

Anoixi.

Catamaya.

Autiamque sixe
daies iournie
from Quipana.

A Riuer.

Tietiquaquo.

Great prou-
dence.

Three moneths
abode in Au-
tiamque.

the next spring, to goe to the sea coast, and make two brigantines, and send one of them to Cuba, and the other to Nueua Espanna, that that which went in safetie, might giue newes of him: Hoping with the goods which he had in Cuba, to furnish himselfe againe, and to attempt the discoverie and conquest toward the West: for he had not yet come where Cabeça de Vaça had been. Thus hauing sent away the two Caciques of Cayas and Tulla, he tooke his iournie toward Autiamque: Hee trauelled siue daies ouer very rough mountaines, and came to a towne called Quipana, where no Indians could be taken for the roughnesse of the Countrie: and the towne being betweene hilles, there was an ambush laid, wherewith they tooke two Indians; which told them, that Autiamque was sixe daies iournie from thence, and that there was another Prouince toward the South eight daies iournie off, plentiful of Maiz, and very well peopled, which was called Guahate. But because Autiamque was neerer, and the most of the Indians agreed of it, the Gouvernour made his iournie that way. In three daies he came to a towne called Anoixi. He sent a Capitaine before with 30. horsemen, and 50. footemen, and tooke the Indians carelesse, hee tooke many men and women prisoners. Within two daies after the Gouvernour came to another towne called Catamaya, and lodged in the fields of the towne. Two Indians came with a false message from the Cacique to know his determination. Hee bad them tell their Lord, that hee should come and speake with him. The Indians returned and came no more, nor any other message from the Cacique. The next day the Christians went to the towne, which was without people: they tooke as much Maiz as they needed. That day they lodged in a wood, and the next day they came to Autiamque. They found much Maiz laid vp in store, and French beanes, and walnuts, and prunes, great store of all sorts. They tooke some Indians which were gathering together the stuffe which their wiues had hidden. This was a champion Countrie, and well inhabited. The Gouvernour lodged in the best part of the towne, and commanded presently to make a fense of timber round about the Campe distant from the houses, that the Indians might not hurt them without by fire. And measuring the ground by pases, hee appointed euery one his part to doe according to the number of Indians which he had: presently the timber was brought by them; and in three daies there was an inclosure made of very hie and thicke posts thrust into the ground, and many railes laid across. Hard by this towne passed a Riuer, that came out of the Prouince of Cayas; and aboue and beneath it was very well peopled. Thither came Indians on the Caciques behalfe with a present of mantles and skinner; and an halting Cacique, subiect to the Lord of Autiamque, Lord of a towne called Tietiquaquo, came many times to visit the Gouvernour, and to bring him presents of such as hee had. The Cacique of Autiamque sent to know of the Gouvernour, how long time hee meant to stay in his Countrie? And vnderstanding that he meant to stay aboue three daies, he neuer sent any more Indians, nor any other message, but conspired with the lame Cacique to rebell. Diuers inrodes were made, wherein there were many men and women taken, and the lame Cacique among the rest. The Gouvernour respecting the seruices which he had receiued of him, reprehended and admonished him, and set him at libertie, and gaue him two Indians to carrie him in a chaire vpon their shoulders. The Cacique of Autiamque desiring to thrust the Gouvernour out of his Countrie, set spies ouer him. And an Indian comming one night to the gate of the inclosure, a soldier that watched espied him, and stepping behind the gate, as he came in, he gaue him such a thrust, that he fell downe; and so he carried him to the Gouvernour: and as hee asked him wherefore he came, not being able to speake, hee fell downe dead. The night following the Gouvernour commanded a souldiour to giue the alarme, and to say that he had seene Indians, to see how ready they would be to answere the alarme. And hee did so sometimes as well there, as in other places, when he thought that his men were carelesse, & reprehended such as were slacke. And as well for this cause, as in regard of doing their dutie, when the alarme was giuen, euery one sought to be the first that should answere. They staid in Autiamque three moneths with great plentie of Maiz, French beanes, Walnuts, Prunes, and Conies: which vntill that time they knew not how to catch. And in Autiamque the Indians taught them how to take them: which was, with great sprindges, which lifted vp their feete from the ground: And the

the snare was made with a strong string, whereunto was fastened a knot of a cane, which ran close about the neck of the conie, because they should not gaw the string. They tooke many in the fields of Maiz, especiallie when it freeded or snowed. The Christians staid there one whole moneth so inclosed with snow, that they went not out of the towne: and when they wanted firewood, the Gouvernour with his horsemen going and coming many times to the wood, which was two crossebow shot from the towne, made a pathway, whereby the footemen went for wood. In this meane space, some Indians which went loose, killed many conies with their giues, and with arrowes. These conies were of two sorts, some were like those of Spaine, and the other of the same colour and fashion, and as big as great Hares, longer, and hauing greater loines,

Frost and snow.
A moneth of snow.

Conies of two sorts.

Chap. XXVIII.

How the Gouvernour went from Autiamque to Nilco, and from thence to Guacoya.

Vpon Monday the sixt of March 1542, the Gouvernour departed from Autiamque to seeke Nilco, which the Indians said was neere the Great riuer, with determination to come to the Sea, and procure some succour of men and horses: for hee had now but three hundred men of warre, and fortie horses, and some of them lame, which did nothing but helpe to make vp the number: and for want of iron they had gone aboute a yeere vnshod: and because they were used to it in the plaine countrie, it did them no great harme. Iohn Ortiz died in Autiamque; which grieved the Gouvernour very much: because that without an Interpretour hee feared to enter farre into the land, where he might be lost. From thence forward a youth that was taken in Cutifachiqui did serue for Interpretour, which had by that time learned somewhat of the Christians language. The death of Iohn Ortiz was so great a mischiefe for the discovering inward, or going out of the land, that to learne of the Indians, that which in foure words hee declared, they needed a whole day with the youth: and most commonly hee vnderstood quite contrarie that which was asked him: whereby it often happened that the way that they went one day, and sometimes two or three daies, they turned backe, and went astray through the wood here and there. The Gouvernour spent ten daies in traueiling from Autiamque to a prouince called Ayays; and came to a towne that stood neere the Riuer that passeth by Cayas and Autiamque. There hee commanded a barge to be made, wherewith he passed the Riuer. When he had passed the Riuer there fell out such weather, that foure daies he could not trauell for snow. Assoone as it gaue ouer snowing, he went three daies journey through a Wildernesse, and a countrie so low, and so full of lakes and euill waies, that hee trauelled one time a whole day in water, sometimes knee deepe, sometimes to the stirrup, and sometimes they swamme. He came to a towne called Tutelpinco, abandoned, and without Maiz: there passed by it a lake, that entered into the riuer, which carried a great streame and force of water. Fiue Christians passing ouer it in a periagua, which the Gouvernour had sent with a Captaine, the periagua ouerset: some tooke hold on it, some on the trees that were in the lake. One Francis Sebastian, an honest man of Villa noua de Barca Rota, was drowned there. The Gouvernour went a whole day along the lake seeking passage, and could finde none, nor any way that did passe to the other side. Comming againe at night to the towne hee found two peaceable Indians, which shewed him the passage, and which way hee was to goe. There they made of canes and of the timber of houses thatched with canes, rafts wherewith they passed the lake. They trauelled three daies, and came to a towne of the territorie of Nilco, called Tianto. There they tooke thirtie Indians, and among them two principall men of this towne. The Gouvernour sent a Captaine with horsemen and footmen before to Nilco, because the Indians might haue no time to carrie away the prouision. They passed through three or foure great townes; and in the towne where the Cacique was resident, which was two leagues from the place where the Gouvernour remained, they found many Indians with their bowes and arrowes, in manner as though they would haue staid to fight, which did compasse the towne; and assoone as they saw the Christians come neere them without misdoubting them, they set the Caciques

March 6. 1542.

The death of Iohn Ortiz, and the great misse of him being their interpre-
tour.

Ayays.

A Riuer.

Great snow about the twentieth of March.

Tutelpinco.

A great lake.

Rafts wherewith they passed the lake.

Tianto.

Three or foure great townes.



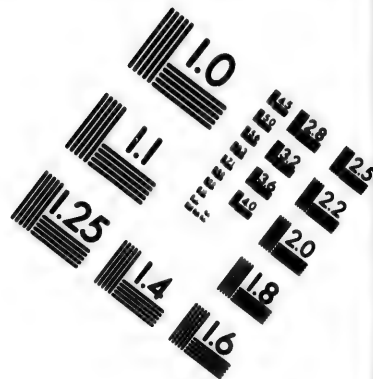
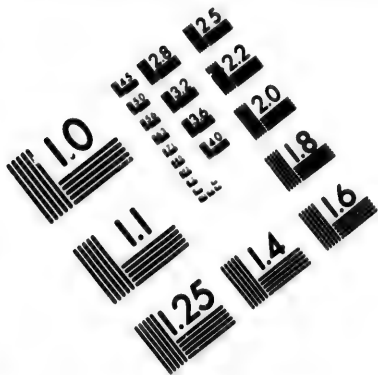
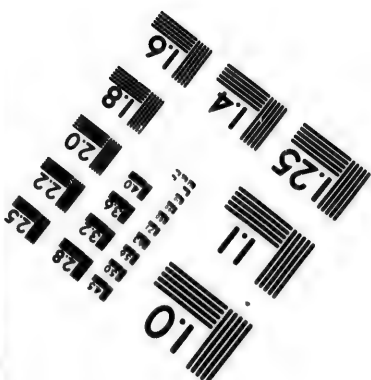
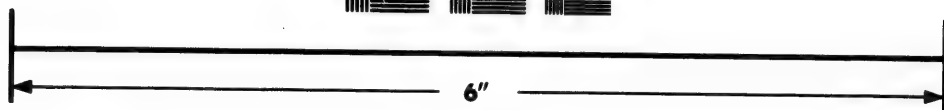
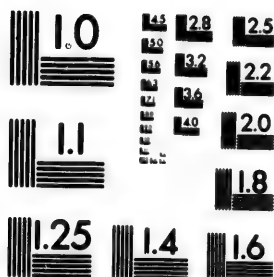


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March 29.
Nilco.

Verie great
townes.

The best Coun-
trie of Florida.

Marterns skin-
nes.
A cordon of
perles.

A Riuer falling
into Rio grande.

Guachoya.

Fourte names of
Rio grande.

Caciques house on fire, and fled ouer a lake that passed neere the towne, through which the horses could not passe. The next day being Wednesday the 29. of March the Gouvernour came to Nilco: he lodged with all his men in the Caciques towne, which stood in a plaine field, which was inhabited for the space of a quarter of a league: and within a league and halfe a league were other very great townes, wherein was great store of Maiz, of French beanes, of Walnuts, and Prunes. This was the best inhabited cuntry, that was seene in Florida, and had most store of Maiz. except Coça, and Apalache. There came to the campe an Indian accompanied with others, and in the Caciques name gaue the Gouvernour a mantle of Marterns skinnnes, and a cordon of perles. The Gouvernour gaue him a few small Margarithes, which are certaine beades much esteemed in Peru, and other things, wherewith he was very well contented. He promised to returne within two daies, but neuer came againe: but on the contrarie the Indians came by night in canoes, and carried away all the Maiz they could, and made them cabins on the other side of the Riuer in the thickest of the wood, because they might flee if wee should goe to seeke them. The Gouvernour seeing hee came not at the time appointed, commanded an ambush to be laid about certaine store-houses neere the lake, whither the Indians came for Maiz: where they tooke two Indians, who told the Gouvernour, that hee which came to visit him, was not the Cacique, but was sent by him vnder pretence to spie whether the Christians were carelesse, and whether they determined to settle in that country or to goe forward. Presently the Gouvernour sent a Captaine with footmen and horsemen ouer the riuer; and in their passage they were descried of the Indians, and therefore he could take but tenne or twelue men and women, with whom hee returned to the campe. This Riuer which passed by Nilco, was that which passed by Cayas and Autiamque, and fell into Rio grande, or the Great Riuer, which passed by Pachaha and Aquixo neere vnto the prouince of Guachoya: and the Lord thereof came vp the Riuer in canoes to make warre with him of Nilco. On his behalf there came an Indian to the Gouvernour and said vnto him, That he was his seruant, and prayed him so to hold him, and that within two daies hee would come to kisse his Lordships hands: an at the time appointed he came with some of his principal Indians, which accompanied him, and with words of great offers and courtesie hee gaue the Gouvernour a present of many mantles and Deeres skinnnes. The Gouvernour gaue him some other things in recompense, and honoured him much. Hee asked him what townes there were downe the Riuer? Hee answered that he knew none other but his owne: and on the other side of the Riuer a prouince of a Cacique called Quigalta. So hee tooke his leaue of the Gouvernour and went to his owne towne. Within few daies the Gouvernour determined to goe to Guachoya, to learne there whether the Sea were neere, or whether there were any habitation neere, where hee might relieue his companie, while the brigantines were making, which he meant to send to the land of the Christians. As he passed the Riuer of Nilco, there came in canoes Indians of Guachoya vp the streame, and when they saw him, supposing that he came to seeke them to doe them some hurt, they returned downe the Riuer, and informed the Cacique thereof: who with all his people, spoiling the towne of all that they could carrie away, passed that night ouer to the other side of Rio grande, or the Great Riuer. The Gouvernour sent a Captaine with fiftie men in sixe canoes downe the Riuer, and went himselfe by land with the rest: hee came to Guachoya vpon Sunday the 17. of April: he lodged in the towne of the Cacique, which was inclosed about, and seated a crossebow shot distant from the Riuer. Here the Riuer is called Tamaliseu, and in Nilco Tapatu, and in Coça Mico, and in the port or mouth Ri.

Chap. XXIX.

Of the message which the Gouvernour sent to Quigalta, and of the answer which he returned: and of the things which happened in this time.

AS soone as the Gouvernour came to Guachoya, hee sent Iohn Danusco with as many men as could goe in the canoes vp the Riuer. For when they came downe from Nilco, they saw on the other side the Riuer new cabins made. Iohn Danusco went and brought the canoes loden

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other side of
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e to Guachoya
was inclosed
called Tama-

he returned:

as many men
lco, they saw
at the canoes
loden

loden with Maiz, French beanes, Prunes, and many loaves made of the substance of prunes. That day came an Indian to the Gouverneur from the Cacique of Guachoya, and said, that his Lord would come the next day. The next day they saw many canoes come vp the Riuer, and on the other side of the great Riuer, they assembled together in the space of an houre: they consulted whether they should come or not; & at length concluded to come, and crossed the Riuer. In the came the Cacique of Guachoya, and brought with him manie Indians with great store of Fish, Dogges, Deeres skinnies, and Mantles: And assoone as they landed, they went to the lodging of the Gouverneur, and presented him their gifts, and the Cacique vttered these words:

Many loaves
made of prunes.

Mightie and excellent Lord, I beseech your Lordship to pardon mee the errour which I committed in absenting my selfe, and not tarrying in this towne to haue receiued and serued your Lordship; since, to obtaine this opportunitie of time, was, and is as much as a great victorie to me. But I feared that, which I needed not to haue feared, and so did that which was not reason to do: But as haste maketh waste, and I remoued without deliberation; so, as soone as I thought on it, I determined not to follow the opinion of the foolish, which is, to continue in their errour; but to imitate the wise and discreet, in changing my counsell, and so I came to see what your Lordship will command me to doe, that I may serue you in all things that are in my power.

The Gouverneur receiued him with much ioy, and gaue him thanks for his present and offer. He asked him, whether hee had any notice of the Sea. Hee answered, no, nor of any townes downe the Riuer on that side; saue that two leagues from thence was one towne of a principall Indian a subiect of his; and on the other side of the Riuer, three daies iour- nie from thence downe the Riuer, was the Prouince of Quigalta, which was the greatest Lord that was in that Countrie. The Gouverneur thought that the Cacique lied vnto him, to rid him out of his owne townes, and sent Iohn Danusco with eight horsemen downe the Riuer, to see what habitation there was, and to informe himselfe, if there were any notice of the Sea. Hee trauelled eight daies, and at his returne hee said, that in all that time he was not able to go aboute 14. or 15. leagues, because of the great creekes that came out of the Riuer, and groues of canes, and thicke woods that were along the bancks of the Riuer, and that hee had found no habitation. The Gouverneur fell into great dumps to see how hard it was to get to the Sea: and worse, because his men and horses euery day diminished, being with- out succour to sustaine themselues in the country: and with that thought he fell sick. But before he tooke his bed hee sent an Indian to the Cacique of Quigalta to tell him, that hee was the Childe of the Sunne, and that all the way that hee came all men obeyed and serued him, that he requested him to accept of his friendship, and come vnto him; for he would be very glad to see him; and in signe of loue and obedience to bring something with him of that which in his countrie was most esteemed. The Cacique answered by the same Indian:

The Gouverneur
falleth sick of
thought.

That whereas he said he was the Child of the Sunne, if he would drie vp the Riuer he would beleue him: and touching the rest, that hee was wont to visit none; but rather that all those of whom he had notice did visit him, serued, obeyed and paid him tributes willingly or perforce: therefore if hee desired to see him, it were best he should come thither: that if hee came in peace, he would receiue him with speciall good will; and if in warre, in like manner hee would attend him in the towne where he was, and that for him or any other hee would not shrinke one foote backe.

A most witty
and stout an-
swere of the
Cacique of
Quigalta.

By that time the Indian returned with this answer, the Gouverneur had betaken himselfe to bed, being euill handled with feuers, and was much aggriued, that he was not in case to passe presently the Riuer and to seeke him, to see if he could abate that pride of his, considering the Riuer went now very strongly in those parts; for it was neere halfe a league broad, and 16. fathomes deep, and very furious, and ranne with a great current; and on both sides there were many Indians, and his power was not now so great, but that hee had need to helpe himselfe rather by slights then by force. The Indians of Guachoya came euery day with fish in such numbers, that the towne was full of them. The Cacique said, that on

a certaine night hee of Quigalta would come to giue battell to the Gouvernour. Which the Gouvernour imagined that he had deuised, to driue him out of his countrey, and commanded him to bee put in hold: and that night and all the rest, there was good watch kept. Hee asked him wherefore Quigalta came not? He said that hee came, but that he saw him prepared, and therefore durst not giue the attempt: and hee was earnest with him to send his Capitaines ouer the Riuer, and that he would aide him with many men to set vpon Quigalta. The Gouvernour told him that assoone as he was recouered, himselfe would seeke him out. And seeing how many Indians came daily to the towne, and what store of people was in that countrie, fearing they should al conspire together and plot some treason against him; and because the towne had some open gaps which were not made an end of inclosing, besides the gates which they went in and out by: because the Indians should not thinke he feared them, he let them all alone vnrepared; and commanded the horsemen to be appointed to them, and to the gates: and all night the horsemen went the round; and two and two of euery squadron rode about, and visited the skouts that were without the towne in their standings by the passages, and the crossebowmen that kept the canoes in the Riuer. And because the Indians should stand in feare of them, hee determined to send a Capitaine to Nilco, for those of Guachoya had told him that it was inhabited; that by vsing them cruelly, neither the one nor the other should presume to assaile him; and hee sent Nunnez de Touar with fiteene horsemen, and Iohn de Guzman Capitaine of the footmen with his companie in canoes vp the Riuer. The Cacique of Guachoya sent for many canoes and many warlike Indians to goe with the Christians: and the Capitaine of the Christians, called Nunnez de Touar, went by land with his horsemen, and two leagues before he came to Nilco hee staid for Iohn de Guzman, and in that place they passed the Riuer by night: the horsemen came first, and in the morning by breake of day in sight of the towne they lighted vpon a spie; which assoone as he perceiued the Christians, crying out amaine fled to the towne to giue warning. Nunnez de Touar and his companie made such speed, that before the Indians of the towne could fully come out, they were vpon them: it was champion ground that was inhabited, which was about a quarter of a league. There were about fise or sixe thousand people in the towne: and, as many people came out of the houses, & fled from one house to another, and many Indians came flocking together from all parts, there was neuer a horseman that was not alone among many. The Capitaine had commanded that they should not spare the life of any male. Their disorder was so great, that there was no Indian that shot an arrow at any Christian. The shreekes of women and children were so great, that they made the eares deafe of those that followed them. There were slaine an hundred Indians, little more or lesse: and many were wounded with great wounds, whom they suffered to escape to strike a terror in the rest that were not there. There were some so cruell and butcherlike, that they killed old and young, and all that they met, though they made no resistance: and those which presumed of themselues for their valour, and were taken for such, brake through the Indians, bearing downe many with their stirrups and breasts of their horses; and some they wounded with their lances, and so let them goe: and when they saw any youth or woman they tooke them, and deliuered them to the footmen. "These mens sinnes by Gods permission lighted on their own heads: who, because they would seeme valiant, became cruell; shewing themselues extreme cowards in the sight of all men, when as most neede of valour was required, and *afterward they came to a shameful death." Of the Indians of Nilco were taken prisoners, fourescore women and children, and much spoile. The Indians of Guachoya kept back before they came at the towne, and staid without, beholding the successe of the Christians with the men of Nilco. And when they saw them put to flight, and the horsemen busie in killing of them, they hastened to the houses to rob, and filled their canoes with the spoile of the goods; and returned to Guachoya before the Christians; and wondring much at the sharpe dealing which they had seene them vse toward the Indians of Nilco, they told their Cacique all that had passed with great astonishment.

Fise or sixe
thousand people
in Nilco.

* Chap. 37.

Chap.

Chap. XXX.

Of the death of the Adelantado Fernando de Soto : And how Luys Moscoso de Aluarado was elected Gouvernour in his stead.

THE Gouvernour felt in himselfe that the houre approached, wherein hee was to leaue this present life, and called for the Kings officers, Captaines and principall persons, to whom he made a speech, saying :

That now he was to goe to giue an account before the presence of God of all his life past : and since it pleased him to take him in such a time, and that the time was come that he knew his death, that he his most vnworthie seruant did yeeld him many thanks therefore ; and desired all that were present and absent (whom he confessed himselfe to be much beholding vnto for their singular vertues, loue and loyaltie, which himselfe had well tried in the trauels, which they had suffered, which alwaies in his mind he did hope to satisfie and reward, when it should please God to giue him rest, with more prosperitie of his estate,) that they would pray to God for him, that for his mercie he would forgiue him his sinnes, and receiue his soule into eternall glorie: and that they would quit and free him of the charge which hee had ouer them, and ought vnto them all, and that they would pardon him for some wrongs which they might haue receiued of him: And to auoid some diuision, which vpon his death might fall out vpon the choice of his successour, he requested them to elect a principall person, and able to gouerne, of whom all should like well; and when he was elected, they should sweare before him to obey him: and that he would thanke them very much in so doing; because the griefe that he had, would somewhat be asswaged, and the paine that he felt, because he left them in so great confusion, to wit, in leauing them in a strange Countrie, where they knew not where they were.

Baltasar de Gallegos answered in the name of all the rest: And first of all comforting him, he set before his eyes how short the life of this world was, and with how many troubles and miseries it is accompanied, and how God shewed him a singular fauor which soonest left it: telling him many other things fit for such a time. And for the last point, that since it pleased God to take him to himselfe, although his death did iustly grieue them much, yet as wel he, as al the rest, ought of necessitie to conformance themselues to the will of God. And touching the Gouvernour which he commanded they should elect, he besought him, that it would please his Lordship to name him which he thought fit, and him they would obey. And presently he named Luys de Moscoso de Aluarado his Captaine generall. And presently he was sworne by all that were present and elected for Gouvernour. The next day, being the 21. of May, 1542. departed out of this life, the valorous, virtuous, and valiant Captaine, Don Fernando de Soto, Gouvernour of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida: whom fortune aduanced, as it vseth to doe others, that hee might haue the higher fal. He departed in such a place, and at such a time, as in his sicknesse he had but little comfort; and the danger wherein all his people were of perishing in that Countrie, which appeared before their eyes, was cause sufficient, why euery one of them had need of comfort, and why they did not visit nor accompanie him as they ought to haue done. Luys de Moscoso determined to conceale his death from the Indians, because Ferdinando de Soto had made them beleue, That the Christians were immortall; and also because they tooke him to be hardie, wise, and valiant: and if they should know that he was dead, they would bee bold to set vpon the Christians, though they liued peaceablie by them. In regard of their disposition, and because they were nothing constant, and beleueed all that was tolde them, the Adelantado made them beleue, that he knew some things that passed in secret among themselues, without their knowledge, how, or in what manner he came by them: and that the figure which appeared in a glasse, which he shewed them, did tell him whatsoever they practised and went about: and therefore neither in word nor deed durst they attempt any thing that might bee preiudiciall vnto him.

Assoone as he was dead, Luis de Moscoso commanded to put him secretly in an house, where hee remained three daies: and remoouing him from thence, commanded him to bee

The death of Don Ferdinando de Soto the 21. of May, 1542. at Guatcoya.

A wittie stratagem.

buried in the night at one of the gates of the towne within the wall. And as the Indians had seene him sick, and missed him, so did they suspect what might bee. And passing by the place where hee was buried, seeing the earth mooued, they looked and spake one to another. Luys de Moscoso vnderstanding of it, commanded him to be taken vp by night, and to cast a great deale of sand into the mantles, wherein he was winded vp, wherein hee was carried in a canoe, and throwne into the midst of the Riuer. The Cacique of Guachoya inquired for him, demanding what was become of his brother and Lord, the Gouverneur: Luys de Moscoso told him, that hee was gon to heauen, as many other times hee did: and because hee was to stay there certaine daies, hee had left him in his place. The Cacique thought with himselfe that he was dead; and commanded two young and well proportioned Indians to be brought thither; and said, that $\frac{1}{2}$ vse of that Countrie was, when any Lord died, to kill Indians to wait vpon him, and serue him by the way: and for that purpose by his commandement were those come thither: and prayed Luys de Moscoso to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serue his Lord and brother. Luys de Moscoso told him, that the Gouverneur was not dead, but gone to heauen, and that of his owne Christian souldiers, he had taken such as he needed to serue him, & praied him to command those Indians to be loosed, and not to vse any such bad custome from thenceforth: straightway hee commanded them to be loosed, and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not goe; saying, that hee would not serue him, that without desert had iudged him to death, but that hee would serue him as long as hee liued, which had saued his life.

This is also the
custome of the
old Tartars.

Luys de Moscoso caused all the goods of the Gouverneur to be sold at an outcrie: to wit, two men slaues, & two women slaues, and three horses, and 700. hogges. For euery slaue or horse, they gaue two or three thousand ducats: which were to be paied at the first melting of gold or siluer, or at the diuision of their portion of inheritance. And they entred into bonds, though in the Countrie there was not wherewith, to pay it within a yeere after, and put in sureties for the same. Such as in Spaine had no goods to bind, gaue two hundred ducats for an hog, giuing assurance after the same maner. Those which had any goods in Spaine, bought with more feare, and bought the lesse. From that time forward, most of the companie had swine, and brought them vp, and fed vpon them; and obserued Fridaies and Saturdaies, and the euenings of feasts, which before they did not. For sometimes in two or three moneths they did eate no flesh, and whensoever they could come by it, they did eate it.

Reuen hundred
hogges.

Chap. XXXI.

How the Gouverneur Luys de Moscoso departed from Guachoya, and went to Chaguate; and from thence to Aguacay.

Some were glad of the death of Don Ferdinando de Soto, holding for certaine, that Luys de Moscoso (which was giuen to his ease) would rather desire to be among the Christians at rest, then to continue the labours of the warre in subduing and discovering of Countries; whereof they were alreadie wearie, seeing the small profit that insued thereof. The Gouverneur commanded the Captaines and principall persons to meet to consult and determine what they should doe. And being informed what peopled habitation was round about, he vnderstood that to the West, the Countrie was most inhabited, and that downe the Riuer beyond Quigalta was vninhabited, and had little store of food. He desired them all, that euerie one would giue his opinion in writing, & set his hand to it: that they might resolute by generall consent, whether they should goe downe the Riuer, or enter into the maine land. All were of opinion, that it was best to go by land toward the West, because Nueva Espanna was that way; holding the voyage by sea more dangerous, and of greater hazard, because they could make no ship of any strength to abide a storme, neither had they Master, nor Pilot, Compasse, nor Chart, neither knew they how farre the sea was off, nor had any notice of it; nor whether the Riuer did make any great turning into the

Their general
resolution to
trauell by land
Westward.

the land, or had any great fall from the rocks, where all of them might be cast away. And some which had seene the sea-chart, did find, that from the place where they were by the sea coast to Noua Espanna, might bee 400. leagues, little more or lesse; and said, that though they went somewhat about by land in seeking a peopled Countrie, if some great wilderness which they could not passe did not hinder the, by spending that sommer in trauell, finding prouision to passe the winter in some peopled Countrie, that the next sommer after they might come to some Christian land, and that it might fortune in their trauel by land to find some rich Countrie, where they might doe themselves good. The Gouvernour, although he desired to get out of Florida in shorter time, seeing the inconueniences they laid before him, in traouelling by sea, determined to follow that which seemed good to them all. On Monday the fifth of Iune, he departed from Guachoya. The Cacique gaue him a guide to Chaguate, and staid at home in his owne towne. They passed through a Prouince called Catalte: and hauing passed a wilderness of sixe daies iournie, the twentieth day of y moneth he came to Chaguate. The Cacique of this Prouince had visited the Gouvernour Don Ferdinando de Soto at Autiamque, whither he brought him presents of skinnes, and mantles and salt. And a day before Luys de Moscoso came to his towne, we lost a Christian that was sicke; which hee suspected that the Indians had slaine. Hee sent the Cacique word, that he should command his people to seeke him vp, and send him vnto him, and that he would hold him, as he did, for his friend: and if he did not, that neither he, nor his, should escape his hands, and that hee would set his Countrie on fire. Presently the Cacique came vnto him, and brought a great present of mantles and skinnes, and the Christian that was lost, and made this speech following:

Right excellent Lord, I would not deserue that conceit which you had of me, for all the treasure of the world. What inforced me to goe to visit and serue the excellent Lord Gouvernour your father in Autiamque, which you should haue remembred, where I offered my selfe with all loyaltie, faith and loue, during my life to serue and obey him? What then could be the cause, I hauing receiued fauours of him, and neither you nor he hauing done me any wrong, that should mooue me to doe the thing, which I ought not? Beleuee this of mee, that neither wrong, nor any worldly interest, was able to make me to haue done it, nor shall be able to blind me. But as in this life it is a naturall course, that after one pleasure, many sorrowes doe follow: so by your indignation, fortune would moderate the ioy, which my heart conceiue with your presence; and that I should erre, where I thought surest to haue hit the marke; in harboring this Christian which was lost, and vsing him in such manner, as he may tell himselfe, thinking that herein I did you seruiue, with purpose to deliuer him vnto you in Chaguate, and to serue you to the vitermost of my power. If I deserue punishment for this, I will receiue it at your hands, as from my Lord, as if it were a fauour. For the loue which I did beare to the excellent Gouvernour, and which I beare to you hath no limit. And like as you giue me chastisement, so will you also shew me fauour. And that which now I craue of you is this, to declare your will vnto me, and those things, wherein I may bee able to doe you the most and best seruice.

The Gouvernour answered him, that because he did not find him in that towne, hee was incensed against him, thinking he had absented himselfe, as others had done: But seeing he now knew his loyaltie and loue, he would alwaies hold him as a brother, and fauour him in all his affaires. The Cacique went with him to the towne where he resided, which was a daies iournie from thence. They passed through a smal town, where there was a lake, where the Indians made salt: and the Christians made some one day while they rested there, of a brackish water, which sprang neere the towne in ponds like fountaines. The Gouvernour staid in Chaguate sixe daies. There he was informed of the habitation that was toward the West. They told him, that three daies iournie from thence was a Prouince called Aguacay. The day that he departed from Chaguate, a Christian, called Francisco de Guzman, the base sonne of a Gentleman of Siuill, staid behind, and went to the Indians, with an Indian woman which he kept as his concubine, for feare he should be punished for gaming

The fifth of Iune.

Catalte.

Chaguate.

A smal towne.

Salt made of salt springs of water.

Aguacay.

Knowledge of
the South Sea.
Store of Salt
made.

gaming debts, that he did owe. The Gouvernour had trauelled two daies before he missed him; hee sent the Cacique word to seeke him vp, and to send him to Aguacay, whither he trauelled: which hee did not performe. From the Cacique of Aguacay, before they came into the Countrie, there met him on the way 15. Indians with a present of skinner, fish and roasted venison. The Gouvernour came to his towne on Wednesday, the fourth of Iulie. He found the towne without people, and lodged in it: he staied there about a day; during which, he made some roades, and tooke many men and women. There they had knowledge of the South Sea. Here there was great store of salt made of sand, which they gather in a vaine of ground like peeble stones. And it was made as they make salt in Cayas.

Chap. XXXII.

How the Gouvernour went from Aguacay to Naguatex, and what happened vnto him.

A smal towne.

Salt made here.

Pato.

Amaye.

Iulie 20.

Hacanac.

Naguatex.

A Riuer.

THE same day that the Gouvernour departed from Aguacay he lodged in a small towne subject to the Lord of that prouince. The Campe pitched hard by a lake of salt water; and that euening they made some salt there. The day following hee lodged betweene two mountaines in a thinne groue of wood. The next day hee came to a small towne called Pato. The fourth day after his departure from Aguacay he came to the first habitation of a prouince called Amaye. There an Indian was taken, which said that from thence to Naguatex was a day and a halfe journey; which they trauelled, finding all the way inhabited places. Hauing passed the peopled countrie of Amaye, on Saturday the 20. of Iulie they pitched their Campe at noone betweene Amaye and Naguatex along the corner of a groue of very faire trees. In the same place certaine Indians were discovered, which came to view them. The horsemen went out to them, and killed six, and tooke two; whom the Gouvernour asked, wherefore they came? They said, to know what people hee had, and what order they kept; and that the Cacique of Naguatex their Lord had sent them, and that he, with other Caciques which came to aide him, determined that day to bid him battell. While they were occupied in these questions and answeres, there came many Indians by two waies in two squadrons: and when they saw they were descried, giuing a great crie they assaulted the Christians each squadron by it selfe: but seeing what resistance the Christians made them, they turned their backes and betooke themselves to flight, in which many of them lost their liues; and most of the horsemen following them in chase, carelesse of the Campe, other two squadrons of Indians, which lay in ambush, set vpon the Christians that were in the Campe, which also they resisted, who also had their reward as the first. After the flight of the Indians, and that the Christians were retired, they heard a great noise a crossebow shot from the place where they were. The Gouvernour sent twelue horsemen to see what it was. They found sixe Christians, foure footmen and two horsemen, among many Indians; the horsemen defending the footmen with great labour. These being of them that chased the first two squadrons, had lost themselves, and comming to recover the Campe fell among those with whom they were fighting: and so they, and those that came to succour the, slew many of the Indians, and brought one alieue to the Campe: whom the Gouvernour examined, who they were that came to bid him battell. He told him, that they were the Cacique of Naguatex, and of Amaye, and another of a prouince called Hacanac, a Lord of great countries and many subjects: and that the Cacique of Naguatex came for Captaine and chiefest of them all. The Gouvernour commanded his right arme and nose to be cut off, and sent him to the Cacique of Naguatex, charging him to tell him, that the next day hee would bee in his countrey to destroy him; and if hee would withstand his entrance, hee should stay for him. That night he lodged there; and the next day hee came to the habitation of Naguatex, which was very scattering: he inquired where the Caciques chiefe towne was? They told him that it was on the other side of a Riuer, that passed thereby: hee trauelled thitherward, and came vnto it: and on the other side hee saw many Indians, that taried for him, making shew as though they

they would defend the passage. And because hee knew not whether it could bee waded, nor where the passage was; and that some Christians and horses were hurt; that they might haue time to recouer, he determined to rest certaine daies in the towne where he was. So hee pitched his campe a quarter of a league from the Riuer, because the weather was very hot, neere vnto the towne, in a thinne groue of very faire and hie trees neere a brookes side: and in that place were certaine Indians taken; whom hee examined, whether the Riuer were wadeable or no? They said, yea, at some times, and in some places. Within ten daies after he sent two Captaines with fiftene horsemen a peece vpward and downe the Riuer with Indians to shew them where they should goe ouer, to see what habitation was on the other side: And the Indians withstood them both, defending the passage of the Riuer as farre as they were able, but they passed in despite of them: and on the other side of the Riuer they saw great habitation, and great store of victuals; and with these newes returned to the Camp.

August.

They passe the Riuer.

Chap. XXXIII.

How the Cacique of Naguatex came to visite the Gouvernour: and how the Gouvernour departed from Naguatex and came to Nondacao.

The Gouvernour sent an Indian from Naguatex where hee lay, to command the Cacique to come to serue and obey him, and that hee would forgiue him all that was past; and if he came not, that he would seeke him, and giue him such punishment as he had deserued for that which he had done against him. Within two daies the Indian returned, & said that the Cacique would come the next day: which, the same day when he came, sent many Indians before him, among whom there were some principall men: hee sent them to see what countenance they found in the Gouvernour, to resolute with himselfe whether hee should goe or not. The Indians let him vnderstand, that he was comming, and went away presently: and the Cacique came within two houres accompanied with many of his men: they came all in a ranke one before another on both sides, leauing a lane in the midst where hee came. They came where the Gouvernour was, all of them weeping after the manner of Tulla, which was not farre from thence toward the East. The Cacique made his due obedience, and this speech following:

Tulla not far from Naguatex, Eastward.

Right high and mightie Lord, whom all the world ought to serue and obey, I was bold to appeare before your Lordship, hauing committed so heinous and abominable an act, as only for me to haue imagined, deserued to be punished; trusting in your greatnes, that although I deserue to obtaine no pardon, yet for your owne sake only you will vse clemencie toward me, considering how small I am in comparison of your Lordship; and not to think vpon my weaknesses, which, to my grieffe and for my greater good, I haue knowne. And I beleue that you and yours are immortall; and that your Lordship is Lord of the land of nature, seeing that you subdue all things, and they obey you, euen the very hearts of men. For when I beheld the slaughter and destruction of my men in the battell, which, through mine ignorāce, and the counsell of a brother of mine, which died in the same, I gaue your Lordship, presently I repented me in my heart of the error, which I had committed; and desired to serue and obey you: and to this end I come, that your Lordship may chastise and command mee as your owne.

The Gouvernour answered him, that he forgau him all which was past, that from thenceforth hee should do his dutie, & that he would hold him for his friend, and that he would fauour him in all things. Within foure daies hee departed thence, and comming to the Riuer he could not passe, because it was growne very bigge; which seemed to him a thing of admiration, being at that time that it was, and since it had not rained a moneth before. The Indians said, that it increased many times after that manner without raining in all the countrie. It was supposed, that it might bee the tide that came into it. It was learned that the flood came alway from aboue, and that the Indians of all that countrie had no knowledge of the Sea. The Gouvernour returned vnto the place where he had lodged before:

The Riuer growne vnpasseable in August, at Naguatex.

Coniectures of a Sea to the Northward.

before: and vnderstanding within eight daies after that the Riuer was passeable, he departed. He passed ouer and found the towne without people: he lodged in the field, and sent the Cacique word to come vnto him, and to bring him a guide to goe forward. And some daies being past, seeing the Cacique came not, nor sent any bodie, hee sent two Captaines sundrie waies to burne the townes, and to take such Indians as they could finde: They burnt great store of virtuales, and took many Indians. The Cacique seeing the hurt that he receiued in his countrie, sent sixe principall Indians with three men for guides which knew the language of the countrie, through which the Gouvernour was to passe. Hee departed presently from Naguatex, and within three daies journey came to a towne of foure or fve houses, which belonged to the Cacique of that prouince, which is called Nissoone: it was euill inhabited and had little Maiz. Two daies iourney forward the guides which guided the Gouvernour, if they were to goe Westward, guided him to the East; and sometimes went vp and downe through very great woods out of the way. The Gouvernour commanded them to bee hanged vpon a tree: and a woman that they tooke in Nissoone guided him, and went backe againe to seeke the way. In two daies he came to another miserable towne, called Lacane: an Indian was taken in that place, that said, that the countrie of Nondacao was a countrie of great habitation, and the houses scattering the one from the other, as they vse to bee in mountains, and had great store of Maiz. The Cacique came with his men weeping, like them of Naguatex: for this is their vse in token of obedience: hee made him a present of much fish, and offered to doe what he would command him. Hee tooke his leaue, and gaue him a guide to the prouince of Soacatino.

Chap. XXXIII.

How the Gouvernour went from Nondacao to Soacatino and Guasco, and passed through a desert, from whence, for want of a guide, and an interpretour, he returned to Nilco.

The Gouvernour departed from Nondacao toward Soacatino, and in fve daies iournie came to a Prouince called Aays. The Indians which inhabited it, had no notice of the Christians: but assoone as they saw that they entred into their country, they assembled themselves: and as they came together 50. or 100. they came foorth to fight: while some fought, others came and charged our men another way, and while they followed some, others followed them. The fight lasted the greatest part of the day, till they came to their towne. Some horses and men were wounded, but not to any hurt of their traueilling: for there was no wound that was dangerous. There was a great spoile made of the Indians. That day that the Gouvernour departed from thence, the Indian that guided him said, that in Nondacao he had heard say, that the Indians of Soacatino had seene other Christians, whereof they all were very glad: thinking it might be true, and that they might haue entred into those parts by Nueua Espanna; and that if it were so, it was in their owne hand to goe out of Florida, if they found nothing of profit: for they feared they should lose themselves in some wildernes. This Indian led him two daies out of the way. The Gouvernour commanded to torture him. He said, that the Cacique of Nondacao, his Lord, had commanded him to guide them so, because they were his enemies, and that hee was to doe as his Lord commanded him. The Gouvernour commanded him to be cast to the dogs: and another guided him to Soacatino, whither hee came the day following. It was a verie poore Countrie: there was great want of Maiz in that place. Hee asked the Indians, whether they knew of any other Christians. They said, that a little from thence toward the South they heard they were. He trauelled 20. daies through a Countrie euill inhabited, where they suffered great scarcitie and trouble. For that little Maiz which the Indians had, they had hidden and buried in the woods, where the Christians, after they were well wearied with their trauell, at the end of their iournie went to seeke by digging what they should eat. At last, comming to a Prouince that was called Guasco, they found Maiz, wherewith they loaded their horses, and the Indians that they had.

From

Aays.
A towne.
Soacatino.
40. daies trauell toward the South.
Guasco: here they found some Turkie stones, and mantles of cotton wool.
Chap. 33.

From thence they went to another towne called Naquiscoça. The Indians said, they had ^{Naquiscoça.} no notice of any other Christians. The Gouvernour commanded to torment them. They said, that they came first to another Lordship, which was called Naçacahoz, and from ^{Naçacahoz.} thence returned again to the West, from whence they came. The Gouvernour came in two daies to Naçacahoz: Some women were taken there: among whom there was one, which said, that she had seene Christians, and had been taken by them, and had run away. The Gouvernour sent a Capitaine with 15. horsemen to the place where the woman said she had seene them, to see if there were any signe of horses, or any token of their being there. After they had gone three or foure leagues, the woman that guided them said, that all that she had told them was vntrue. And so they held all the rest that the Indians had said, of seeing Christians in the land of Florida. And, because the Countrie that way was poore of Maiz, and toward the West, there was no notice of any habitation, they returned to Guasco. The Indians told them there, that 10. daies iournie from thence toward the West, was a Riuer called Daycao; whither they went sometimes a hunting and killing of Deere: and that they had seene people on the other side, but knew not what habitation was there. There the Christians tooke such Maiz as they found and could carrie, and, going 10. daies iournie through a wilderness, they came to the Riuer which the Indians had told them of. Ten horsemen, which the Gouvernour had sent before, passed ouer the same, and went in a way that led to the Riuer, and lighted vpon a companie of Indians that dwelt in verie little cabins: who, assoone as they saw them, tooke themselves to flight, leauing that which they had; all which was nothing but miserie and pouertie. The Countrie was so poore, that among them all there was not found halfe a peck of Maiz. The horsemen tooke two Indians, and returned with them to the Riuer, where the Gouvernour staid for them. He sought to learne of them what habitation was toward the West. There was none in the Camp that could vnderstand their language. The Gouvernour assembled the Captaines and principall persons, to determine with their aduice what they should doe. And the most part said, that they thought it best to returne backe to Rio grande, or the Great Riuer of Guachoya; because that in Nilco and thereabout was store of Maiz: saying, that they would make pinaces that winter, and the next sommer passe down the Riuer to the seaward in them, and comming to the Sea they would goe along the coast to Nueva Espanna. For though it seemed a doubtfull thing and difficult, by that which they had already alleaged, yet it was the last remedie they had. For by land they could not goe for want of an Interpretour. And they held, that the countrie beyond the Riuer of Daycao, where they were, was that which Cabeça de Vaca mentioned in his relation that he passed of the Indians, which liued like the Alarbes, hauing no settled place, and fed vpon Tunas and rootes of the fields, and wilde beasts that they killed. Which if it were so, if they should enter into it and finde no victuals to passe the winter, they could not chuse but perish. For they were entred alreadie into the beginning of October: and if they staid any longer, they were not able to returne for raine and snowes, nor to sustaine themselves in so poore a countrie. The Gouvernour (that desired long to see himselfe in a place where hee might sleepe his full sleep, rather then to conquer and gouerne a countrie where so many troubles presented themselves) presently returned back that same way that he came.

They returned to Guasco.

The Riuer of Daycao: which seemeth to be Rio del oro.

No travelling by land without an Interpretour.

Gold, silver and precious stones in Florida.

Chap. XXXV.

How they returned to Nilco, and came to Minoya, where they agreed to make ships to depart out of the land of Florida.

When that which was determined was published in the Campe, there were many that were greatly grieued at it: for they held the Sea voyage as doubtfull, for the euill meanes they had, and of as great danger, as the traueilling by land: and they hoped to finde some rich countrie before they came to the land of the Christians, by that which Cabeça de Vaca had told the Emperour: and that was this; That after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, hee saw gold and silver, and stones of great value. And they had not yet come where hee had been. For vntill that place hee alwaies trauelled by the Sea coast: and they trauelled

Turkie stones
and mantles of
cotton wooll
found in Guasco.

120. leagues be-
tweene the
Riuer of Day-
cao, and Rio
grande.

Naguatez.

Fine earthen
vessels.
Chaguete.

Aays.
Chilano.
Nilco.

farre within the land; and that going toward the West, of necessitie they should come where hee had been. For he said, That in a certein place he trauelled many daies, and entred into the land toward the North. And in Guasco they had already found some Turkie stones, and mantles of cotton wooll: which the Indians signified by signes that they had from the West: and that holding that course they should draw neere to the land of the Christians. But though they were much discontented with it, and it grieved many to goe backward, which would rather haue aduentured their liues and haue died in the land of Florida, then to haue gone poore out of it: yet were they not a sufficient part to hinder that which was determined, because the principall men agreed with the Gouvernour. And afterward there was one that said, hee would put out one of his owne eyes, to put out another of Luis de Moscoso; because it would grieue him much to see him prosper: because aswell himself as others of his friends had crossed that which hee durst not haue done, seeing that within two daies hee should leaue the gouernment. From Daycao, where now they were, to Rio grande, or the Great Riuer, was 150. leagues: which vnto that place they had gone Westward. And by the way as they returned Lacke they had much adoe to find Maiz to eate: for where they had passed, the country was destroyed: and some little Maiz that was left the Indians had hidden. The townes which in Naguatez they had burned (whereof it repented them) were repaired againe, and the houses full of Maiz. This countrie is well inhabited and plentifull. In that place are vessels made of clay, which differ very little from those of Estremoz, or Monte-mor. In Chaguete the Indians by commandement of the Cacique came peaceably, and said, that the Christian which remained there would not come. The Gouvernour wrote vnto him, and sent him inke and paper that he might answer. The substance of the words of the letter was to declare vnto him his determination, which was, to goe out of the land of Florida, and to put him in remembrance that he was a Christian, that hee would not remaine in the subiection of Infidels, that hee pardoned him the fault which he had done in going away to the Indians, that hee should come vnto him: and if they did stay him, that hee would aduertise him thereof by writing. The Indian went with the letter, and came again without any more answer, then, on the back side, his name and his seale, that they might know he was aliue. The Gouvernour sent twelue horsemen to seeke him: but he, which had his spies, so hid himselfe, that they could not find him. For want of Maiz the Gouvernour could not stay any longer to seeke him. Hee departed from Chaguete, and passed the Riuer by Aays; going downe by it hee found a towne called Chilano, which as yet they had not seen. They came to Nilco, & found so little Maiz, as could not suffice till they made their ships; because the Christians, being in Guachoya in the seede time, the Indians for feare of them durst not come to sow the grounds of Nilco: and they knew not thereabout any other countrie where any Maiz was: and that was the most fruitfull soile that was thereaway, and where they had most hope to finde it. Euery one was confounded, and the most part thought it bad counsell to come backe from the Riuer of Daycao, and not to haue followed their fortune, going that way that went ouer land. For by Sea it seemed impossible to saue themselves, vnlesse God would worke a miracle for them: for there was neither Pilot, nor Sea-chart, neither did they know where the Riuer entred into the Sea, neither had they notice of it, neither had they any thing wherewith to make sailes, nor any store of Enequem, which is a grasse whereof they make Okam, which grew there: and that which they found they saued to calke the Pinaces withall, neither had they any thing to pitch them withall: neither could they make ships of such substance, but that any storme would put the in great danger: and they feared much it would fall out with them, as it did with Pamphilo de Naruaez, which was cast away vpon that coast: And aboue all other it troubled them most, that they could finde no Maiz: for without it they could not bee sustained, nor could doe any thing that they had neede of. All of them were put to great confusion. Their chiefe remedy was to commit themselves to God, and to beseech him that he would direct them the way that they might saue their liues. And it pleased him of his goodnesse, that the Indians of Nilco came peaceably, and told them, that two daies iourney from thence, neere vnto the Great Riuer, were two townes, whereof the Christians had no notice, and that the prouince was called Minoya, and was a fruitfull

fruitfull soile: that, whether at this present there was any Maiz or no, they knew not, because they had warre with them: but that they would be very glad with the fauour of the Christians to goe and spoyle them. The Gouvernour sent a Capitaine thither with horsemen and footmen, and the Indians of Nilco with him. Hee came to Minoya, and found two great townes seated in a plaine and open soile, halfe a league distant, one in sight of another, and in them he tooke many Indians, and found great store of Maiz. Presently he lodged in one of them, and sent word to the Gouvernour what hee had found: wherewith they were all exceeding glad. They departed from Nilco in the beginning of December; and all that way, and before from Chilano, they endured much trouble: for they passed through many waters, and many times it rained with a Northren winde, and was exceeding cold, so that they were in the open field with water ouer and vnderneath them: and when at the end of their daies iourney they found drie ground to rest vpon, they gaue great thanks to God. With this trouble almost all the Indians that serued them died. And after they were in Minoya, many Christians also died: and the most part were sicke of great and dangerous diseases, which had a spice of the lethargie. At this place died Andrew de Vasconcelos, and two Portugall of Eluas, which were very neere him: which were brethren, and by their surname called Sotis. The Christians lodged in one of the townes, which they liked best: which was fensed about, and distant a quarter of a league from the Great River. The Maiz that was in the other towne was brought thither; and in all it was esteemed to bee 6000 hanegs or bushels. And there was the best timber to make ships, that they had scene in all the land of Florida: wherefore all of them gaue God great thanks for so singular a fauour, and hoped that that which they desired would take effect, which was, that they might safely bee conducted into the land of the Christians.

Minoya.
Two great townes.

The beginning of December.

Raine with Northren wind exceeding cold.

The death of Andrew Vasconcelos.

Chap. XXXVI.

How there were seuen Brigandines builded, and how they departed from Minoya.

ASaone as they came to Minoya, the Gouvernour commanded them to gather all the chaines together, which euerie one had to lead Indians in; and to gather al the yron which they had for their prouision, and al the rest that was in the Camp: and to set vp a forge to make nailes, and commanded them to cut downe timber for the brigandines. And a Portugall of Ceuta, who hauing bin a prisoner in Fez, had learned to saw timber with a long saw, which for such purposes they had carried with them, did teach others, which helped him to saw timber. And a Genowis, whom it pleased God to preserue (for without him they had neuer come out of the countrie: for there was neuer another that could make ships but hee) with foure or flue other Biscaine carpenters, which hewed his plancks and other timbers, made the brigandines: And two calkers, the one of Genua, the other of Sardinia did calke them with the tow of an hearb like hempo, whereof before I haue made mention, which there is named Enequen. And because there was not enough of it, they calked them with the flaxe of the Countrie, and with the mantles, which they rauelled for that purpose. A cooper which they had among them fell sicke, and was at the point of death: and there was none other that had any skill in that trade: it pleased God to send him his health: And albeit he was verie weake, and could not labour; yet 15. daies before they departed, he made for euery brigandine two halfe hogs heads, which the mariners call quarterets, because foure of them hold a pipe of water. The Indians which dwelt two daies iourne aboute the River in a Prouince called Taguanate, and likewise those of Nilco and Guacoya, and others their neighbours seeing the brigandines in making, thinking, because their places of refuge are in the water, that they were to goe to seeke them: and because the Gouvernour demanded mantles of them, as necessarie for sailes, came many times, and brought many mantles, and great store of fish. And for certaine it seemed that God was willing to fauour them in so great necessitie, mouing the minds of the Indians to bring them: for to goe to take them, they were neuer able. For in the towne where they were, assoone as winter came in, they were so inclosed and compassed with water, & they could

Enequen is an herbe like Hempo.
Flaxe of the countrie.

Taguanate is a daies iourne aboute Minoya.

go no farther by land, then a league, & a league & an half. And if they would go farther, they could carrie no horses, & without the they were not able to fight with the Indians, because they were many: and so many for so many on foote they had the advantage of them by water and by land, because they were more apt and lighter, and by reason of the disposition of the Countrey, which was according to their desire for the use of their warre. They brought also some cords, and those which wanted for cables were made of the barks of Mulberrie trees. They made stirrups of wood, & made anklers of their stirrups. In the moneth of March, when it had not rained a moneth before, the Riuer grew so big, that it came to Nilco, which was nine leagues off: and on the other side, the Indians said, that it reached other nine leagues into the land. In the towne where the Christians were, which was somewhat high ground, where they could best goe, the water reached to the stirrups. They made certaine rafts of timber, and laid manie boughes vpon them, wheron they set their horses, and in the houses they did the like. But seeing that nothing preuailed, they went vp to the lofts: and if they went out of the houses, it was in canoes, or on horseback in those places where the ground was hiest. So they were two moneths, and could doe nothing, during which time the Riuer decreased not. The Indians ceased not to come vnto the brigantines as they were wont, and came in canoes. At that time the Gouvernour feared they would set vpon him. Hee commanded his men to take an Indian secretly of those that came to the towne, and to stry him till the rest were gone: and they tooke one. The Gouvernour commanded him to bee put to torture, to make him confesse, whether the Indians did practise any treason or no. Hee confessed that the Caciques of Nilco, Guachoya, & Taguanate, and others, which in all were about 20. Caciques, with a great number of people, determined to come vpon him; and that three daies before, they would send a great present of fish to colour their great treason and malice, and on the verie day they would send some Indians before with another present: And these with those which were our slaues, which were of their conspiracie also, should set the houses on fire, and first of all possesse themselves of the lances which stood at the doores of the houses; and the Caciques with all their men should bee neere the towne in ambush in the wood, and when they saw the fire kindled, should come, and make an end of the conquest. The Gouvernour commanded the Indian to be kept in a chaine, and the selfesame day that he spake of, there came 30. Indians with fish. Hee commanded their right hands to be cut off, and sent them so backe to the Cacique of Guachoya, whose men they were. He sent him word, that he and the rest should come when they would, for he desired nothing more, and that hee should know, that they thought not any thing which he knew not before they thought of it. Hereupon they all were put in a very great feare: And the Caciques of Nilco and Taguanate came to excuse themselves: and a few daies after came he of Guachoya, and a principal Indian and his subiect, said, he knew by certaine information, That the Caciques of Nilco and Taguanate were agreed to come and make warre vpon the Christians. Assoone as the Indians came from Nilco, the Gouvernour examined them, and they confessed it was true. Hee deliuered them presently to the principall man of Guachoya, which drew them out of the towne and killed them. Another day came some from Taguanate, and confessed it likewise. The Gouvernour commanded their right hands and noses to be cut off, and sent them to the Cacique, wherewith they of Guachoya remained very well contented: and they came oftentimes with presents of mantles and fish, and hogs, which bred in the Countrey of some swine that were lost by the way the last yeere. Assoone as the waters were slaked, they perswaded the Gouvernour to send men to Taguanate: They came and brought canoes, wherein the footemen were conueied downe the Riuer, and a Captaine with horsemen went by land; and the Indians of Guachoya, which guided him, till they came to Taguanate, assaulted the towne, and took many men and women, and mantles, which with those that they had already were sufficient to supplie their want. The brigandines being finished in the moneth of Iune, the Indians hauing told vs, That the Riuer increased but once a yeere, when the snowes did melt, in the time wherein I mentioned it had already increased, being now in sommer, and hauing not rained a long time, it pleased God, that the flood came vp to the towne to seeke the brigandines,

The great use of horses.

Mulberrie trees.

The mightie increasing of the Riuer for two moneths space, to wit, all March and April.

The grand conspiracie of the Indians against the Christians.

Note well.

Thirtie Indians of the Cacique of Guachoya haue their right hands cut off.

The right hands and noses of traitours cut off. Hoggies in Florida.

Taguanate taken.

Iune.

The Riuer increaseth but once a yeere when the snowes

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brigandines, from whence they carried them by water to the Riuer. Which, if they had gone by land, had been in danger of breaking and splitting their keeles, and to bee all vndone; because that for want of iron, the spikes were short, and the planks and timber were very weake. The Indians of Minoya, during the time that they were there, came to serue them (being driuen thereunto by necessity) that of the Maiz which they had taken from them, they would bestow some crummes vpon them. And because the Countrie was fertill, and the people vsed to feed of Maiz, and the Christians had gotten all from them that they had, and the people were many, they were not able to sustaine themselves. Those which came to the towne were so weake and feeble, that they had no flesh left on their bones: and many came and died neere the towne for pure hunger and weakenesse. The Gouvernour commanded vpon grievous punishments to giue them no Maiz. Yet, when they saw that the hogges wanted it not, and that they had yeilded themselves to serue them, & considering their miserie and wretchednes, hauing pity of the, they gaue them part of the Maiz which they had. And when the time of their embarkment came, there was not sufficient to serue their owne turnes. That which there was, they put into the brigandines, and into great canoes tied two and two together. They shipped 22. of the best horses, that were in the Camp, the rest they made dried flesh of; and dressed the hogges which they had in like manner. They departed from Minoya the second day of Iulie, 1543.

doe melt in
March and
April.
A miraculous
accident.

Chap. XXXVII.

As the Christians went downe the great Riuer on their voyage, the Indians of Quigalta did set vpon them, and what was the successe thereof.

THE day before they departed from Minoya, they determined to dismisse al the men & women of the Countrie, which they had detained as slaues to serue them, saue some hundred, little more or lesse, which the Gouvernour embarked, and others whom it pleased him to permit. And because there were many men of qualitic, whom he could not deny that which he granted to others, he vsed a policy, saying, that they might serue them as long as they were in the Riuer, but when they came to the sea, they must send them away for want of water, because they had but few vessels. He told his friends in secret, that they should carrie theirs to Nueua Espanna: And all those whom hee bare no good will vnto (which were the greater number) ignorant of that which was hidden from them, which afterward time discovered, thinking it inhumanitie for so little time of seruice, in reward of the great seruice that they had done them, to carrie them with them, to leaue them slaues to other men out of their owne Countries; left fise hundred men and women; among whom were many boies and girles, which spake & vnderstood the Spanish tongue. The most of them did nothing but weepe: which moued great compassion; seeing that all of them with good will would haue become Christians, and were left in state of perdition. There went from Minoya 322. Spaniards in seuen brigandines, well made, saue that the planks were thin, because the nailes were short, and were not pitched, nor had any decks to keep the water from comming in. In stead of decks they laid planks, whereon the mariners might runne to trim their sailes, and the people might refresh themselves aboue and below. The Gouvernour made his Captaines, and gaue to euery one his brigandine, and took their oth and their word, that they would obey him, vntill they came to the land of the Christians. The Gouvernour tooke one of the brigandines for himself, which he best liked. The same day that they departed from Minoya, they passed by Guachoya, where the Indians tarried for them in canoes by the Riuer. And on the shore, they had made a great arbour with boughes: They desired him to come on shore; but he excused himselfe, and so went along: The Indians in their canoes accompanied him; and comming where an arme of the Riuer declined on the right hand, they said, that the Prouince of Quigalta was neere vnto that place, and importuned the Gouvernour to set vpon him, and that they would aide him. And because they had said, that he dwelt three daies iournie downe the Riuer, the Gouvernour supposed that they had plotted some treason against him, and there left them;

500. Slaues left
in the Countrie.

They saile
downe Rio
Grande from
Minoya 17.
daies before th.
y came to the
mouth thereof.

and

and went downe with the greatest force of the water. The current was very strong, and with the helpe of ores, they went very swiftly. The first day they landed in a wood on the left hand of the Riuer, and at night they withdrew themselves to the brigandines. The

The second day. next day they came to a towne, where they went on shore, and the people that was in it durst not tarrie. A woman that they tooke there being examined, said, that that towne

Huasene. belonged to a Cacique named Huasene, subiect to Quigalta, and that Quigalta tarried for them below in the Riuer with many men. Certaine horsemen went thither, and found some houses, wherein was much Maiz. Immediately more of them went thither and tarried

Another day. there one day, in which they did beate out, and tooke as much Maiz as they needed. While they were there, many Indians came from the nether part of the Riuer, and on the other side right against them somewhat carelessly set themselves in order to fight. The Gouvernour sent in two canoes the crossebowmen that he had, and as many more as could goe in them. They ran away, and seeing the Spaniards could not ouertake them, they returned backe, and tooke courage; and comming neerer, making an outcrie, they threatned them: and assoone as they departed thence, they went after them, some in canoes, and some by land along the Riuer; and getting before, comming to a towne that stood by the Riuers side, they ioyned al together, making a shew that they would tarrie there. Euerie brigandine towed a canoe fastened to their sternes for their particular seruice. Presently there

A towne burned. entred men into euerie one of them, which made the Indians to flie, and burned the towne. *The third day.* The same day they presently landed in a great field, where the Indians durst not tarrie.

A flette of an hundred faire and great canoes. The next day there were gathered together an hundred canoes, among which were some that carried 60. and 70. men, and the principall mens canoes had their tilts, and plumes of white and red feathers for their ensignes: and they came within two crossebow shot of the brigandines, and sent three Indians in a small canoe with a fained message to view the manner of the brigandines, and what weapons they had. And comming to the side of the Gouvernours brigandine, one of the Indians entred, and said:

That the Cacique of Quigalta his Lord, sent him his commendations, and did let him vnderstand, that all that the Indians of Guachoya had told him concerning himselfe, was false, and that they had incensed him, because they were his enemies; that he was his seruant, and should find him so.

The Gouvernour answered him, that he beleued all that he said was true, and willed him to tell him, that he esteemed his friendship very much. With this answer they returned to the place where the rest in their canoes were waiting for them, and from thence all of them fell downe, and came neere the Spaniards, shouting aloud, and threatning of them. The Gouvernour sent Iohn de Guzman, which had been a Captaine of footemen in Florida, with 15. armed men in canoes to make them giue way. Assoone as the Indians saw them come towards them, they diuided themselves into two parts, and stood still till the Spaniards came nie them, and when they were come neere them, they ioyned together on both sides, taking Iohn de Guzman in the middest, and them that came first with him, and with great furie borded them: And as their canoes were bigger, and many of them leaped into the water to stay them, and to lay hold on the canoes of the Spaniards, and ouerwhelme them; so presently they ouerwhelmed them. The Christians fell into the water, and with the weight of their armour sunke downe to the bottome: and some few, that by swimming or holding by the canoe could haue saued themselves, with oares and staues, which they had, they strooke them on the head and made them sinke. When they of the brigandines saw the ouerthrow, though they went about to succour them, yet through the current of the Riuer they could not goe backe. Foure Spaniards fled to the brigandine that was neereest to the canoes; and only these escaped of those that came among the Indians. They were eleuen that died there: among whom Iohn de Guzman was one, and a sonne of Don Carlos, called Iohn de Vargas: the rest also were persons of accout and men of great courage. Those that escaped by swimming, said, that they saw the Indians enter the canoe of Iohn de Guzman at the sterne of one of their canoes, and whether they carried him away dead or alieue they could not certainly tell.

Eleuen Spaniards drowned. The death of Iohn de Guzman.

Chap.

Chap. XXXVIII.

Which declareth how they were pursued by the Indians.

THE Indians, seeing that they had gotten the victorie, tooke such courage, that they assaulted them in the brigandines, which they durst not doe before. They came first to that brigandine wherein Calderon went for Captaine, and was in the rereward: and at the first volie of arrowes they wounded 25. men. There were only foure armed men in this brigandine: these did stand at the brigandines side to defend it. Those that were vnarmed, seeing how they hurt them, left their oares and went vnder the deck: whereupon the brigandine began to crosse, and to goe where the current of the streame carried it. One of the armed men seeing this, without the commandement of the Captaine, made a footman to take an oare and stirre the brigandine, hee standing before him and defending him with his target. The Indians came no neerer then a bowshot, from whence they offended and were not offended, receiuing no hurt: for in euery brigandine was but one crossebow, and those which wee had were very much out of order. So that the Christians did nothing else but stand for a butte to receiue their arrowes. Hauing left this brigandine they went to another, and fought with it halfe an houre; and so from one to another they fought with them all. The Christians had mattes to lay vnder them, which were double, and so close and strong, that no arrow went thorow them. And assoone as the Indians gaue them leisure, they fensed the brigandines with them. And the Indians seeing that they could not shoote leuell, shot their arrowes at randon vp into the aire, which fell into the brigandines, and hurt some of the men: and not therewith contented, they sought to get to them which were in the canoes with the horses. Those of the brigandines enuironed them to defend them, and tooke them among them. Thus seeing themselves much vexed by them, and so wearied that they could no longer endure it, they determined to trauell all the night following, thinking to get beyond the cuntry of Quigalta, and that they would leaue them: but when they thought least of it, supposing they had now left them, they heard very neere them so great outcries, that they made them deafe, and so they followed vs all that night, and the next day till noone, by which time we were come into the cuntry of others, whom they desired to vse vs after the same manner; and so they did. The men of Quigalta returned home; and the other in fiftie canoes fought with vs a whole day and a night: and they entred one of the brigandines, that came in the rereward by the canoe which she had at her sterne, and tooke away a woman which they found in it, and afterward hurt some of the men of the brigandines. Those which came with the horses in the canoes, being wearie with rowing night and day, lingered behind; and presently the Indians came vpon them, and they of the brigandines tarried for them. The Gouvernour resolued to goe on shore and to kill the horses, because of the slow way which they made because of them. Assoone as they saw a place conuenient for it, they went thither and killed the horses, and brought the flesh of them to drie it aboard. Foure or fise of them remained on shore aliue: the Indians went vnto them, after the Spaniards were embarked. The horses were not acquainted with them, and began to neigh, and runne vp and downe, in such sort, that the Indians, for feare of them, leaped into the water; and getting into their canoes went after the brigandines, shooting cruelly at them. They followed vs that euening and the night following till the next day at tenne of the clocke, and then returned vp the Riuer. Presently from a small towne that stood vpon the Riuer came seuen canoes, and followed vs a little way downe the Riuer, shooting at vs: but seeing they were so few that they could doe vs but little harme, they returned to their towne. From thence forward, vntill they came to the Sea, they had no encounter. They sailed downe the Riuer seuentaene daies: which may be two hundred and fifty leagues iourney, little more or lesse: and neere vnto the Sea the Riuer is diuided into two armes; each of them is a league and an halfe broad.

25. Spaniards wounded.

The great vse of large targets.

Strong mats a good defence against arrowes.

Another Pro- uince.

Dried horseflesh for food.

A smal towne.

They sailed 17. daies downe the Riuer, which is about 250. leagues.

Chap. XXXIX.

How they came vnto the sea: and what happened vnto them in all their voiage.

HALfe a league before they came to the sea, they came to anker to rest themselves there about a day: for they were very weary with rowing and out of heart. For by the space of many daies they had eaten nothing but parched and sodden Maiz; which they had by allowance euery day an headpeece ful by strike for euery three mē. While they rode there at anker seuen canoes of Indians came to set vpō those, which they brought with them. The Gouvernour commanded armed men to go aboard them, and to driue them farther off. They came also against them by land through a thick wood, and a moorish ground, and had stauies with very sharp forked heads made of the bones of fishes, and fought verie valiantly with vs, which went out to encounter them. And the other that came in canoes with their arrowes staid for them that came against them, and at their comming both those that were on land, and those in the canoes wounded some of vs: And seeing vs come neere them, they turned their backs, and like swift horses among footemen gat away from vs; making some returns, and reuniting themselves together, going not past a bow shot off: for in so retiring they shot, without receiuing any hurt of the Christians. For though they had some bowes, yet they could not vse them; and brake their armies with rowing to ouertake them. And the Indians easily in their compassē went with their canoes, staying and wheeling about as it had been in a skirmish, perceiuing that those that came against them could not offend them. And the more they stroue to come neere them, the more hurt they receiued. Assoone as they had driuen them farther off, they returned to the brigandines. They staid two daies there: And departed from thence vnto the place, where the arme of the Riuer entreth into the sea. They sounded in the Riuer neere vnto the Sea, and found 40. fathoms water. They staid there. And the Gouvernour commanded al and singular persons to speake their minds touching their voiage, whether it were best to crosse ouer to Nueva Espanna, committing theselues to the hie sea, or whether they should keepe along the coast. There were sundry opinions touching this matter: wherein Iohn Danusco, which presumed much, and tooke much vpon him in the knowledge of nauigation, and matters of the sea, although hee had but little experience, mooned the Gouvernour with his talke: and his opinion was seconded by some others. And they affirmed, that it was much better to passe by the hie sea, and crosse the gulfe, which was three of foure parts the lesser trauell, because in going along y coast, they went a great way about, by reason of the compassē, which the land did make. Iohn Danusco said, that he had seene the seacard, and that from the place where they were, the coast ran East and West vnto Rio de las Palmas; and from Rio de las Palmas to Nueva Espanna from North to South: and therefore in sailing alwaies in sight of land would bee a great compassing about and spending of much time; & that they would be in great danger to be ouertaken with winter before they should get to the land of the Christians: and that in 10. or 12. daies space, hauing good weather, they might bee there in crossing ouer. The most part were against this opinion, and said, that it was more safe to go along the coast, though they staid the longer: because their ships were very weakē and without decks, so that a very little storme was enough to cast them away: and if they should be hindred with calmes, or contrarie weather, through the small store of vessels which they had to carrie water in, they should likewise fall into great danger: and that although the ships were such as they might venture in them, yet hauing neither Pilot nor Seacard to guide themselves, it was no good counsell to crosse the gulfe. This opinion was confirmed by the greatest part: and they agreed to go along the coast. At the time wherein they sought to depart from thence, the cable of the anker of the Gouvernours brigandine brake, and the anker remained in the Riuer. And albeit, they were neere the shore, yet it was so deepe, that the Diuērs diuing many times could neuer find it: which caused great sadnes in the Gouvernour, and in all those that went with him in his brigandine: But with a grindstone which they had, and certaine bridles which remained to
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ir voiage.

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some of the Gentlemen, and men of worship which had horses, they made a weight which serued in stead of an anker. The 18. of Iuly, they went foorth to sea with faire and prosperous weather for their voiage. And seeing that they were gone two or three leagues from the shore, the Captaines of the other brigandines ouertooke them, and asked the Gouvernour, wherefore he did put off from the shore: and that if he would leaue the coast, he should say so; and he should not do it without the consent of all: and that if hee did otherwise, they would not follow him, but that euery one would doe what seemed best vnto himselfe. The Gouvernour answered, that hee would doe nothing without their counsell, but that hee did beare off from the land to saile the better and safer by night; and that the next day when time serued, he would returne to the sight of land againe. They sailed with a reasonable good wind that day and the night following, and the next day till euening song, alwaies in fresh water: whereat they wondred much: for they were very farre from land. But the force of the current of the Riuer is so great, and the coast there is so shallow and gentle, that the fresh water entreth farre into the Sea. That euening on their right hand they saw certaine creekes, whither they went, and rested there that night: where Iohn Danusco with his reasons wonne them at last, that all consented and agreed to commit themselves to the maine Sea, alleaging, as he had done before, that it was a great advantage, and that their voyage would be much shorter. They sailed two daies, and when they would haue come to sight of land they could not, for the winde blew from the shore. On the fourth day, seeing their fresh water began to faile, fearing necessitie and danger, they all complained of Iohn Danusco, and of the Gouvernour that followed his counsell: and euery one of the Captaines said, that they would no more goe from the shore, though the Gouvernour went whither he would. It pleased God that the winde changed though but a little: and at the end of foure daies after they had put to sea, being alreadie destitute of water, by force of rowing they got within sight of land, and with great trouble recouered it, in an open roade. That euening the winde came to the South, which on that coast is a crosse winde, and draue the brigandines against the shore, because it blew very hard, and the anchors were so weak, that they yeilded and began to bend. The Gouvernour commanded all men to leape into the water, and going between them and the shore, and thrusting the brigandines into the Sea assoone as the waue was past, they saued them till the winde ceased.

They landed the
30. of May,
1539. Chap. 7.
they went foorth
to sea Iuly 18.
1543.

Fresh water al-
most two daies,
sailing in the
Sea.
The coast
shallow.
Certaine creekes
where they
rested a night.

An open Roade.

Chap. XL.

How they lost one another by a storme, and afterward came together in a creeke.

IN the bay where they rode, after the tempest was past, they went on shore, and with mattocks, which they had, they digged certaine pits, which grew full of fresh water, where they filled all the cask which they had. The next day they departed thence, and sailed two daies, and entred into a creeke like vnto a poole, fenced from the South winde, which then did blow, and was against them: and there they staid foure daies, not being able to get out: and when the Sea was calme they rowed out: they sailed that day, and toward euening the winde grew so strong that it draue them on the shore, and they were sorie that they had put foorth from the former harbour: for assoone as night approached a storme began to rise in the Sea, and the winde still waxed more and more violent with a tempest. The brigandines lost one another: two of them, which bare more into the Sea, entred into an arme of the Sea, which pearced into the land two leagues beyond the place where the other were that night. The fife which staid behinde, being alwaies a league, and halfe a league the one from the other, met together, without any knowledge the one of the other, in a wilde roade, where the winde and the waues droue them on shore: for their anchors did streighten and came home; and they could not rule their oares, putting seuen or eight men to euery oare, which rowed to seaward: and all the rest leaped into the water, and when the waue was past that draue the brigandine on shore, they thrust it againe into Sea with all the diligence and might that they had. Others, while another waue was in

Fresh water is
commonlie
found by diging
in the sands on
the sea side.

An arme of the
sea.

A wilde roade.

A swarme of
griuous Mos-
kitoes.

A skumme of
the sea like
pitch, called
Copee.

Another deep
bay.

A small Island.

Great store of
fish.

Fourteene daies
abode in this
place.

comming, with bowles laued out the water that came in ouerboard. While they were in this tempest in great feare of being cast away in that place, from midnight forward they endured an intollerable tormēt of an infinite swarme of Moskitoes which fell vpon them, which assoone as they had stung the flesh, it so infected it, as though they had bin venomous. In the morning the Sea was asswaged and the wind slaked, but not the Muskitoes: for f sailes which were white seemed blacke with them in the morning. Those which rowed, vnlesse others kept them away, were not able to row. Hauing passed the feare & danger of the storme, beholding the deformities of their faces, and the blowes which they gaue themselves to driue them away, one of them laughed at another. They met all together in the creek where the two brigandines were, which outwent their fellowes. There was found a skumme, which they call Copee, which the Sea casteth vp, and it is like pitch, where-with in some places, where pitch is wanting, they pitch their ships: there they pitched their brigandines. They rested two daies, and then eftsoones proceeded on their voyage. They sailed two daies more, and landed in a Bay or arme of the Sea, where they staid two daies. The same day that they went from thence sixe men went vp in a canoe toward the head of it, and could not see the end of it. They put out from thence with a South winde, which was against them: but because it was little, and for the great desire they had to shorten their voyage, they put out to sea by force of oares, and for all that made very little way with great labour in two daies, and went vnder the lee of a small Island into an arme of the Sea, which compassed it about. While they were there, there fell out such weather, that they gaue God many thanks, that they had found out such an harbour. There was great store of fish in that place, which they tooke with nets, which they had, and hookes. Heere a man cast an hooke and a line into the Sea, and tied the end of it to his arme, and a fish caught it, and drew him into the water vnto the necke: and it pleased God that hee remembred himselfe of a knife that he had, and cut the line with it. There they abode fourteene daies: and at the end of them it pleased God to send them faire weather, for which with great deuotion they appointed a procession, and went in procession along the strand, beseeching God to bring them to a land, where they might serue him in better sort.

Chap. XLI.

How they came to the Riuer of Panuco in Nueua Espanna.

Sixe daies
sailing.

Floting of
Palme leaues.
Great moun-
taines.
At the North-
side of the Gulfe
of Mexico is
verie low land,
saue in this
que place.

IN all the coast wheresoeuer they digged they found fresh water: there they filled their vessels; and the procession being ended, embarked themselves, and going alwaies in sight of the shore they sailed sixe daies. Iohn Danusco said that it would doe well to beare out to seaward: for he had seene the Seacard, and remembred that from Rio de las Palmas forward the coast did runne from North to South, and thitherto they had runne from East to West, and in his opinion, by his reckoning, Rio de las Palmas could not be farre off, from where they were. That same night they put to sea, and in the morning they saw Palme leaues floting, and the coast, which ranne North and South: from midday forward they saw great Mountaines, which vtill then they had not seene: for from this place to Puerto de Spiritu Santo, where they first landed in Florida, was a very plaine and low country: and therefore it cannot be descried, vnlesse a man come very neere it. By that which they saw, they thought that they had ouershot Rio de Palmas that night, which is 60. leagues from the Riuer of Panuco, which is in Nueua Espanna. They assembled all together, and some said it was not good to saile by night, lest they should ouershoot the Riuer of Panuco: and others said, it was not well to lose time while it was fauourable, and that it could not be so neere that they should passe it that night: and they agreed to take away halfe the sailes, and so saile all night. Two of the brigandines, which sailed that night with all their sailes, by breake of day had ouershot the Riuer of Panuco without seeing it. Of the fine that came behind, the first that came vnto it was that wherein Calderan was Captaine. A quarter of a league before they came at it, and before they did see it, they saw the water muddie, and

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and knew it to be fresh water: and comming right against the Riuer, they saw, where it entred into the Sea, that the water brake vpon a shold. And because there was no man there that knew it, they were in doubt whether they should goe in, or goe along, and they resolved to goe in: and before they came vnto the current, they went close to the shore, and entred into the port: and assoone as they were come in, they saw Indian men and women apparelled like Spaniards: whom they asked in what countrey they were? They answered in Spanish, that it was the Riuer of Panuco, and that the towne of the Christians was 15. leagues vp within the land. The ioy that all of them receiued vpon these newes cannot sufficiently be expressed: for it seemed vnto them, that at that instant they were borne again. And many went on shore and kissed the ground, and kneeling on their knees, with lifting vp their hands and eyes to heauen, they all ceased not to giue God thanks. Those which came after, assoone as they saw Calderan come to an anchor with his brigandine in the Riuer, presently went thither, and came into the hauen. The other two brigandines which had ouershot the place, put to sea to returne backe to seeke the rest, and could not doe it, because the winde was contrarie and the Sea growne: they were afraid of being cast away, and recouering the shore they cast anchor. While they rode there a storme arose: and seeing that they could not abide there, much lesse endure at Sea, they resolved to runne on shore; and as the brigandines were but small, so did they draw but little water; and where they were it was a sandie coast. By which occasion the force of their sailes draue them on shore, without any hurt of them that were in them. As those that were in the port of Panuco at this time were in great ioy; so these felt a double griefe in their hearts: for they knew not what was become of their fellowes, nor in what countrey they were, and feared it was a countrey of Indian enemies. They landed two leagues below the port: and when they saw themselves out of the danger of the Sea, euery one tooke of that which he had, as much as he could carrie on his backe: and they trauelled vp into the countrey, and found Indians, which told them where their fellowes were; and gaue them good entertainment: wherewith their sadnes was turned into ioy, and they thanked God most humbly for their deliuerance out of so many dangers.

The Riuer of Panuco: the towne is 15. leagues from the mouth of the Riuer.

Chap. XLII.

How they came to Panuco, and how they were receiued of the inhabitants.

FROM the time that they put out of Rio Grande to the sea, at their departure from Florida, vntil they arriued in the Riuer of Panuco, were 52. daies. They came into the Riuer of Panuco the 10. of September, 1543. They went vp the Riuer with their brigandines. They trauelled foure daies; and because the wind was but little, and many times it serued them not, because of the many turnings which the Riuer maketh, and the great current, drawing them vp by towing, and that in many places; for this cause they made very little way, and with great labour: and seeing the execution of their desire to be deferred, which was to come among Christians, and to see the celebration of diuine seruice, which so long time they had not seene; they left the brigandines with the mariners, and went by land to Panuco. All of them were apparelled in Deeres skins tanned and died blacke, to wit, cotes, hose, and shooes. When they came to Panuco, presently they went to the Church to pray and giue God thanks, that so miraculously had saued them. The townesmen which before were aduertised by the Indians, and knew of their arriual, caried some of them to their houses, and entertained them, whom they knew, and had acquaintance of, or because they were their Countrimen. The Alcade Mayor tooke the Gouvernour home to his house: and commanded al the rest, assoone as they came, to be lodged 6. & 6. and 10. & 10. according to the habilitie of euery townesman. And all of them were provided for by their hostes of many hennes and bread of Maiz, and fruites of the Countrey, which are such as be in the Isle of Cuba, whereof before I haue spoken. The towne of Panuco may containe aboue 70 families; the most of their houses are of lime and stone, and some made of timber, and all of them are thatched. It is a poore Countrey, and there is neither gold nor siluer in it: The inhabitants

They arriued in the Riuer of Panuco, 1543. Septem. 10.

The description of Panuco.

387. Christians
arrived at
Panuco.

liue there in great abundance of victuals and seruants. The richest haue not aboue 500. crownes rent a yeere, and that is in cotten clothes, hennes, and Maiz, which the Indians their seruants doe giue them for tribute. There arriued there of those that came out of Florida, three hundred and eleuen Christians. Presently the Alcalde Mayor sent one of the townsmen in post to aduertise the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, which was resident in Mexico, that of ȳ people that went with Don Ferdinando de Soto to discover and conquer Florida, three hundred and eleuen men were arriued there, that seeing they were imploied in his Maiesties seruice, he would take some order to prouide for them. Whereat the Viceroy, and all the inhabitants of Mexico wondred. For they thought they were miscarried, because they had trauelled so farre within the maine land of Florida, and had no newes of them for so long a time: and it seemed a wonderfull thing vnto them, how they could saue themselves so long among Infidels, without any fort, wherein they might fortifie themselves, and without any other succour at all. Presently the Viceroy sent a warrant, wherein hee commaded, that whithersoever they sent, they should giue them victuals, and as many Indians for their cariages as they needed: and where they would not furnish them, they might take those things that were necessarie perforce without incurring any danger of law. This warrant was so readilie obeyed, that by the way before they came to the townes, they came to receiue them with hemes, and victuals.

Chap. XLIII.

Of the fauour which they found at the hands of the Viceroy, and of the inhabitants of the Citie of Mexico.

FROM Panuco to the great Citie Temistitan Mexico is 60. leagues; and other 60. from Panuco to the Port de Vera Cruz, where they take shipping for Spaine, and those that come from Spaine do land to go for Nueva Espanna. These three townes stand in a triangle: to wit, Vera Cruz, to the South, Panuco to the North, and Mexico to the West, 60. leagues asunder. The Countrie is so inhabited with Indians, that from towne to towne, those which are farthest, are but a league, and halfe a league asunder. Some of them that came from Florida, staid a moneth in Panuco to rest themselves, others fiftene daies, and euery one as long as he listed: for there was none that showed a sower countenance to his guests, but rather gaue them any thing that they had, and seemed to be grieved when they took their leaue. Which was to be beleued. For the victuals, which the Indians doe pay them for tribute, are more than they can spend: and in that towne is no commerce; and there dwelt but few Spaniards there, and they were glad of their companie. The Alcalde Mayor diuided all the Emperours clothes which he had (which there they pay him for his tribute) among those that would come to receiue them. Those which had shirts of maile left, were glad men: for they had a horse for one shirt of maile: Some horsed themselves: and such as could not (which were the greatest part) tooke their iournie on foote: in which they were well receiued of the Indians that were in the townes, and better serued, then they could haue been in their owne houses, though they had been well to liue. For if they asked one hen of an Indian, they brought them foure: and if they asked any of the Countrie fruit, though it were a league off, they ran presently for it. And if any Christian found himselfe euill at ease, they carried him in a chaire from one towne to another. In whatsoever towne they came, the Cacique, by an Indian which carried a rod of Iustice in his hand, whom they call Tapile, that is to say, a sergeant, commanded them to prouide victuals for them, and Indians to beare burdens of such things as they had, and such as were needfull to carrie them that were sicke. The Viceroy sent a Portugall 20. leagues from Mexico, with great store of sugar, raisons of the Sunne, and conserues, and other things fit for sicke folkes, for such as had neede of them: and had giuen order to cloth them all at the Emperours charges. And their approach being knowne by the citizens of Mexico, they went out of the towne to receiue them: and with great courtesie, requesting them in fauour to come to their houses, euery one carried such as hee met home with him, and clothed them euery one the best they could:

This is the manner of China, to carrie men in chaires.

could: so that he which had the meanest apparrell, it cost aboute 30. ducats. As many as were willing to come to the Viceroyes house he commanded to be apparelled, and such as were persons of qualitie sate at his table: and there was a table in his house for as many of the meaner sort as would come to it: and he was presently informed who euery one was, to shew him the courtesie that he deserued. Some of the Cōquerors did set both gentlemen and clownes at their owne table, and many times made the seruant sit cheeke by cheeke by his master: and chiefly the officers and men of base condition did so: for those which had better education did enquire who euery one was, and made difference of persons: but all did what they could with a good will: and euery one told them whom they had in their houses, that they should not trouble themselves, nor thinke themselves the worse, to take that which they gaue them: for they had bin in the like case, and had bin relieued of others, and that this was the custome of that countrey. God reward them all: and God grant, that those which it pleased him to deliuer out of Florida, and to bring againe into Christendome, may serue him: and vnto those that died in that countrey, and vnto all that beleuee in him and confesse his holy faith, God for his mercie sake grant the kingdome of heauen. Amen.

Chap. XLIV.

Which declareth some diuersities and particularities of the land of Florida: and the fruites, and beasts, and fowles that are in that Countrey.

FROM the Port de Spiritu Santo, where they landed when they entred into Florida, to the Prouince of Ocute, which may bee 400. leagues, little more or lesse, is a verie plaine Countrey, and hath many lakes and thicke woods, and in some places they are of wild pinetrees; and is a weake soile: There is in it neither Mountaine nor hill. The Countrey of Ocute is more fat and fruitfull; it hath thinner woods, and very goodly medow vpon the Riuer. Fro Ocute to Cutifachiqui may be 130. leagues: 80. leagues thereof are desert, and haue many groues of wild Pine trees. Through the wilderness great Riuer doe passe. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala, may be 250. leagues: it is al an hilly Countrey. Cutifachiqui and Xuala stand both in plaine ground, hie, and haue goodly medows on the Riuer. From thence forward to Chiaha, Coça, and Talise, is plaine ground, dry and fat, and very plentifull of Maiz. From Xuala to Tascaluca may be 250. leagues. From Tascaluca to Rio Grande, or y Great Riuer, may be 300. leagues: the Countrey is low, and full of lakes. From Rio Grande forward, the Countrey is hier and more champion, and best peopled of all the land of Florida. And along this Riuer from Aquixo to Pacaha, and Coligoa, are 150. leagues: the Countrey is plaine, and the woods thinne, and in some places champion, very fruitfull and pleasant. From Coligoa to Autiamque are 250. leagues of hillie Countrey. From Autiamque to Aguacay, may be 230. leagues of plaine ground. From Aguacay to the Riuer of Daycao 120. leagues, all hillie Countrey.

From the Port de Spiritu Santo vnto Apalache, they trauelled from East to West, and North to west. From Cutifachiqui to Xuala from South to North. From Xuala to Coça from East to West. From Coça to Tascaluca, and to Rio Grande, as far as the Prouinces of Quizquiz and Aquixo from East to West. From Aquixo to Pacaha to the North. From Pacaha to Tulla from East to West: and from Tulla to Autiamque from North to South, to the Prouince of Guachoya and Daycao.

The bread which they eate in all the land of Florida is of Maiz, which is like course millet. And this Maiz is common in all the Islandes and West Indies from the Antiles forward. There are also in Florida great store of Walnuts and Plummies, Mulberries, and Grapes. They sow and gather their Maiz euery one their seuerall crop. The fruits are common to all: for they grow abroad in the open fields in great abundance, without any neede of planting or dressing. Where there be Mountaines, there be chestnuts: they are somewhat smaller then the chestnuts of Spaine. Fro Rio Grande Westward, the Walnuts differ from those that grow more Eastward: for they are soft, and like vnto Acornes: And those which grow from Rio Grande to Puerto del Spiritu Santo for the most part are hard; and the trees

Port de Spiritu Santo is in 29. degrees ½ on the West side of Florida.

Ocute.

Cutifachiqui.

Xuala.

Chiaha, Coça, and Talise.

Tascaluca.

Rio Grande.

Aquixo.

Coligoa.

Autiamque.

Aguacay.

Pagina 72.

Maiz.

Walnuts, Plummies, Mulberries, Grapes.

Chestnuts.

Soft Walnuts Eastward from Rio Grande.

Hard Walnuts Westward from Rio Grande.

A Pearre riall.

Strawberries.

Plummes of two
kinds.

Beasts.

Fowles.

and Walnuts in shew like those of Spaine. There is a fruit through all the Countrie which groweth on a plant like Ligoacan, which the Indians doe plant. The fruit is like vnto Peares Riall: it hath a verie good smell, and an excellent taste. There groweth another plant in the open field, which beareth a fruit like vnto strawberries, close to the ground, which hath a verie good taste. The Plummes are of two kinds, red and gray, of the making and bignesse of nuts, and haue three or foure stones in them. These are better then all the plummes of Spaine, & they make farre better Prunes of them. In the Grapes there is onelie want of dressing: for though they bee big, they haue a great Kirmell. All other fruits are very perfect, and lesse hurtfull then those of Spaine.

There are in Florida many Beares, and Lyons, Wolues, Deere, Dogges, Cattes, Marterns and Conies.

There be many wild Hennes as big as Turkies, Partridges small like those of Africa, Cranes, Duckes, Pigeons, Thrushes and Sparrowes. There are certaine Blacke birds bigger then Sparrowes, and lesser then Stares. There are Gosse Hawkes, Falcons, Ierfalcons, and all Fowles of prey that are in Spaine.

The Indians are well proportioned. Those of the plaine Countries are taller of bodie, & better shapen, then those of the Mountaines. Those of the Inland haue greater store of Maiz, and commodities of the Countrie, then those that dwell upon the sea coast. The Countrie along the sea coast is barren and poore: and the people more warlike. The coast runneth from Puerto del Spiritu Santo to Apalache, East and West; and from Apalache to Rio de las Palmas from East to West: from Rio de las Palmas vnto Nueva Espanna from North to South. It is a gentle coast, but it hath many sholdes, and great shelues of sand.

Deo gratias.

This relation of the discoverie of Florida was printed in the house of Andrew de Burgos, Printer and Gentleman of the house of my Lord Cardinall the Infante.

It was finished the tenth of Februarie in the yeere one thousand, siue hundred, fiftie and seuen, in the noble and most loyall citie of Euora.

of Florida, &c.

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A
DISCOVERY

OF

THE BARMVDAS,

OTHERWISE CALLED THE

ILE OF DIVELS:

BY

SIR THOMAS GATES, SIR GEORGE SOMMERS,

AND

CAPTAYNE NEWPORT,

WITH DIUERS OTHERS.

SET FORTH FOR THE LOUE OF MY COUNTRY,

AND ALSO

FOR THE GOOD OF THE PLANTATION IN VIRGINIA.

SIL. IOURDAN.

London :

PRINTED BY IOHN WINDET, AND ARE TO BE SOLD BY ROGER BARNES IN S. DUNSTANES
CHURCH-YARD IN FLEETE-STREETE, VNDER THE DIALL.

1610.

TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFULL
MASTER IOHN FITZ-IAMES, ESQUIRE,
ONE OF HIS MAIESTIES CHIEFE IUSTICES OF PEACE
WITHIN THE
COUNTIE OF DORSET.

Sir, amongst all the sinnes, that humane nature doth stand possest with, ingratitude doth challenge a propertie in man, although it bee a thing repugnant to reason, and disagreeing with all mutuall societie. To free myselfe from this vitium naturæ, I am bold in these fewe lines to dedicate my loue to you: for it were too tedious to vse many wordes, where good wil is the bond of loue. This smal gift I would intreate you to accept, if not for the quantitie, yet for the qualitie. From London the thirteenth of October, 1610.

Your Worships to commaund

SIL. IOURDAN.

A
DISCOVERY
 OF THE
BARMVDAS,
 OTHERWISE CALLED
THE ILE OF DIVELS.

I Being in ship called the seaventure, with Sir Thomas Gates, our Gouvernour, Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Newport, three most worthy honoured Gentlemen, (whose valour and fortitude the world must needs take notice off, and that in most honourable designes) bound for Virginia, in the height of thirty degrees of northerly latitude, or thereabouts: we were taken with a most sharpe and cruell storme vpon the siue and twentieth day of Iuly, Anno 1609 which did not only separate vs from the residue of our flecte, (which were eight in number) but with the violent working of the Seas, our ship became so shaken, torne, and leaked, that shee receiued so much water, as couered two tire of hogsheds about the ballast; that our men stooode vp to the middles, with buckets, baricos, and kettles, to baile out the water, and continually pumped for three dayes and three nights together, without any intermission; and yet the water seemed rather to increase, then to diminish: in so much that all our men, being vtterly spent, tyred, and disabled for longer labour, were euen resolued, without any hope of their liues, to shut vp the hatches, and to haue committed themselues to the mercy of the sea, (which is said to be mercilesse) or rather to the mercy their mighty God and redeemer, (whose mercies exceed all his works) seeing no helpe, nor hope, in the apprehension of mans reason, that any mothers child could escape that inenitable danger, which euery man had proposed and digested to himselfe, of present sinking. So that some of them hauing some good and comfortable waters in the ship, fetcht them, and drunke one to the other, taking their last leaue one of the other, vntill their more ioyfull and happy meeting, in a more blessed world; when it pleased God out of his most gracious and mercifull prouidence, so to direct and guide our ship, (being left to the mercy of the sea) for her most aduantage; that Sir George Sommers (sitting vpon the poope of the ship,) where he sate three dayes and three nights together, without meales meate, and little or no sleepe, coursing the shippe to keepe her as vpriht as he could, (for otherwise shee must needs instantly haue foundred) most wishedly happily discryed land; whereupon he most comfortably encouraged the company to follow their pumping, and by no meanes to cease bayling out of the water with their buckets, baricos, and kettles; whereby they were so ouer wearied, and their spirits so spent with long fasting, and continuance of their labour, that for the most part they were fallen asleepe in corners, and wheresoeuer they chanced first to sit or lie: but hearing news of land, wherewith they grew to bee somewhat reuiued, being carried with wil and desire beyond their strength, euery man busled vp, and gathered his strength and feeble spirits together, to performe as much as their weake force would permit him: through which weake meanes, it pleased God to worke so strongly as the water was staide for that little time, (which as we all much feared, was the last period of our breathing) and the ship kept from present sinking, when it pleased God to send her within halfe an English mile of that land that Sir George Sommers had not long before discryed: which were the Ilandes of the

Barmudas. And there neither did our ship sincke, but more fortunately in so great a misfortune, fell in betweene two rockes, where shee was fast lodged and locked, for further budging: whereby we gayned, not only sufficient time, with the present helpe of our boate, and skiffe, safely to set, and conuey our men ashore (which were one hundred and fifty in number) but afterwards had time and leasure to saue some good part of our goodes and provision, which the water had not spoyled, with all the tackling of the ship, and much of the yron about her, which were necessities not a little auailable, for the building and furnishing of a new ship and pinnis, which we made there, for the transporting and carrying of vs to Virginia. But our deliuey was not more strange in falling so opportunely, and happily vpon the land, as our feeding and preseruatiō, was beyond our hopes, and all mens expectations most admirable. For the Ilands of the Barmudas, as euery man knoweth that hath heard or read of them, were neuer inhabited by any Christian or heathen people, but euer esteemed, and reputed, a most prodigious and enchanted place, affording nothing but gusts, stormes, and foule weather; which made euery Nauigator and Mariner to auoide thē, as Scylla and Charibdis; or as they would shunne the Deuill himselfe; and no man was euer heard, to make for the place, but as against their wils, they haue by stormes and dangerousnesse of the rocks, lying seauen leagues into the sea, suffered shipwracke; yet did we finde there the ayre so temperate and the Country so abundantly fruitful of all fit necessities, for the sustentation and preseruatiō of mans life, that most in a manner of all our prouisions of bread, beare, and victuall, being quite spoyled, in lying long drowned in salt water, notwithstanding we were there for the space of nine monethes (few dayes ouer or vnder) not only well refreshed, comforted, and with good satiety contented, but of the abundance thereof, prouided vs some reasonable quantity and proportion of prouision, to carry vs for Virginia, and to maintaine ourselues, and that company we found there, to the great releefe of them, as it fell out in their so great extremities, and in respect of the shortnesse of time, vntill it pleased God, that by my Lords comming thither, their store was better supplied, and greater, and better prouisions wee might haue made, if we had had better meanes for the storing and transportation thereof. Wherefore my opinion sincerely of this Island is, that whereas it hath bene, and is still accounted, the most dangerous, infortunate, and most forlorne place of the world, it is in truth the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land, (the quantity and bignessee thereof considered) and meerey naturall, as euer set foote vpon: the particular profits and benefits whereof, shal be more especially inserted, and hereunto annexed, which euery man to his owne priuate knowledge, that was there, can auouch and iustifie for a truth. Vpon the eight and twentieth day of Iuly 1609. (after the extremity of the storme was something qualified) we fell vpon the shore at the Barmudas; where after our generall Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captaine Newport, had by their prouident carefulnesse landed all their men, and so much of the goods, and prouisions out of the ship, as was not vtterly spoyled, euery man disposed and applyed himselfe, to search for, and to seeke out such releefe and sustentation, as the Country afforded: and Sir George Sommers, a man inured to extremities, (and knowing what thereunto belonged) was in this seruice, neither idle nor backward, but presently by his careful industry, went and found out sufficient, of many kind of fishes, and so plentifull thereof, that in halfe an houre, he tooke so many great fishes with hookes, as did suffice the whole company one day. And fish is there so abundant, that if a man steppe into the water, they will come round about him; so that men were faine to get out for feare of byting. These fishes are very fat and sweete, and of that proportion and bignessee, that three of them will conueniently lade two men: those we called rock fish. Besides there are such abundance of mullets that with a seane might be taken at one draught one thousand at the least, and infinite store of pilchards, with diuers kindes of great fishes, the names of them vnknowne to me: of crayfishes very great ones, and so great store as that there hath bene taken in one night with making lights, euen sufficient to feede the whole cōpany a day. The Country affordeth great abundance of Hogs, as that there hath bene taken by Sir George Sommers, who was the first that hunted for them, to the

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the number of two and thirty at one time, which he brought to the company in a boate, built by his owne hāds. There is fowle in great number vpon the Ilands, where they breed, that there hath beene taken in two or three houres, a thousand at the least; the bird being of the bignesse of a good Pidgeon, and layeth egges as bigge as Hen egges vpon the sand, where they come and lay them dayly, although men sit downe amongst them; that there hath beene taken vp in one morning, by Sir Thomas Gates men, one thousand of egges: and Sir George Sommers men, comming a little distance of time after them, haue stayed there whilst they came and layed their eggs amongst them, that they brought away as many more with them; with many young birds very fat and sweet. Another Sea fowle there is that lyeth in little holes in the ground, like vnto a cony-hole, and are in great numbers, exceeding good meate, very fat and sweet (those we had in the winter) and their eggs are white, and of that bignesse, that they are not to be knowne from Hen egges. The other birds egges are speckled, and of a different colour: there are also great store and plenty of Herons, and those so familiar and tame, that wee beate them downe from the trees with stones and staues, but such were young Herons: besides many White Herons, without so much as a blacke or gray feather on them; with other small birds so tame and gentle, that a man walking in the woods with a stick, and whistling to them, they wil come and gaze on you, so neare that you may strike and kill many of them with your stick; and with singing and hollowing you may doe the like. There are also great store of Tortoses, (which some call Turtles) and those so great, that I haue seene a bushel of egges in one of their bellies, which are sweeter then any Henne egge: and the Tortose it selfe, is all very good meate, and yeeldeth great store of oyle, which is as sweete as any butter; and one of them will suffice fifty men a meale, at the least: and of these hath beene taken great store, with two boates, at the least forty in one day. The Country yeeldeth diuers fruits, as prickled peares, great abundance, which continue greene vpon the trees all the yeare; also great plenty of Mulberries, white and red: and on the same are great store of silke-wormes, which yeeld tods of silke, both white and yellow, being some coarse, and some fine. And there is a tree called a Palmito tree, which hath a very sweet berry, vpon which the hogs doe most feede; but our men finding the sweetnesse of them, did willingly share with the hogs for them, they being very pleasant and wholesome, which made them carelesse almost of any bread with their meate; which occasioned vs to carry in a manner all that store of flower and meale, we did or could saue for Virginia. The head of the Palmito tree is very good meate, either raw or sodden, it yeeldeth a head which waigheih about twenty pound, and is farre better meate, then any cabbidge. There are an infinite number of Cedar trees, (the fairest I thinke in the world) and those bring forth a very sweet berry and wholesome to eate. The Country (for as much as I could find my self, or heare by others) affords no venomous creature or so much as a Rat or Mouse, or any other thing vnwholsome. There is great store of Pearle, and some of them very faire, round and Orientall; and you shall finde at least one hundred seede of Pearle in one Oyster; there hath beene likewise found, some good quantity of Amber Greece, and that of the best sort. There are also great plenty of Whales, which I conceaue are very easie to be killed, for they come so vsually, and ordinarily to the shore, that we heard them oftentimes in the night a bed; and haue seene many of them neare the shore, in the day time. There was borne vpon the Barmudas, at the time of our being there two children, the one a man child, there baptised, by the name of Barmudas: and a woman child, baptised by the name of Barmuda: as also there was a marriage betweene two English people vpon that Iland. This Iland, I meane the mayne Iland, with all the broken Ilandes adiacent, are made in the forme of a half Moone, but a little more rounder and diuided into many broken Ilands, and there are many good harbours in it, but wee could finde one especiall place to goe in, or rather to goe out from it, which was not altogether free from some danger, and that lyeth on the South-east side, where there is three fathoms water, at the entrance therof, but within sixe, seauen, or eight fathoms at the least, where you may safely lie land-locked, from the danger of all winds and weathers, and more to the trees. The cōming into it, is so narrow and straight betweene the rocks, as that it will with small store of munition be fortified, and easily defended, with all aduantage the place affords, against the forces of the Potentest King

King of Europe. There are also plenty of Haukes, and very good Tobacco, as I thinke, which through forgetfulnesse, I had almost omitted: now hauing finished and rigged our ship, and pinnis, the one called the *Deliuerance*, the pinnis the *Patience*, wee prepared and made our selues ready, to ship for Virginia, hauing powdred some store of hogs flesh, for prouision thither, and the company thereof, for some reasonable time: but were compelled to make salt there for the same purpose, for all our salt was spent and spoyled, before wee recouered the shore. Wee carryed with vs also a good portion of Tortose oyle, which either for frying or baking did vs very great pleasure, it being very sweete, nourishing, and wholsome: the greatest defects we found there, was tarre and pitch for our ship, and pinnis, in steede whereof wee were forced to make lime there of a hard kinde of stone, and vse it: which for the present occasion and necessity, with some wax we found cast vp by the Sea, from some shipwracke, serued the turne to pay the seames of the pinnis Sir George Sommers built, for which hee had neither pitch nor tarre: so that God in the supplying of all our wants, beyond all measure, shewed himselfe still mercifull vnto vs, that we might accomplish our intended voyage to Virginia, for which I confidently hope, hee doth yet reserue a blessing in store, and to the which I presume, euery honest and religious heart will readily giue their amen. When all thinges were made ready, and commodiously fitted, the winde comming faire, wee set saile and put off from the Bermudas, the tenth day of May, in the yeare 1610. and arriued at Iames towne in Virginia, the foure and twentieth day of the same Moneth: where wee found some threescore persons liuing. And being then some three weeks or thereabouts passed, & not hearing of anye supply, it was thought fitting by a generall consent, to vse the best meanes for the preservation of all those people that were liuing, being all in number two hundred persons. And so vpon the eight of Iune one thousand six hundred and ten, wee vnbarkeed at Iames Towne: not hauing aboue fourteene dayes victaile, and so were determined to direct our course for New-found-land, there to refresh vs, and supply our selues with victaile, to bring vs home; but it pleased God to dispose otherwise of vs, and to giue vs better meanes. For being all of vs shipped in foure pinnices, and departed from the towne, almost downe half the Riuer, wee met my Lord De La Warre comming vp with three ships, well furnished with victaile, which reuiued all the company, and gaue them great content. And after some few dayes, my Lord vnderstanding of the great plenty of hogges and fish, was at the Bermudas, and the necessity of them in Virginia, was desirous to send thither, to supply himselfe with those things, for the better comforting of his men, and the plantation of the Country. Whereupon Sir George Sommers being a man best acquainted with the place, and being willing to doe seruice vnto his Prince and Country: without any respect of his owne priuate gaine: And being of threescore yeares of age at the least, out of his worthy and valiant minde, offered himselfe to vndertake to performe with Gods help that dangerous voyage for the Bermudas, for the better releefe and comfort of the people in Virginia, and for the better plantation of it, which offer my Lord De La Warre, very willingly and thankfully accepted: and so vpon the nineteenth of Iune, Sir George Sommers imbarkeed himself at Iames towne in a small barge of thirty tonne, or thereabout, that he built at the Bermudas: wherein he laboured from morning vntill night, as duellie as any workeman doth labour for wages, and built her all with Cedar, with little or no yron worke at all: hauing in her but one boulte, which was in the Kilson: notwithstanding thanks be to God, shee brought vs in safety to Virginia, and so I trust he will protect him, and send him well backe againe, to his hearts desire, and the great comfort of all the company there.

The Bermudas lyeth in the height of two and thirty degrees and a halfe, of Northerly latitude, Virginia bearing directly from it, West, North West, two hundred and thirty leagues.

FINIS.

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A

TRUE COPPIE

OF A

DISCOURSE WRITTEN BY A GENTLEMAN,

EMPLOYED IN THE LATE VOYAGE

OF

SPAINE AND PORTINGALE:

SENT TO HIS PARTICULAR FRIEND,

AND BY HIM PUBLISHED,

FOR THE BETTER SATISFACTION OF ALL SUCH,

AS HAUNG BEEN SEDUCED BY PARTICULAR REPORT,

HAUE ENTRED INTO CONCEPTS TENDING TO THE DISCREDIT OF THE ENTERPRISE,

AND ACTORS OF THE SAME.

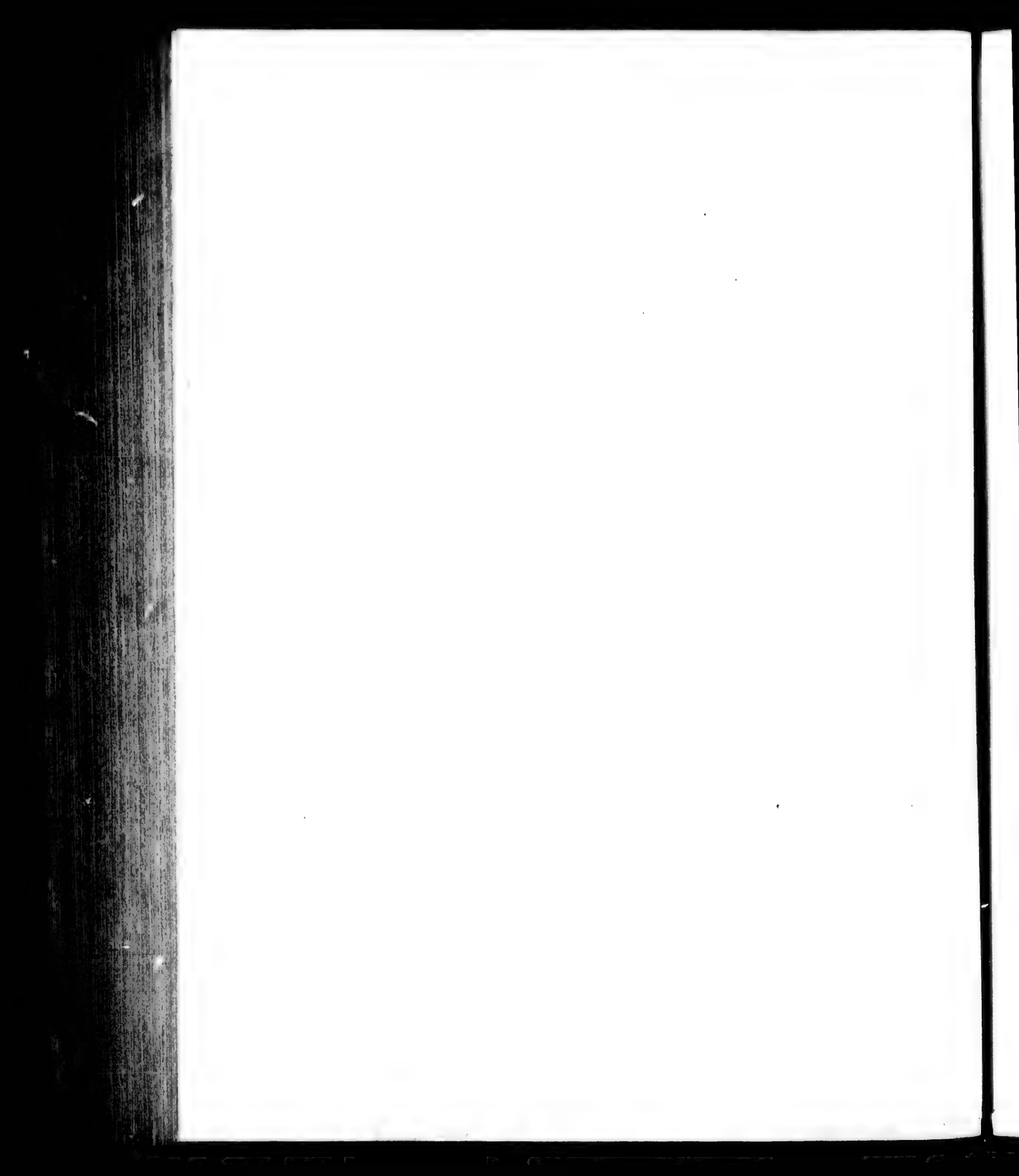
At London

PRINTED FOR THOMAS WOODCOCK DWELLING IN PAULES CHURCHYARD, AT THE
SIGNE OF THE BLACKE BEARE.

1589.

TO THE READER.

SOME holding opinion, that it is onely proper to men of learning (whose Arte may grace their dooings) to write of matter worthie to be committed to the view of future Ages, may iudge the publication of such Discourses as are contained in this Pamphlet, to be an aduerture too great for a professed Souldier to vndertake: but I, more respecting the absolute trueth of the matter, than the faire shew that might be set thereon; and preferring the high reputation of the Actors in this Iourney before the request of my particular friend, haue presumed to present vnto you a report of the late Voyage into Spaine and Portingall, sent vnto me almost 4. moneths sithence frō a Gentleman my verie nere friend employed in the same; who, as it appeareth in his obseruations, hath aduisedlie seene into euerie action thereof: and because I haue often conferred with manie that were in the same Iourney, verie nere vpon euerie particular of his relation, and finde as much confirmed as I haue receiued, I presume to deliuer it vnto you for true & exact. Howbeit, forasmuch as it came vnto my hands with his earnest request to reserue it to my selfe, I had almost consented thereunto; had not the desire I haue to reconcile the contrarictie of opinions that be held of that action, & to make it known what honour the cause hath laid vpon our whole Nation, mooued me to publish the same: whereof sith there may growe a greater benefit in publique, (for that manie shall partake thereof) than the pleasure can be to him in smothering the labors he hath bestowed in setting downe the Discourse, I doubt not but he esteeming a cōmon good before his priuate fancie, will pardon me herein. In the behalfe of whom, I beseech you to whose viewe and reading the same is offered, not so curiouslie to looke vpon the forme, as vpon the matter; which I present vnto you as he sent it, naked and vnpolished. And you that were companions with him of the Iourney, if anie of you may thinke your selues not fully satisfied, in the report of your deseruings, let me intreate you to excuse him, in that he indeuouring to write thereof briefly for my particular vnderstanding, did onely take notice of them who cōmaunded the seruices in chiefe, as being of greatest marke, and lay the blame vpon me, who can by no meanes auoyd it: sauing that from the fault I haue committed, (if it be a fault) I hope there may some good proceed. It hath satisfied me in many things, whereof I beeing ignorant, was led into an erroneous conceipt of the matter and of the persons: and I hope it shall both confirme others who maie remaine doubtfull of either; and reforme them that hauing been seduced, are become sectaries agaynst the same. I will therefore commend the man and matter to your friendly censure, forbearing to notifie his name, least I might increase mine offence against him; & be namelesse my selfe for other good considerations: which I leaue friendly Reader to thy best construction.



THE
TRUE COPIE
OF
A LETTER SENT FROM A GENTLEMAN,
WHO WAS IN AL THE SERUICES THAT WERE IN THE LATE IOURNEY
OF
SPAINE AND PORTINGALL,
TO A FRIEND OF HIS.

ALthough the desire of aduancing my reputation, caused me to withstand the manie perswasions you vsed, to hold me at home, and the pursute of honorable actions drew me (contrarie to your expectation) to neglect that aduise, which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in respect of the manie assurances you haue yeelded me of your kindest friendship, I cannot suspect that you wil either loue or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therefore will not omit anie occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge anie part of that dutie I owe you; which now is none other, than to offer you a true discourse how these warres of Spaine and Portingall haue passed since our going out of England the xviii. of Aprill, till our returne which was the first of Iuly. Wherein I wil (vnder your fauourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which haue happened during our abode there; thereby hoping to perswade you, that no light fancie did draw me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire by following the warres, to make my selfe more worthie of the same.

Hauing therefore determinately purposed to put on this habit of a Souldiour, I grewe doubtfull whether to imploy my time in the warres of the Lowe Countreyes, which are in auxiliarie manner maintained by her Maiestie; or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an aduerture of her and manie honorable personages, in reuenge of vsupportable wrongs offered vnto the estate of our Countrey by the Castilian King: in arguing whereof, I finde that by how much the Challenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is this iorney to be preferred before those defensiuue warres, for had the Duke of Parma his tyme been to defend, as it was his good fortune to inuade, from whence could haue proceeded that glorious honor which these late warres haue laid vpon him, or what could haue been

said more of him, than of a Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a priuate Duell: Euen, that he hath done no more than by his honour he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one Towne or anie small defeat giueth more renowne to the Assailant, than the defence of a Countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encoûters can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to gard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the Spaniard, as the reports of former histories may assure vs, which haue still laid the fame of all warres vpon the Inuador. And do not ours in these daies liue obscured in Flanders, either not hauing wherewithall to manage anie warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend themselves when the Enemie shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Aduenture, wee haue wonne a Towne by escalade, battred and assaulted another, ouerthrowen a mightie Princes power in the field, landed our Arnie in three seuerall places of his Kingdome, marched seauen daies in the hart of his Countrey, lyen three nights in the Suburbs of his principall Citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with an Inuadour, and in such an action as euerie daie giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather carry me thither, than into the warres of Flanders. Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you vsed with me to the contrarie, the ground whereof sithence you receiued them from others, you must giue me leaue to acquaint you with the error you were lead into by them; who labouring to bring the world into an opinion, that it stood more with the safetie of our Estate to bend all our forces against the Prince of Parma, than to followe this action, by looking into the true effects of this Iourney, will iudicially conuince themselves of mistaking the matter. For, may the Conquest of these Countreyes against the Prince of Parma, bee thought more easie for vs alone now, than the defence of them was xi. yeares agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of England? the power of the Monsieur of France? the assistance of the principall States of Germanie? and the Nobilitie of their owne Countrey: Could not an armie of more than 20000. horse and almost 30000. foote, beate Iohn de Austria out of the Countrey, who was possessed of a verie few frontier Townes: and shall it now be vpon her Maiesties shoulders to remoue so mightie an Enemie, who hath left vs but 3. whole parts of 17. vncōquered? It is not a Iourney of a few months, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yerres that can damnifie the King of Spaine in those places, where we shall meete at euerie 8. or 10. miles end with a Towne, which will cost more the winning, than will yearly pay 4. or 5000. mens wages, where all the Countrey is quatred by Riuers, which haue no passage vnfortefied: and where most of the best Souldiers of Christendome that be on our aduerse partie be in pencion. But our Armie which hath not cost her Maiestie much aboute the third part of one yeares expences in the Lowe Countries, hath alreadie spoyled a great part of the prouision he had made at the Groyne of all sorts, for a newe voyage into England; burnt 3. of his ships, whereof one was the second in the last yeares expedition, taken from him aboute 150. pieces of good artillarie, cut off more than 60. bulkes, and 20. French ships well manned, fit & readie to serue him for men of warre against vs, laden for his store with corne, victualls, masts, cables, and other merchandizes; slaine and taken the principall men of warre hee had in Galitia; made Don Pedr. Enriques de Gusmañ, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portingall, shamefullie runne at Penicha; laide along of his best Commanders in Lisbone: and by these fewe aduentures discovered how easelie her Maiestie may without any great aduenture in short time pull the Tirant of the World vpon his knees, as well by the disquieting his vsurpation of Portingall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an armie so accomplished, as may not bee subiect to those extremities which we haue endured: except he draw for those defences, his forces out of the Lowe Countries and disfurnish his garisons of Naples and Milan, which with safetie of those places he may not doo. And yet by this meane shall rather be inforced thereunto, than by any force that can be vsed there against him: Wherefore I directly conclude, that this proceeding is the most safe and necessarie way to be held against him; and therefore more importing, than the warre in the Lowe Countries.

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e Duell: Euen, gaine of one e defence of a s bound by his in the Spaniard, e of all warres ers, either not end themselves aduenture, wee ven a mightie his Kingdome, suburbs of his of his frontier conclude, that erience, I haue arres of Flan- contrarie, the ue to acquaint world into an es against the f this Iourney, e Conquest of one now, than e of England? of Germanie? 20000. horse possessed of a s to remoue so is not a Iour- ie the King of ith a Towne, ges, where all where most of on. But our s expences in made at the ereof one was good artillarie, to serue him les, and other a; made Don ngall, shame- and by these aduenture in ng his vsurp- es from him, ries which we Countries and he may not orce that can g is the most an the warre

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Yet hath the Iourney (I know) been much disliked by some, who either this or too worthely of the Spaniards valour, too indifferently of his purposes against vs, or too cowardly of them that vndertooke this Iourney against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceede by inuasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to vndertake. And therefore did not so aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chaunces of warres bee things most vncertaine: for what people soeuer vndertake them, they are indeede but as chastizements appointed by God for the one side or the other, for which purpose it hath pleased him to giue some victories to the Spaniards of late yeares against some whome he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what warres they be that haue made their name so terrible, we shall finde them to haue been none other, than against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the vnarmed Netherlanders: whose yeelding rather to the name than act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceipt of their mightines, as they haue considerably vndertaken the conquest of our Monarchie, consisting of a people vnited and alwaies held sufficiently warlike: against whom what successe their inuincible Armie had the last yeare, as our verie children can witnes, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne, what they are euen vpon their owne dounge-hill: which had it been set out in such sort as it was agreed vpon by their first demaund, it might haue made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8. of the 12. peeces of Artillerie which was promised vnto the Aduenture, lost her Maiestie the possession of the Groyne and many other places, as hereafter shal appeare; whose defensible Rampiers were greater than our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted.

It was also resolu'd to haue sent 600. English horse of the Lowe Countries, whereof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the Armie assembled at Puente de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portingall: who foreranne vs sixe daies together: Did wee not want seauen of f thirteene old Companies, we should haue had from thence: foure of the ten Dutch Companies: & sixe of their men of warre for the Sea, from the Hollanders: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might haue had so many good souldiers, so many good shippes, and so many able bodies more than we had:

Did there not, vpon the first thinking of the Iourney diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the summe of 1000l. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, aduised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money vpon the Iourney?

Was there not moreouer a round summe of the aduenture spent in leuieng, furnishing, and mainteyning three moneths 1500. men for the seruice of Berghen: with which Companies the Mutinies of Ostend, was suppressed: a seruice of no small moment?

What miserie the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should haue been the first of Februarie, did lay vpon vs, too many can witnesse: and what extremitie the want of that monethes victualls which we did eate, during the moneth wee lay at Plimoth for a winde, might haue driuen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men doo liue by, had not God giuen vs in the end a more prosperous winde and shorter passage into Galitia, then hath been often seen; where our owne force and fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which crosse windes that held vs two daies after our going out, the Generalls being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely choosing rather to attend the change thereof there; than by being in harborough to loose any part of the better when it should come by hauing their men on shoare: in which two daies 25. of our companies shipped in parte of the flecte, were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double Vshant.

These burthens laid vpon our Generalls before their going out, they haue patientlie endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honor: for hauing done thus much with the want of our Artillarie, 600. horse, 3000. foote, 20000l. of their aduenture, and

and one moneths victualls of their proportion, what may bee coniectured they would haue done with their full complement:

For the losse of our men at Sea, since wee can lay it on none but the will of GOD, what can be saide more, than that it is his pleasure, to turne all those impediments to the honour of them, against whome they were intended: and he will still shew himselfe the God of hosts in doing great things by them, whome many haue sought to obscure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such especially for the seruice at land, as would haue made a nightie subiect stoope vnder them; I doo not see, how any man could iustly haue laide any reproach vpon him who commanded the same: but rather haue lamented the iniquitie of this time, wherein men whom forreine Countries haue for their conduct in seruice worthily esteemed off, should not only in their own Countrey not be seconded in their honourable endeours, but mightily hindred, euen to the impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they haue aduentured for the good of their Countries: whose worth I will not vadeu by my report, least I should seeme guiltie of flatterie, (which my soule abhorreth) and yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Onely for your instruction, against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you ought to holde of such men, you shall vnderstand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained vp in the warres of the Admirall of France: and in verie young yeares had charge of men vnder the Earle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations he then discharged, I leaue to the reporte of them who obserued those seruices. Vpon the breach betwixt Don Iohn and the States, he was made Colonell Generall of all the English forces there present, or to come, which he continued two yeares: hee was then made Marshall of the field, vnder Conte Hohenlo: and after that, Generall of the armie in Frisland: at his comming home in the time of Monsieurs gouernement in Flanders, hee was made Lord President of Monster in Ireland: which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeare he was sent for, and sent Generall of the English forces her Maiestie then lent to the Lowe Countries: which hee held till the Earle of Leicesters going ouer. And hee was made Marshall of the field in England, the enemie being vpon our Coast, and when it was expected the Crowne of England should haue been tried by battaile. All which places of commandement which neuer any English-man successively attained vnto in forraine Warres, and the high places her Maiestie hath thought him worthie of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether vnlikely to discharge that which he vndertooke.

What fame Generall Drake hath gotten by his iourney about the world, by his aduentures to the West Indies: and the scourges he hath laid vpon the Spanish Nation, I leaue to the Southerne parts to speak of, and referre you to the booke extant in our own language treating of the same; and beseech you, considering the waightie matters they haue in all the course of their liues with wonderfull reputation managed, that you will esteeme them not well informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they vndertooke, especiallie hauing gone thus farre in the viewe of the world, through so many incommbrances, and disappointed of those agreements which led them the rather to vndertake the seruice. But it may be you will thinke me herein either too much opinionated of the Voiage, or conceited of the Comanders, that labouring thus earnestly to aduance the opinion of them both, haue not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weakenes and wants that haue been amongst vs, whereof, they that returned did plentifullie report: True it is, I haue conceiued a great opinion of the Iourney, and doo thinke honorably of the Commanders: for we finde in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders haue bene received home with triumph for lesse merite, and that our owne Countrey hath honoured men heretofore with admiration, for aduentures vnequall to this: it might therefore in those daies haue seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particuler remembrances, for that then all men were readie to giue euerie man his due. But I holde it most necessarie in these daies sithence euerie vertue findeth her direct opposit, and actions worthy of all memory, are in danger to be enuiously obscured to denounce

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denounce the praises of the action, and actors to the full, but yet no further than with sinceritie of truth, and not without grieving at the iniurie of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those mē, & matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answer the reports which haue been giuen out in reproch of the actors & action by such as were in the same. Let no man think otherwise, but, that they who fearing the casuall accidents of warre had any purpose of retourning, did first aduise of some occasion that should moue them thereunto: and hauing found any what so euer did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seek out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of these there were some, who hauing noted the late Flemish warres, did finde that many young men haue gone ouer and safely retourned Soldiers within fewe Moneths, in hauing learned some words of Art, vsed in the warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst vs: which being expired they began to quarrell at the great Mortallitie that was amongst vs:

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be drunck with the plentie of Wines.

The scarcetie of Surgions.

The want of Carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victualls in the Campe.

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done. And that therfore they could be content to lose their time, and aduenture to returne home againe.

These men haue either conceived well of their owne wits (who by obseruing the passages of the warre: were become sufficient Soldiers in these fewe weekes) and did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondred at, or missing of their Portugues and Milrayes they dreamed on in Portingall, would rather returne to their former manner of life, than attend the end of the Iourney. For seeing that one hazard brought on another: and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light vpon him to morow, the next day, or any day; & that the warre was not confined to any one place, but that euerie place brought forth new enemies, were glad to see some of the poore Soldiers fall sicke, that they fearing to be infected by them might iustly desire to goe home.

The sicknes I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it been greater than is ordinarie amongst Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whether soeuer they goe to want the fulnes of their flesh pots? Haue not ours decayed at al times in France, with eating young fruites and drinking new wines? haue they not abundantly perished in the Lowe Countreies with cold, and rawnes of the Ayre, euen in their Garrisons? haue there not more died in London in sixe Moneths of the Plague, than double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish Armie the last yeare (who had all prouisions that could bee thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fittest season in the yeare for our Climate) auoide sicknes amongst their Soldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withal? But can it bee, that wee haue lost so many as the common sort perswade themselues we haue? It hath been proued by strickt examinations of our musters, that wee were neuer in our fulnes before our going from Plymouth 11000. Soldiers, nor about 2500. Marriners. It is also euident that there returned about 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the seuerall payments made to them since our comming home. And I haue truly shewed you that of these number verie neare 3000. forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France and the rest retourned home. So as wee neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home about 6000. with vs, you may see how the world hath been seduced, in beleeuing that wee haue lost 16000. men by sicknes.

To them that haue made question of the gouernement of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth therunto in that ther were so many drūkards amongst vs) I answer, that in their gouernment of shires & parishes, yea in their verie houtholdes, themselues can hardlie bridle their vassalls from that vice. For we see it a thing almost impos-ible, at any your faires or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Townes any Alepoles vn-frequented:

Answer to the first.

Answer to the second.

frequented: And we obserue that though any man hauing any disordered persons in their houses, doo locke vp their drinke and set buttlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselves drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Mayors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for euerie pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doo they thinke that those base disordered persons whome themselves sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine do long for it as a dainetie that their purses could neuer reach to in England, & hauing it there without money euē in their houses where they lie & hold their garde they can be kept from being drunke: and once drunk held in any order or tune, except we had for euerie drunckard an officer to attend him. But who be they that haue runne into these disorders: Euen our newest men, our youngest men, and our idlest men, and for the most parte, our slouenly prest men, whome the Iustices (who haue alwaies thought vnworthely of any warre) haue sent out as the scumme and dregges of their Countrey. And those were they, who distempering themselves with these hot wines, haue brought in that sicknes, which hath infected honestest men than themselves. But I hope (as in other places) the recouerie of their diseases dooth acquaint their bodies with the ayre of the Countreies where they be; so the remainder of these which haue either recouered, or past without sicknes will prooue most fit for Martiall seruises.

Answer to the
third.

If we haue wanted Surgions, may not this rather be laide vpon the Captaines: who are to prouide for their seuerall Companies, than vpon the Generalls, whose care hath been more generall. And how may it be thought that euerie Captaine, vpon whome most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an aduenture could prouide themselves of all things expedient for a warre, (which was alwaies wont to bee maintained by the purse of the Prince:) But admit euerie Captaine had his Surgion: yet were the want of curing neuer the lesse, for our English Surgions (for the most part) bee vnexperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowen warres, but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope will warne those that heereafter goe to the warres to make preparation of such as may better preserue mens liues by their skill.

Answer to the
fourth.

From whence the want of carriages did proceede, you may coniecture in that we marched through a Countrey, neither plentifull of such prouisions, nor willing to parte from any thing: yet this I can assure you that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place vnprovided for. And that the General commanded all the Mules & Asses, that were laden with any baggage, to be vnburdened and taken to that vse: and the Earle of Essex and hee, for money hired men to carrie men vpon Pikes. And the Earle (whose true vertue and Nobilitie, as it dooth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw his owne stuffe: I meane apparell and necessaries which he had there from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men vpon them. Of whose most honorable deseruings: I shall not neede here to make any particuler discourse, for that many of his actions doo hereafter giue mee occasion to obserue the same.

Answer to the
fifth.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victualls: may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the warre; for if to feede vppon good beecues, mutton and goats, be to want, they haue indured great scarcitie at land; whereunto they neuer wanted two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eate with their meate (in some quantitie,) except it were such as had vowed rather to starue, than to stirre out of their places for food: of whom we had too manie; who if their time had serued for it, might haue seene in manie Campes in the most plentifull Countreies of the world for victualls, men daylie die with want of bread and drink, in not hauing money to buy, nor the Countrie yeelding anie good or healthfull water in anie place; whereas both Spaine and Portingall, do in euerie place afford the best water that may be, and much more healthfull than any wine for our drinking.

And although some haue most iniuriouslie exclaimed against the small prouisions of victualls for the Sea, rather grounding the same vppon an euill that might haue fallen, than anie that did light vppon vs: yet knowe you this, that there is no man so-forgetfull, that will

persons in their either by indroad to seeke it. ters, and where too they thinke at home without lie & hold their y order or tune, they that haue our idlest men, alwaies thought Country. And brought in that in other places) of the Countries or past without

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will say they wanted before they came to the Groyne; that whosoeuer made not verie large prouisions for himselfe and his company at the Groyne, was verie improuident, where was plentifull store of wine, beefe, and fish, and no man of place prohibited to laye in the same into their shippes; wherewith some did so furnish themselves, as they did not onely in the Iourney supplie the wants of such as were lesse prouident than they, but in their return home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Cascais there came in such store of prouisions into the fleete out of England, as no man that would haue vsed his diligence could haue wanted his due proportion thereof: as might appeare by the Remainder that was returned to Plymouth, and the plentifull sale thereof made out of the Merchants ships after their comming into the Thames.

But least I should seeme vnto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering friuolous questions, I will addresse me to the true report of those actions that haue passed there: wherein I protest, I will neither hide anie thing that hath happened against vs, nor attribute more to anie man or matter, than the iust occasions thereof leadeth vnto: wherein it shall appeare, that there hath been nothing left vndone by the Generalls which was before our going out vndertaken by them; but that there hath been much more done than was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should haue reaped the fruite of our Aduenture.

After 6. daies sailing from the Coast of England, and the fift after we had the winde good, beeing the 20. of Aprill in the euening, we landed in a Bay more than an English mile from the Groyne, in our long Boates and Pinnyes without anie impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the Towne, within one halfe mile whereof we were encountered by the Enemie, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our Armie lay in the villages, houses and milles next adioyning, and verie neare round about the Towne, into the which the Galeon named Saint Iohn (which was the second of the last yeres fleete against England) one hulk, two smaller ships, and two Gallies which were found in the Rode, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies, as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning.

Generall Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth vpon the neck of an Iland) with a wal vpon a drie ditch: wherupon he resolved to trie in two places what might be done against it by e-scalade, and in the meane time aduised for the landing of some Artillarie to beat vpon the ships & Gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the first peece the Gallies abandoned the Road, and betooke them to Farroll, not farre from thence: and the Armado being beaten with the artillery & musketers that was placed vpon the next shoare, left her playing vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the Companies, & other prouisions readie for the surprise of the Base towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200. men vnder the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Vizeadmirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long boates and pynnyes, wherein were placed manie peeces of artillarie to beate vpon the Towne in their approach: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captain Richard Wingfeild Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at lowe water with 500. men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which ioyned to that side, that was attempted by water, were appoynted Colonell Vmpton, and Colonell Brett with 300. men to enter by escalade. All the Companies which should enter by boate being imbarked before the lowe water: and hauing giuen the Alarme Captaine Wingfeild and Captaine Sampson betooke the to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boates landed without anie great difficultie: yet had they some men hurt in y landing. Colonell Bret & Col. Vmpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding anie defence made against them: for Captain Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entrie (with some of

his owne Companie whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleered before that they offered to enter, & so still scoured the wall) till he came on the backe of them who maintained the fight against Capteine Wingfeild & Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found verie good resistance, till the enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were driuen to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended than the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the Enemie that day had resolu'd in councel how to make their defences, if they were approached: and therein concluded, that if we attempted it by water, that it was not to be helde, and therefore vpon the discouerie of our Boates, they of the high Towne should make a signall by fier frō thence, that al the low Towne might make their Retreate thither: but they, (whither troubled with the sodaine terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fier, which made them gard that place till wee were entred on euerie side.

Then the Towne being entred in three seuerall places with an huge crie, the inhabitants betooke them to the high Towne: which they might with lesse perrill doo: for that ours being strangers ther, knew not the way to cut the of. The rest that were not put to the sword in furie, fled to the Rockes in the Iland, and hid themselves in chambers and sellers, which were euerie day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna a man of verie good commandement, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a Commissarie of vittels called Iuan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groyne at our entrie 500. Soldiers being in seauen companies which returned verie weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the Iourney of England, namely,

Vnder Don Iuan de Luna.

Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his companie was that night in the Galeon.

Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.

Don Pedro de Mauriques Brother to the Earle of Paxides.

Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the order of Saint Iuan, with some of the Towne were in the fort.

Don Gomer de Caramasal then at Madrid.

Capt. Manço, Caucaso de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Iuan de Mosalle, and Don Petro Pourre de Leon.

Also hee saith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000. of Bisquet, some in Batancas, some in Riudea, and the rest there.

There was then in the Towne 2000. pipes of wine, and an 150. in the ships.

That there was lately come vnto the Marquis Seralba 300000. ducats.

That there was 1000. Iarres of oyle.

A great quantitie of beanes, pease, wheate, and fish.

That there was 3000. quintells of beefe.

And that not 20. dayes before there came in three Barques laden with match and harquebuses.

Some others also found fauour to bee taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common Soldiers, had their throates cut: to the number of 500. as I coniecture first and last after wee had entred the Towne; and in the enterie thereof, there was found euerie celler full of Wine, whereon our men by inordinate drinking, both grewe themselves for the present senceles of the danger of the shot of the Towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, and tooke, the first ground of their sicknes, for of such was our first and chiefest mortalitie. There was also abundant store of victualls, salt and all kinde of prouision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissarie of victualls taken there to be the beginning of a Magasin of all sorts of prouision for a new Voiage into England:

England: whereby you may coniecture what the spoile thereof hath aduantaged vs, and preiudiced the King of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke, the Enemie abandoned their Shippes. And hauing ouercharged the Artillarie of the Gallion, left her on fier, which burnt in t. rrible sort two daies together, the fier and ouercharging of the peeces being so great, as of 50. that were in her, ther wer not aboue 16. taken out whole, the rest with ouer charge of the pouder beeing broken and molten, with heat of the fire, was taken out in broken peeces into diuerse Shippes. The same day was the Cloister on the South side of the Towne entered by vs, which ioyned very neare to the wall of the Towne, out of the Chambers and other places whereof wee beate into the same with our Musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000. men gathered together out of the countrie, euen to the gates of the towne, as resolutlie (led by what spirit I know not) as though they would haue entered the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the gard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approach, and with greater speede than ours were able to followe; Notwithstanding, we followed after them more than a mile.

The second day Col. Huntley was sent into the countrie with three or foure hundred men, who brought home verie great store of Cowes and Sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long Munition house builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduantage against them; but they knowing the commoditie thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening: which put him to a newe councill, for hee had likewise brought some Artillarie to that side of the towne. During this time, there happened a verie great fire in the lower end of the towne; which had it not been by the care of the Generals heedilie seen vnto, and the furie thereof preuented, by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the prouisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

The 4. day were planted vnder the garde of the Cloyster two demie Canons, and two Culuerings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, through the which our batterie lay; the first & second tyre whereof shooke al the wall downe, so as the ordnance lay al open to the enemie, by reason whereof some of y^e Canoniers were shot & some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordnance Master Spencer was slaine fast by sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valor being accompanied with an honorable care of defending that trust committed vnto him, he neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the Batterie which hee presently did, leauing a guard vpon the same for that day: and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the Batterie, as after there were verie few or none annoyed therein.

That day Captain Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be giuen to the Towne, he should make a profer of an escalade on the other side, where hee helde his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should haue been giuen) attempted the same long before the assault, & was shot in the mouth. The same daye the Generall hauing planted his Ordenance readie to batter, caused the towne to be sommoned, in which sommons, they of the Towne shot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parley desired, wherein they gaue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged, was he that shot at the Drum before; wherein also they intreated to haue faire warrs, with promise of the same on their parts: the rest of the parley was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendring of the Towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his skilfull viewe of the Towne (which is almost all seated vpon a Rocke) found one place therof myneable, & did presently set workmen in hand withal: who after 3. daies labor, (& the seuenth after wee were entred the base Towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. Agaynst which time y^e breach made by y^e cannon being thought assaultable, and Companies appoynted as wel to

enter the same, as that which was expected should be blown vp by the Myne: namely, to that of the Cannon, Captaine Richard Wingfeild, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generalls foote Companie; with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall Commandment was ouer the horsmen. And to that of the Myne, Captaine Iohn Sampson, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordinance, with certain selected out of diuers Regiments. All these Companies being in Armes, and the assault intended to be giuen in all places at an instant, fier was put to the train of the Myne: but by reason the powder brake out backwards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time, Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of euerie Companie into the cuntry for prouisions, whereof hee brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthonie Sampson was sent out with some 500. to fetch in prouisions for the armie, who was encountred by them of the COUNTRY: but he put the flight, & returned with good spoyle. The same night the Myners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought verie well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the Companies aforesaid being in readines for both places (Generall Drake on the other side with 2. or 300. men in Pinnaces, making profer to attempt a strong fort vpon an lland before the Towne, where he left more than 30. men) fier was giuen to the trayne of the Myne, which blew vp halfe the Tower vnder which the powder was planted. The Assailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the Myne presently to giue the assault, which they did accordingly; but too soone, for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of the Tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about 20. or 30. then being vnder that part of the Tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the Myne. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild, were shot in the Breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfeilds by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully lost: who hauing three or foure great stones vpon his lower part, was helde so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor anie reasonable Companie recouer him. Notwithstanding the next daye being found to be alieue, ther was 10. or 12. lost in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the Cannon, was wonderful well assaulted by them that had the charge therof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the Breach. And being readie to enter, the loose earth (which was indeede but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from vnder their feete. Whereby did appeare halfe the wal vn battered. For let no man thinke that Culuerine or Demie Cannon can sufficiently batter a defensible Rampier: and of those peeces we had, the better of the Demi Canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battrie was of lesse force, being but of three peeces.

In our Retreat (which was from both breaches thorowe a narrowe lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who serued verie well that day, was hurt in the verie Breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, & of such as were of best iudgement, was the fall of the Myne: which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approach was vnlooked for by the Enemie in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other. Which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two dayes batterie had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knewe in his experience, there was no good to be done that way: which I thinke he first put in prooffe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper Towne, hauing no other waie to put it in hazard so speedilie, and which in my conscience had obtained the Towne, had not the Defendants been in as great perill of their liues by the displeasure of their King in giuing it vp, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloyster within the Towne,

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Towne, and manie other houses adioyning to the Castle, to make it the more defencible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against vs, had not God (who would not haue vs sodainly made proud) laid that misfortune vpon vs.

Hereby it may appeare, that the foure Cannons, and other pieces of batterie promised to the iourney, and not performed, might haue made her Maiestie Mistres of the Groyne: for though the Myne were infortunate, yet if the other breach had been such as the earth would haue helde our men thereon, I doo not thinke but they had entred it thoroughly at the first assault giuen: which had been more than I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more than the Prince of Parma hath in winning of all his Townes endured, who neuer entred anie place at the first assault, nor aboue three by assault.

The next day, the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an Armie of 8000. at Puente de Burgos, sixe miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an Armie: in that there was a greater leauie readie to come thether vnder the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieue the Groyne, or to encamp themselves neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for to that purpose had the Marques of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoyled, and brought in victuals plentifullic.) The Generall, I say, hearing of this Armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom he carried but nine Regiments: in the Vanguard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaile, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk: and in the Rere-ward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leauing the other fise Regiments with Generall Drake, for the garde of the Cloyster and Artillarie. About tenne of the clocke the next day, being the sixt of May, halfe a mile from the Campe, wee discovering the Enemie, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the Vanguard in chiefe, appoynted his Lieutenant Colonell, Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who deuided the into three troupes; the one he appoynted to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the bodie of them (which were Muskettiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way helde by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giuing the first charge vpon the Enemie, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beate them from place to place (they hauing verie good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone vpon Arches. On the foote of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the Enemie verie stronglie entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the poynt of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleere ouer y same, but through an incredible volie of shot; for that the shot of their Armie flanked vpon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrells: but they who should haue garded the same, seeing the proude approach wee made, forsooke the defence of the Barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with verie earnestnes in ouerthrusting, fell, and was grieuouslie hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honorable reskued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also hauing his Caske shot off, had fise wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same counter: yet were they so throughlie seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to giue encouragement to the attempt, (which was of wonderful difficultie) as their brauest men that defended that place being ouerthrowne, their whole Armie fell presentlie into route, of whom

whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sondrie waies, which they betooke themselves vnto. There was taken the stander with the Kings Armes, and borne before the Generall. How many, two thousand men (for of so many consisted our Vanguard) might kill in pursuit of 4. sundrie parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their stands, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his Regiment three miles further to a Cloyster, which he burnt and spoyled, wherein he found two hundred more and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onlie Captaine Cooper, and one priuate souldier: Captaine Barton was also hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong Baracades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts; you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an Armie so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the Vanguard one way, and the Battell another, to burne and spoyle: so as you might haue seen the Countrey more than three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of Munition and Victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behind, they were so hotlie pursued. Our Sailors also landed in an Iland next adioyning our shippes, where they burnt and spoyled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groyne, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at vs as wee marched out, but not once in our coming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our Artillarie landed for the Batterie, and of the rest taken at the Groyne, which had it been such as might haue giuen vs any assurance of a better batterie, or had there been no other purpose of our Iourney but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some more time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that vnderooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded vpon the wall by the water side: but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against vs, as they preuented the same. In our departure there was fire put into euerie house of the lowe towne, in somuch as I may iustlie say, there was not one house left standing in the Base towne, or the Cloyster.

The next day, being the eight of May, wee embarked our Armie without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the Enemy, at Puente de Burgos) had been impossible to haue done, for that without doubt they would haue attempted something against vs in our imbarcking: as appeared by the report of the Commissarie aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing, the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, & to Terneis de Santisso, to bring al the forces against vs that they could possiblie raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an Armie thether, wherewithall they might either besiege vs in their Base Towne, if we should get it, or to lie betweene vs and our place of imbarcking, to fight with vs vpon the aduantage, for they had about 15000. souldiers vnder their commandements.

After wee had put from thence, wee had the winde so contrarie, as wee could not vnder nine daies recouer the Burlings: in which passage on the 13. day, the Earle of Essex, and with him Master Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of wonderful great hope), Sir Roger Williams, Colonell generall of the foot men, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwaies been most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the flecte. The Earle hauing put himselfe into the Iourney against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great aduancement of his reputation, (for as the honorable carriage of himselfe towards all men, doth make him highlie esteemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnes in all seruices, make him to be wondred at amongst vs) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Famouth, that wee left Plymouth in, where he lay, because he would auoide the importunitie of messengers that were daylie sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had been as farre as Cales in Andalosia, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with Corne, and brought

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brought them vnto the fleete. Also in his returne from thence to meete with our fleete, he fell with the llands of Bayon; and on that side of the riuier which Cannas standeth vpon: he, with Sir Roger Williams, & those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enimie that held gard vpon the Coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the Countrey. After his coming into the fleet (to the great reioycing of vs all) he demaunded of the Generals, that after our Armie should come on shore, he might alwaies haue the leading of the Vantgard, which they easilie yeelded vnto: as being desirous to satisfie him in all things, but especially in matters so much tending to his honor as this did; so as from the time of our first landing in Portingall, hee alwaies marched in the poynt of the vangard, accompanied with Sir Roger Williams (except when the necessitie of the place hee held) called him to other seruices.

The 16. day we landed at Penicha in Portingall, vnder the shot of the Castle, and aboue the wast in water, more than a mile from $\frac{1}{2}$ towne, wherein many were in peril of drowning, by reason the wind was great, & the Sea went high, which ouerthrew one boat wherein 25. of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The Enemie, being fise cōpanies of Spaniards vnder the cōmaundement of $\frac{1}{2}$ Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against vs, & in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex, wth Sir Roger Williams & his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make 2. troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led $\frac{1}{2}$ other ouer the Sandhills: which the Enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeede to make their speedie passage away: notwithstanding they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by $\frac{1}{2}$ Colonell generall vnder Captaine Iacson, they stood the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge & at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The Enemie being fled further thā we had reason to follow them, al our companies were drawn to the town: which being vnfortified in any place, we found vndefended by anie man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the Castle to be sōmoned $\frac{1}{2}$ night: which being abandoned by him that cōmaunded it, a Portingall, named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whervpon he would deliuer $\frac{1}{2}$ same, which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the Castle 100. shot & pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portingals withall, & 20. barrels of powder: so as possessing both $\frac{1}{2}$ towne & the Castle, we rested there one day; wherein some friers & other poore men came vnto their new King, promising in the name of their Countrey next adioyning, that within two daies he should haue a good supplie of horse & foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generals company of horses were vnshipped.

The Generals hauing there resolved $\frac{1}{2}$ the Armie should march ouer land to Lisbone vnder $\frac{1}{2}$ conduct of generall Norris: & that general Drake should meet him in the riuier thereof with the fleete: that there should be one company of foote left in gard of the Castle, & 6. of the ships: also $\frac{1}{2}$ the sicke and hurt should remaine there with prouisions for their cures.

The General, to trie $\frac{1}{2}$ euent of the matter by expedition, the next day began to march on this sort: his owne regiment, & the regiments of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, & Colonel Medkerk, in the Vangard: Generall Drake, Colonel Duereux, S. Edward Norris, & Colonel Sidneis in $\frac{1}{2}$ Battaile: S. Iames Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vmptons, Colonell Huntleis, & Colonell Brets in the arrereward. By that time our armie was thus marshalled, general Drake, who though he were to passe by Sea, yet to make known the honorable desire he had of taking equal part of al fortunes wth vs, stood vpō the ascent of an hil, by $\frac{1}{2}$ which our Battalions must of necessitie march, & with a pleasing kindnes tooke his leaue seuerally of the cōmaunders of euerie regiment, wishing vs al happy successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a constant promise $\frac{1}{2}$ he would, if the iniury of $\frac{1}{2}$ wether did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuier of Lisbone with our fleete. The want of carriages the first day was such, as they were enforced to carrie their Munition vpon mens backes, which was the next day remedied.

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In this march Captaine Crispe, the Prouost Marshall, caused one who (contrarie to the proclamation published at our arriual in Portingall) had broken vp a house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death vpon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidentlie giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectiuelie regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doth onlie hold within compasse. The Camp lodged that night at Lorina: The next day we had intelligence al the way that the enemy had made head of horse and foote against vs at Toras Vedras, which wee thought they would haue held: But comming thither the seconde day of our march, not two houres before our Vangarde came in, they lefte the Towne and Castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victualls, especiallie of bread, vpon a Commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoyle the Countrey, or take anie thing from anie Portingall: which was more respectiuelie obserued, than I thinke would haue been in our owne Countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the Countrey (contrarie to promise) hauing neglected the prouision of victualls for vs, whereby we were driuen for that time into a great scarcitie. Which moued the Colonell Generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise y King what necessitie we were in, before we shuld of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence: the Colonell generall hauing acquainted the General herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the King; who after some expostulations vsed, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our Armie was more plentifully relieued.

The third daye wee lodged our Armie in three sundrie villages, the one Battalion lying in Enchara de los Caualleros, another in Enchara de los Obispos, and the third in San Sebastians.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse companie, in this march made triall of the valour of the horsemen of the Enemy; who by one of his Corporalls charged with 8. horses through 40. of them, and himselfe through more than 200. with some 40. horse: who would abide him no longer than they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Loris, and had diuers intelligences that the enemy would tarrie vs there: for the Cardinall had made publike promise to them of Lisbonne, that he would fight with vs in that place, which hee might haue done aduantageouslie; for we had a bridge to passe ouer in the same place: but before our comming hee dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that hee had in purpose to encampe there: for wee found the ground staked out where their trenches should haue been made: and their horsemen with some few shot shewed themselves vpon a hill at our comming into that village. Whom Sir Henrie Norris (whose Regiment had the poynt of the Vangard) thought to draw vnto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of Drum, and somewhat faster than ordinarie, thereby to get neere them before hee were discouered, for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could draw his companies anie thing neere, they retired.

Generall Drakes regiment that night for the commoditie of good lodging, drewe themselves into a Village, more than one English mile from thence, and neare the Enemy: who not daring to doo anie thing against vs in foure dayes before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that Regiment, crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, which was a generall saluation thorough all the Countrey as they came: whom our young Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throates: but the Alarme being taken inwards, the Officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines, (Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately dead at the Groyne, brought down their colours and pikes vpon them in so resolute manner, as they presently draue them to retyre with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance 14. and hurt sixe or seauen.

The next day we lodged at Aluelana within three miles of Lisbonne, where many of our Souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the waie, were poysoned, & thereon presently

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That night the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleuen of the clock with 1000. men to lye in Ambuscade neere the Towne, and hauing layd the same verie neere, sent some to giue the Alarme vnto the Enemie: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the Enemie refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned as soone as it was light without dooing anie thing, though he had in purpose, and was readie to haue giuen an honourable charge on them.

The 25. of May in the euening we came to the Suburbs of Lisbon: at the verie entrance whereof, Sir Roger Williams calling Captain Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirtie shot or thereabouts, and first scowred al the streetes till they came verie neare the Towne; where they found none but olde folkes and beggers, crying Viua el Rey Don Antonio, and the houses shut vp: for they had carried much of their wealth into the Towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, ful of corne and other prouisions of victuals, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in manie houses.

The foure Regiments that had the Vangard that day which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sydneys, and Generall Drakes whome I name as they marched, the Colonell Generall caused to hold guard in the nearest streates of the Suburbs: The Battaile and the arrierward stood in Armes al the night in the field neare to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield by direction from y Colonell Generall Sir Roger Williams helde guard with Sir Edward Norris his Regiment in three places verie neere the Towne wal, and so helde the same till the other Regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the Towne burnt all their houses that stood vpon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the Towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted, (but not without perill) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which ioyned to the wall of the towne, and woulde haue been a verie euill neighbour to the towne: but the Enemie hauing more easie entrie into it than wee, gained it before vs. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the Battaile and arrierward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, & in placing Musquetiers in houses, to frunt their shot vpon the wall, who from the same scowred the great streates verie dangerouslie.

By this time our men being thoroughly wearie with our sixe dayes March: and the last nights watch, were desirous of rest: whereof the Enemie being aduertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the Town, and made their approach in three seuerall streates vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Bretts quarter: who (as most of the Armie was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could drew his men into Armes, and made head against them so thoroughly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carsey shot through the thigh, of which hurt he died within four dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his Regiment.

This resistance made as wel here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonel Medkerke commanded, put them to a sodaine fowle retreat: in so much, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them euen to the gates of the high Towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their Troope of horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselues againe. Manie of them also lefte the streates, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Serieant Maior Captaine Wilson slewe in one house with his owne hands three or foure, and caused them that were with him to kil manie others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, as well in qualitie as in quantitie.

During our march to this place Generall Drake with the whole flete was come into Cascais, and possessed the Towne without anie resistance: manie of the inhabitants at their discouerie of our Naue, fled with their baggage into the Mountaines, and lefte the Towne for anie man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent vnto them by a Portingall Pilot which he had on boord, to offer them all peaceable kindnes, so farre foorth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessities to the Armie he had brought: which offer they

ioyfully embraced, & presently sent two chieffemen of their Towne, to signifie their loyaltie to Don Antonio, and their honest affections to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his Cōpanies not farre from the Cloyster called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the Castle, which being guarded with sixtie fixe Spaniards helde still agaynst him.

As our fleete were casting anker when they came first into that Road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare too with them, and seemed by striking her sayles, as though she would also haue ankered: but taking her fittest occasion, hoysed againe, and would haue passed vp the Riuer, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a Pinnace or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ranne her selfe vpon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being manie chests of sugar) was made nothing woorth by the salt water. In his going thether also, he tooke ships of the Port of Portingall, which wer sent from thence, with fiftene other from Pedro Ver Mendes Xantes Serieant Maior of the same place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbone: the rest that escaped, put into Sant' Vués. The next day it pleased General Norris to cal al y Colonells together, and to aduise with them, whether it were more expedient to tarrie there to attend the forces of the Portingall horse and foote whereof the King had made promise, and to march some conuenient number to Cascais to fetch our Artillerie and munition, which was all at our ships, sauing that which for the necessitie of the Seruice, was brought along with vs: Whereunto, some carried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the Towne stood for vs, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000. for our Artillarie: promising to themselves, that the Enemie being wel beaten the day before, would make no more sallies: Some others, (whose vnbeleefe was verie strong of anie hope from the Portingall) perswaded rather to march whollie away, than to be anie longer carried away with an opinion of things, whereof there was so little apparence. The Generall, not willing to leaue anie occasion of blott to be layd vpon him for his speedie going from thence, nor to loose anie more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the Expedition of Portingall were not the onely purpose of their Iourney, but an aduenture therein; which if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, & wonderfull honorable; and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what ende soeuer happened, could nothing impaire their credits: Yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that hee should haue that night 3000. men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong, that hee might send the like number for his munition, he would resolute to trie his fortune for the Towne. But if they came not, he found it not conuenient to diuide his forces, by sending anie to Cascais, and keeping a Remainder behinde, sithence he saw them the day before so boldly sally vpon his whole Armie, and knew that they were stronger of Soldiers armed within the Towne, than hee was without: And that before our returne could be from Cascais, that they expected more supplies from all places of Souldiers, for the Duke of Bragantia, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000. promised, came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may bee here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderlie regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an Armie against such an Enemie, before hee knewe either the fulnes of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decree made in the Councell at Penicha, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our Nauie should meete vs in the Riuer of Lisbone, in the which was the store of all our provisions, & so the mean of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no Munition left to entertaine a verie small fight. We are also to consider that the King of Portingall (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertisements hee receiued from the Portingalls, or willing by any promise to bring such an Armie into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that vpon his first landing, there would be a reuolt of his subjects: whereof there was some hope giuen at our first entrie to Penicha, by the manner of the yeelding of that Towne and fort, which made

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After two nights tarriance at Lisbonne, the King, as you haue heard, promised a supplie of 3000. foote, and some horse: but all his appoyntments being expired, euen to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a Cornet of 40. nor his foote furnish two Ensignes fullie, although they carried three or soure Colours: and these were altogether such as thought to enrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbors: for they committed more disorders in euerie place wher we came by spoyle, thā any of our own.

The Generall, as you see hauing done more than before his comming out of England was required by the King, and giuen credite to his many promises euen to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine daies longer: in which time he might haue engaged himselfe further, than with any honor he could come out of againe, by attempting a Towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against vs, than wee had to appugne them with all our Artillarie and Munition, being fiftene miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the first shewe of any great sicknes amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his Prelacie did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three daies he sawe no semblance; or he like a sillie louer, who promiseth himselfe fauour by importuning a coy mistris, thought by our long being before his Towne, that in the ende taking pitie on him, they would let him in.

What end the friers had by following him with such deuotion, I knowe not, but sure I am, the Laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victorie would sway; fearing to shewe themselves apparantlie vnto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we preuailed not) call them to accompt: yet sent they vnder hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne if he became King; but indeede verie well contented to see the Spaniards and vs trie by blowes, who should carrie away the Crowne. For they bee of so base a mould; as they can verie well subiect themselves to any gouernment, where they may liue free frō blowes, and haue libertie to become rich, being loath to endure hazard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on anie minds throughly to reuolt, they had three wonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not aboue 5000. Spaniards in that part of the Countrie, of which number the halfe were out of the Towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easilie they might haue preuailed against the rest, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approach they tooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thether when the sallie was made vpon vs by their most resolute Spaniards how easilie might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the Gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof.

And two daies after our comming to Cascaies, when 6000. Spaniards and Portingalls came against vs as farre as S. Iulians by land, as you shall presentlie heare, (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the Towne) they had a more fit occasion to shewe their deuotion to the King, than any could be offered by our tarrying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing sought them in Galitia vpon disaduantage to beate them: and hauing taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof wee gaue sufficient testimonie in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had

taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them vpon anie hazard.

For, what ciuill Country hath euer suffred themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be deprived of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long but they? And what Countrey liuing in slauerie vnder a stranger whom they naturally hate: hauing an Armie in the field to fight for them & their libertie, would lie still with the yoke vpon their neckes, attending if anie strangers would vnburthe them, without so much as rousing themselves vnder it but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they bee great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, & therefore marched on into their Countrey: But they perfourmed little in action, whereof wee could haue had no prooffe without this thorough triall. Wherein hee hath discouered their weakness, and honorably performed more than could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners who seeke occasions of slander, haue reported him to bee suspicious of a people, of whose infidelitie he had no testimonie: and to be fearfull without cause, if he had refused to giue credite to their promises without anie aduenture? Let no friuolous Questionist therefore further enquire, why he marched so manie dayes to Lisbone, and tarried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gaue order for our marching away: himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the Stande that was made in the high streete, till the whole Armie was drawne into the field, and so marched out of the Towne, appoynting Captain Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield in the Arrereward of them with the shot; thinking that the Enemie (as it was most likelie) would haue issued out vppon our rising; but they were otherwise aduised.

When we were come into the field, euerie Battalion fell into that order which by course appertained vnto them, and so marched that night vnto Cascaies. Had wee marched through his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiers had been well supplied in all their wants: but had wee made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbone, wee had been the richest Armie that euer went out of England: for besides the particuler wealth of euerie house, there were many warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich Marchandizes.

In our march that day, the Gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at Lisbone, (for that our way lay along the riuer) attended vs till we were past S. Iulians, bestowing many shot amongst vs, but did no harme at all, sauing they strooke off a priuate Gentlemans legge, and killed the Sergeant Maiors moyle vnder him. The horsemen also followed vs a farre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hold in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had been two daies at Cascais, wee had intelligence by a frier, that the Enemie was marching strongly towards vs, and then come as farre as S. Iulians: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generalls, as they offered euerie one of them to giue the messenger a hundred Crownes if they found them in the place: for the Generall desiring nothing more than to fight with them in field rounge, dispatched that night a messenger with a Trompet, by whom he writ a Cartell to the Generall of their Armie, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from Lisbone in disorder and feare of them (which indeede was most false) for that it was siue of the clock in the morning before wee fell into Armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to followe out vpon vs. Also he challenged him therein, to meete him the nexte morning with his whole Armie, if he durst attend his comming, and there to trie out the iustnes of their quarrell by battaile: by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his Countries, before his owne safetie) sent a particuler Cartell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie: or if they would not admit of that, sixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoynt, should meete so many of theirs in the head of our Battaille to trie their fortunes with them, and that they should haue assurance of their returne and honorable intreatie.

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The Generall accordingly made all his Armie readie by three of the clocke in the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sodaine feare that we had been come vpon them, as the Generall was the next daye certainly informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answere to either of his letters, but threatening to bee hanged, for daring to bring such a message: howbeit the Generall had caused to bee written vpon the backside of their passport, *ŷ* if they did offer any violence vnto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to aduise better of the matter and to returne them home, but without answere.

After our Armie came to Cascais, and the Castle sommoned, the Castellan thereof graunted, that vpon fure or sixe shot of the Cannon hee would deliuer the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had been such for want of men or victualls as he could not hold it many daies, because he sawe it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessitie, than to bring the Cannon, and therefore onlie set a gard vpon the same, least anie supplie of those things which hee wanted should bee brought vnto them. But he still standing vpon those conditions, the Generall about two daies before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure peeces of batterie against it: vpon the first tire whereof he rendered, and compounded to goe away with his baggage and Armes: he had one Cannon, two Culuerings, one Basiliske, and three or foure other field peeces, threescore and fure Souldiers, verie good store of munition, and victualls enough in the Castle; insomuch as hee might haue held the same longer than the Generall had in purpose to tarie there. One Companie of foot men was put into the garde thereof, til the Artillarie was taken out, & our Armie embarked; which without hauing that fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were readie to set saile (one halfe of the fort being by order from the General blowne vp by myne) the Companie was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the Road, our fleete began the second of Iune, and so continued sixe daies after to fetch in some hulks to the number of 60. of Dansik, Staten, Rastock, Lubec, and Hamburg, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the Kings prouision, and going for Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Mastes, Cables, Copper and Waxe: amongst which were some of great burthen wonderfull well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the Kings prouision, to reinforce his decayed Nauie: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them, which carried two Misnes, was knowne to be verie inward with the Cardinall, who rather hee would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe vnto his small boate, wherein he recovered S. Sebastians. Into the which our men, that before were in fleebatoes, were shipped, and the fleebatoes sent home with an offer of Corne to the value of their hire. But the wind being good for them for Rochel, they chose rather to lose their Corne than the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of Iune, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sydney, being both verie sicke, departed for England, who in the whole iourney had shewed themselues verie forward to all seruices, and in their departure verie vnwilling to leaue vs; that day we embarked all our Armie, but lay in the Road vntil the eight thereof.

The sixth day the Earle of Essex, vpon receipt of letters from her Maiestie, by them that brought in the victualls, presentlie departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was verie desirous to goe, but found the Generals verie vnwilling he should do so, in *ŷ* he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarrie, was to commaund the Armie: And the same day there came vnto vs two small Barkes that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victualls, which were passed vpwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after wee set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to goe to the Iles of Açores, the second day, which was the ninth, wee met

met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whose prouision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding, we resolved to continue our course for the Ilands.

About this time was the Marchant Royal, with three or foure other shippes sent to Penicha, to fetch away the Companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generalls that were sent ouerland, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedie marching thether, either to bring away the Artillarie, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gaue him; for hee was no sooner gone, than the Enemie possessed the Towne and Castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the Road.

At this time also was the Ambassador from the Emperour of Moroco, called Rays Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him Master Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Anthonio, and Captaine Oufley from the Generals, to the Emperour.

The next morning, the nine Gallies which were sent not siue daies before out of Andalusia for the strengthening of the riuer of Lisbon (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though wee lay hard by them at S. Iulians, durst neuer make any attempt against vs vpon our departure from thence) were returning home, and in the morning being a verie dead calme, in the dawning thereof fell in the winde of our fleete, in the vttermost part whereof they assailed one stragling Barke of Plymouth, of the which Captaine Cauerly being Captaine of the land Companie, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Marriners abandoned the shippe, and betooke them to the ship boates, whereof one, in which the Master & the Captain wer, was ouerrun with the Gallies, and they drowned. There was also two hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their boates to haue relieved them, but could not be recouered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his Companie, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discerne, but might easilie iudge by his long and good fight, that the Enemie could not but susteine much losse, who setting also vpon one other hulk wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he verie sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their Artillarie, and attempted to board her. And seeing also one other hulke a league of, a sterne of vs, they made towards her; but finding that she made readie to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed their losse being great in the other fights, they were loath to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19. of Iune, our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were Northerlie wee should plie for the Açores; but if Southerlie, for the Iles of Bayon.

Wee lay with contrarie windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerlie wind preuailing carried vs to Bayon, part of our ships to the number of 25. in a great winde which was two dayes before, hauing lost the Admiralls and fleete, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whome, was Sir Henrie Norris in the Ayde: who had in purpose (if the Admiralls had not come in) with some 500. men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleete helde with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put vpon those Islandes, cast off againe to sea for the Açores: but remembering how vnprouided he was for that Iourny, & seeing that he had lost manie of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the Euening, where he passed vp the riuer more than a mile about Vigo.

The next morning we landed as manie as were able to fight, which were not in the whole about 2000. men, (for in the 17. dayes wee continued on boord wee had cast manie of our men ouer boord) with which number the Colonell Generall marched to the Towne of Vigo, neare the which when hee approached, hee sent Captaine Anthonie Wingfield with a Troope of shot to enter one side of the same, who found vpon euerie streetes end a strong Barricade, but altogether abandoned: for hauing entered the Towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On the other side of the Towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approach on that

that side (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine ships sent with the Vizeadmirall to lye close before the Towne, to beate vpon the same with their artillarie.

In the afternoone were sent 300. vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henrie Poure, to burne another village betwixt that & Bayon, called Borsis, & as much of the Countrey as the day would giue them leaue to doo; which was a verie pleasant rich Valley, but they burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the Towne, both that and the next day, so as the Countrey was spoyled seuen or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the Towne, but not anie thing els: for the other daies warning of the ships that came first in, gaue them a respite to carrie all away.

The next morning by breake of the day, the Colonell Generall, (who in absense of the Generalls that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our Companies to be drawn out of the Towne, and sent in two Troops to put fier in euerie house of the same, which done we imbarked againe.

This day, there were certaine Marriners (without anie direction) put themselves on shoare, on the contrarie side of the Riuer from vs, for pillage; who were beaten by the Enemie from their boates, and punished by the Generalls for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon, were before shewed to bee want of artillarie, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should haue gone against so strong a place, manned with verie good souldiers, as was showed by Iuan de Vera taken at the Groyne, who confessed that there were 600. olde Souldiers in Garrison there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately also returned out of the Iourney of England: vnder the leading of Capitan Puebla.

Christofero Vasques de Viralta, a Souldier of Flanders.

Don Petro Camascho, de tercio de Napoles.

Don Francisco de Cespedes.

Capt. Iuan de Solo, de tercio de Napoles.

Don Diego de Cassaua.

Capt. Sauban.

Also he saith, there be 18. peeces of brasse, and foure of yron lately layd vpon the walls of the Towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generalls seeing what weake estate our Armie was drawn into by sickness, determined to man and victuall 20. of the best ships for the Isles of Açores with Generall Drake, to see if he could meete with the Indian fleete, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest. And for the shifting of men and victualls accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Islands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that daye. But Generall Drake according to their appoyntment being vnder sayle, neuer strooke at the Isles, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleete followed sauing 33. which being in the Riuer further than he, and at the enterance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast Anker there for that night: amongst whom, by good fortune was the Foresight, and in her Sir Edward Norris. And the night following, Generall Norris being driuen from the rest of the fleete by a great storme, (for all that daye was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came agayne into the Islands, but not without great perill, hee beeing forced to trust to a Spanish fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a Councell of as manie as he found there, holding the purpose he had before concluded with Sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for England, tarying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were lefte in wonderfull distresse, by hauing the victualls that came last, caried away the day before to sea.

The next day he set sayle, & the tenth day after, which was the second of Iuly came into Plymouth, where he found Sir Francis Drake, & all the Queenes ships, with manie of the others, but not all: for the fleete was dispersed into other harbors; some lead by a desire of returning

returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulkes, sought other Ports from their Generals eye, wher they might make their priuate commoditie of them, as they haue done to their great aduantage.

Presently vpon their arriual there, the Generals dissolued all the Armie, sauing 8. Companies, which are yet held together, giuing euerie Souldier fife shillings in money, and the Armes he bare to make money of, which was more than could by anie meanes be due vnto thē; for they were in seruice three months, in which time they had their victualls, which no man will value at lesse than halfe their pay; for such is the allowance in her Maiesties ships to her Marriners, so as there remained but ten shillings a month more to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparell and furniture to his own vse, so as euerie common Souldier discharged, receaued more in money, victualls, apparell, and furniture, than his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithstanding, there be euen in the same place wher those things haue passed, that either doo not or will not conceaue the Souldiers estate, by comparing their pouertie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some iniuries vpon the Generalls and the action. Where, and by the way, but especiallie here in London, I finde there haue been some false prophets gone before vs, telling straunge tales: for as our Countrey doth bring forth manie gallant men, who desirous of honour, doo put themselues into the actions thereof, so dooth it manie more dull spirited, who though their thoughtes reach not so high as others, yet doo they listen how other mens acts doo passe, and eyther beleeuing what anie man will report vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one sort of these do take their opinions from the high way side, or at the fardest goe no farther than Paules to enquire what hath been done in this Voyage: where, if they meete with anie, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintain their reputation, and who went onely for spoyle, complayning on the hardnesse and miserie thereof, they thinke they are bound to giue credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in verie charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they see anie of those malecontents (as euerie journey yeeldeth some) doo runne vnto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresawe before our going out what would become thereof.

Be ye not therefore too credulous in beleeuing euerie report, for you see there haue been many more beholders of these things y haue passed, thā actors in the same; who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, haue thought that to lie hard, not to haue their meate well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not hauing so giuen their minds to the seruice as they are any thing instructed thereby, doo for want of better matter discourse ordinarilie of these things: whereas the journey (if they had with that iudgement seen into it, and as their places required) hath giuen them farre more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and mislikings before our comming home, haue made me labour thus much to instruct you in the certeintie of euerie thing, because I would not willinglie haue you miscarried in the iudgements of them, wherein you shall giue me leaue somewhat to delate vpon a question, which I onlie touched in the beginning of my letter, namelie, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintaine an offensive warre against the King of Spaine in the Lowe Countries, or as in this journey, to offend him in his neerer Territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this journey haue giuen vs.

There is no good subject that will make question whether it bee behooffull for vs to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, as well in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with vs or against vs; as of the commoditie of their harbors, especiallie that of Vlissing, by the fauour wherof our Naue may continuallie keepe the Narrow Seas, and which would harbour a greater fleete against vs, than the Spaniard

niard shall neede to annoy vs withall; who being now distressed by our common Enemie, I thinke it most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may bee to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late yeares lost vnto him. The one without doubt her Maiestie may doo without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shall neuer be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may bee expelled from thence more speedilie, or conuenientlie by keeping an Armie there, than by sending one agaynst him into his own Countrie: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that Armie must consist, and what intollerable expences it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the Duke of Alua, when the Prince of Orrenge had his great Armie against him: and of Don Iohn, when the States had their mightie assemblie against him, how this wise Enemie, with whom wee are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occasions enough for our Armie within fewe moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his Townes leaue vs a spoyle field: where though our prouision may be such of our owne as we starue not, yet is our weaknes in any strange Countrie such, as with sicknes and miserie we shall be dissolued. And let him not forget what a continuall burthen wee hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repossesse those Countries which haue been lately lost, will be a warre of longer continuance than wee shall be able to endure.

In the verie action whereof, what should hinder the King of Spaine to bring his forces home vnto vs? for it is certaine he hath long since set downe in Councell, that there is no way for him whollie to recouer those Lowe Countries, but by bringing the warre vpon England it selfe, which hath alwaies assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath been vehementlie vrged by the last yeeres losse he susteined vpon our Coasts, and the great dishonor this iourney hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we shall giue him respite to doo it, but he will mightelie aduance his purpose, for he is richlie able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish euen in true and honest zeale to my Countrie, that wee were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busie him with a well furnished Armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodlie Bayes open, as wee may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an inuasion. And hauing an Armie of twentie thousand royallie furnished there, wee shall not neede to take much care for their paiement: for shall not Lisbon be thought able to make so fewe men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemie of them, they had largely enriched vs all? which with what small losse it may be wonne, is not here to shewe; but why it was not wonne by vs, I haue herein shewed you. Or is not the spoyle of Ciuill sufficient to pay more than shall be needfull to be sent against it, whose defence (as that of Lisbon) is onlie force of men, of whom how many may for the present bee raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee haue discovered what kinde of men they bee; euen such as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours against them: for during the time wee were in many places of their Countrie, they cannot say that euer they made twentie of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit that if vpon this Alarme that wee haue giuen him, he tendring his naturall and nearest soyle before his further remoued off governments, do drawe his forces of old Souldiers out of the Low Countries for his own defence, is not the victorie then wonne by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should haue kept an Armie there at a charge by many parts greater than this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our Armie bee impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall Roades, are wee not in possibilitie to meete with his Indian Merchants, and verie like to prevent him of his prouisions comming out of the East Countries? without the which, neither the subiect of Lisbon is long able to liue, nor the King able to maintain his Naue: for though the countrey of Portingall doo some yeres finde themselues corne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the King

of Spaine be the richest Prince in Christendome, yet can he neyther draw cables, hew masts, nor make powder out of his mettalls, but is to bee supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will holde opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they be not our enemies: and that our disagreeance with them, will impeach the trade of our Merchants, and so impouerish our Countrey. Of whose minde I can hardly be drawn to be: for, if my enemy fighting with me doo breake his sword, so as I thereby haue the aduantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kil me withal? And may it not be thought more fitting for vs in these times to loose our trades of Cloath, than by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard, whether we shall haue a Countrey left to make cloth in, or no? And yet though neither Hamburg, Embden, nor Stode doo receiue our cloth, the necessarie vse thereof in all places is such, as they will finde meanes to take it from vs, with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that wee damnifie him neither at sea nor land (for vnlesse it bee with a much more mightie Armie than ours, he shall neuer be able to withstand vs) yet shal we by holding him at his home, free our selues from the warre at our owne walles: the benefite whereof let them consider, y best can iudge; & haue obserued the difference of inuading, & being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the Souldier, in that it dooth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearfull terror to the Countrey man, who if by chaunce hee play the man, yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing manie holes to hide himselfe in; will trie them all before hee put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuador casteth vp his accompt before he goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust vnto. I will not say what I obserued in our Countrey men when the enemy offered to assaile vs here: but I wish that all England knewe what terror we gaue to the same people that frightened vs, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knewe no safer waye to saue himselfe, than by fighting? Whereas the Persians, either trusting to continue still masters of their wealth by yeelding to the Inuador, began to practise against their owne King: or hauing more inward hopes, did hide themselves euen to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the aduice of Scipio, though mightely impugned at the first, proue verie sound and honorable to his Countrey? Who, seeing the Romanes wonderfully amazed at the nearnesse of their enemies forces, and the losses they dayly sustained by them, gaue counsaile, rather by way of diuersion to carrie an Armie into Affricke, & there to assaile, than by a defenciue warre at home to remaine subiect to the commo spoyle of an assailing Enemy. Which being put in execution, drew the Enemy from the Gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the first, were not so fortunate against the, as ours haue been in this small time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof, maye encourage vs to take Armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre vp all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a bay, so farre of: whereas if wee giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring forth his preparations, it will bee with danger to vs all.

He taketh not Armes against vs by anie pretence of title to the Crowne of this Realme, nor led altogether with an ambitious desire to command our Countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and Religion: Her Maiesties Scepter is already giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewardes vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soeuer, are offered for spoyle vnto the common Souldier. Let euerie man therefore in defence of the libertie and plentie hee hath of long enjoyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for euerie Iustice of peace, who by his blew coat protecteth the properest and most seruiceable men at euerie

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euerie muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men doo put him to for one yere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his neighbors, to take but one yeares giftes (which they call fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder euerie Officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maiesties Courtes, who without checke doo sodainlie grow to great wealth, honestlie to bring forth, the mysticall commoditie of one yeres profites? or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenths of euerie mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeares gathering, and in thankfulness to her Maiestie, (who hath continued for all our safeties, a most chargeable warre both at land and sea) bestowe the same for her honour and their owne assurance vppon an Armie which may make this bloodie Enemy, so to knowe himselfe and her Maiesties power, as hee shall bethinke him what it is to moue a stirring people? Who, though they haue receaued some small checke by the sicknesse of this last Iourney, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowne, that the like Voyage were to be supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample prouision) but there would of all sortes most willingly put themselues into the same: some carried with an honorable desire to be in action, & some in loue of such, would affectionately follow their fortunes, some in thirsting to reuenge the death and hearts of their brethren, kindred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentiful spoyle to be found in those Countreyes, hauing been there alreadie and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honor of our own, would with courage take Armes, to hazard their liues against them, whom euerie good English man is in nature bound to hate as an implacable Enemy to England, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs vnder the yoke of perpetuall slauerie.

Against them is true honour to bee gotten, for that wee shall no sooner set foote in their land, but that euery steppe we tread will yeeld vs newe occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regarde, than to followe those soft vnprofitable pleasures, wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three Townes of Spaine is the wealth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profites of the East and West Indies: whereunto I wish our young able men, who against the libertie they are borne vnto, (terme themselues Seruing men) rather to bend their desires and affections, than to attend their double liuerie and fortie shillings by the yeare wages, and the reuersion of the old Coppie-hold, for carrying a dish to his masters table. But let me here reprehend my selfe and craue pardon, for entring into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is alreadie laid vpon a most graue and honorable Councell, who will in their wisdomes foresee the dangers that may bee threatned against vs. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happie Gentlemen, & the trade of those honest Seruing men, by perswading them to the warres, when I see the profession thereof so slenderlie esteemed? for though al our hope of peace bee frustrate, and our quarels determinable by the sword: though our Enemy hath by his own forces and his pencionaries industrie, confined the vnited Prouinces into a narrowe rounge, and almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harbour himselfe in the principall Hauens of France, from whence he may frunt vs at pleasure: yea though wee are to hope for nothing but a blondie warre, nor can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how farre the common sort are from reuerencing or regarding any persons of Conduction, was too apparent in the returne of this our Iourney, wherein the base and common souldier hath been tollerated to speake against the Capitaine, and the souldier and Capitaine against the Generalls, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condition doo dare to censure the dooings of them, of whose acts they be not worthie to talke.

The auncient graue degree of the Prelacie is vphelde, though Martin rayle neuer so much, and the Lawyer is after the olde manner worshipped, whosoeuer inueigh against him: But

the auncient English honour is taken from our Men of Warre, and their Profession in disgrace, though neuer so necessarie. Either we commit Idolatrie to Neptune, and will put him alone still to fight for vs as he did the last yere, or we be enchanted with some diuellish opinions, that trauaile nothing more than to diminish the reputation of them, vpon whose shoulders the burthen of our defence against the Enemie must lie when occasion shall be offered. For whensoever he shall set foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remoue him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betweene them and their perills, who are now thought vnworthie of any estimation.

May the burning of one Towne (which cost the King then being, sixe times as much as this hath done her Maiestie, wherein were lost seauen times as many men as in any one seruice of this iourney, and tarried not the tenth part of our time in the Enemies Countrie) bee by our elders so highly reputed, and sounded out by the historie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanlie esteemed, wherein wee burned both Townes and Countries without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our Kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for overthrowing a number of poore Scots, who after one battaile lost, were neuer able to reneforce themselves against him; and shall they in this time who haue ouerthrowne our mightie Enemie in battaile, and taken his royall Standerd in the field, besieged the Marques of Saralba fiftene daies together, that should haue been the Generall of the Armie against vs, brought away so much of his Artillarie (as I haue before declared) be vnworthelie esteemed of?

Is it possible that some in some times should receiue their reward for looking vppon an Enemie, and ours in this time not receiue so much as thanks, for hauing beaten an Enemie at handie strokes?

But it is true, that no man shall be a Prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part, I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shall haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the Countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to vse them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what? shall the blind opinion of this Monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generalltie of old been termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I challenge some reputation; or diminish my loue to my Countrey, which hetherto hath nourished mee? No, it was for her sake I first tooke Armes: and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to vse them: not regarding how some men in priuate conuenticles doo measure mens estimations by their owne humours; nor how euerie populer person doth giue sentence on euerie mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue vnrewarded: and depending vpon the iustice of her most rare and graue aduisors, who by their heedie looking into euerie mans worth, doo giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceede others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall neuer any thing happen more pleasing vnto me, than that I may once againe be a partie in some honorable iourney against the Spaniard in his owne Countrie, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserue beyond me, patiently endure the vnadvised censure of our malicious reprobours.

If I haue seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome vnto you in the discouering of those impediments; and answering the slaunders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes vpon the iourney, and reproaches vpon the Generalls (hauing indeede proceeded from other heads:) let the necessitie of conseruing the reputation of the action in generall, and the honors of our Generalls in particuler, be my sufficient excuse: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our Countrie more dreaded and renowned, than any act that euer England vndertooke before? Or if you haue thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my Countries good bee therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as onely recommended to your selfe, and not to bee deliuered to the publike view of the world, least any man take offence thereat;

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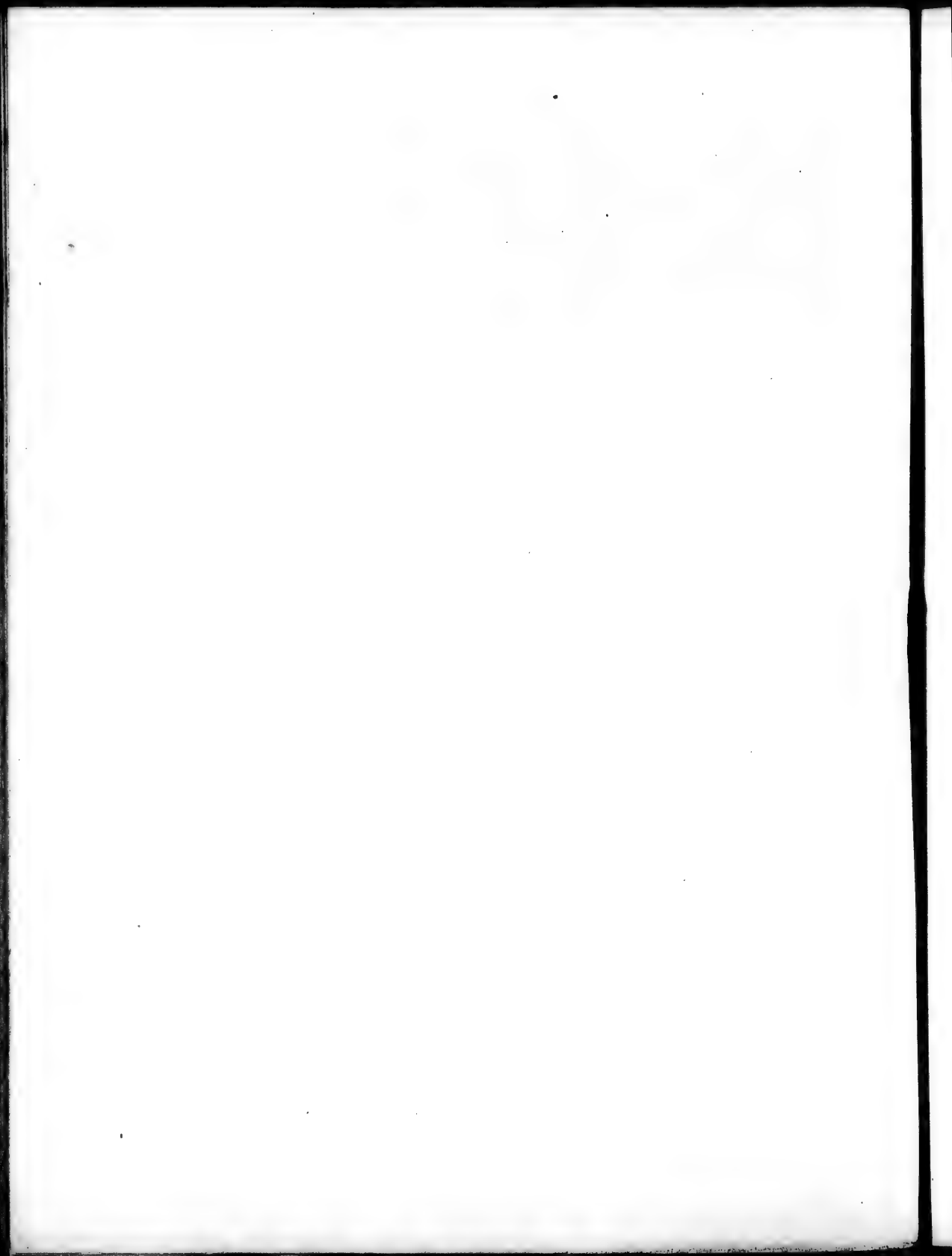
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thereat; which some particuler men may seeme iustlie to doo, in that hauing deserued verie well, I should not herein giue them their due commendations; whereas my purpose in this priuate discourse, hath been onelie to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that haue passed, wherein I haue onelie taken notes of those men who either commanded euery seruice, or were of chiefest marke: if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and hee to another, and so it passe through many hands, I knowe not what constructions would be made thereof to my preiudice; for that the P^res eares may happelie bee taken for hornes. Howbeit, I hold it very necessarie (I must confesse) that there should bee some true manifestation made of these things: but bee it farre from me to bee the author thereof, as verie vnfit to deliuer my censure of any matter in publique, and most vnwilling to haue my weaknes discouered in priuate. And so doo leaue you to the happie successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestlie wishing that there may bee some better acceptance made of the fruites of your studies, than there hath been of our hazards in the warres. From London the 30. of August. 1589.

FINIS.



THE
OMISSIONS
OF
CALES VOYAGE,
STATED AND DISCUSSED
BY
THE EARL OF ESSEX
NOW
FIRST PUBLISHED FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE POSSESSION
OF THE MOST NOBLE
THE MARQUIS OF STAFFORD.

THE
OMISSIONS
OF
CALES VOYAGE.

The * first & greatest occasion let slip in our Voyage was, that we did not possess our selues of the fleete that was bound for the Indies, the lading whereof would not onelie haue paid all charges of the iorneie, but haue enabled vs a great while to wage warre with Spaine, with the meanes of Spaine. To which I aunswere, that if either I had ben followed the first morning of our comminge before the harbor when I bare with it; or if we had entred the same Sundaie in the afternoone when we were vnder saile, & within cannon shot of the enemies fleete, or after the men of warre were taken & burnt, the nexte daie if anie shipping had gone vp as I vrged by mine owne speech sent by Sir Anthonie Ashlie, who being secretarie at wars was to record euerie mans seruice or omission; if anie of these had ben don, then I saie had that fleet ben easilie possessed. For the first morning they had neither their men aboard, as it was since confessed by our prisoners, nor were provided of any counsel what to doe. In the afternoone the same daie we had found the men of warre & the Marchaunts fleet altogether in onc bodie, & engaged them both at once, so as at the same time we had defeated the one, we had possessed the other. And the next daie presentlie vpon the fight & victorie against the Kings shipp, we had found them all so amazed & confounded as they would have thought of nothing but of sauing themselves, & we had taken the ships, the riches in them, & the fleet of gallies, without striking a blow; as both our prisoners & captaines out of the gallies haue assured vs. But the first morninge when I boare with the harbor, almost all the fleet came to an ancker by the point Saint Sebastian a league wide of me, & gaue the enemy leasure to send men & all necessaries aboard. When I was gon in, I could neither get my companion to waigh his ancker, nor most of those that were waied to goe in with me. And the next daie I had much a do to make our ships fight at all. And when God had giuen vs victorie, my perswasions nor protestations could make them that were sea-commanders go or send vp to possess the fleet of the Indies, whiles we assailed the towne, so as the enemy had almost 48. howers to burne his owne shipp.

* The Editor takes this opportunity of making his grateful acknowledgements to the Marquis of Stafford, for his permission to print this Tract from his curious Manuscript; and to the Reverend H. J. Todd, for furnishing him with the accurate transcript from which it is printed.

The second imputation that maie be laid to vs, was, that we did abandon Cales, when we were possesst of it, whereas the holding of it would haue ben a naile not in the foote of this great monarch but in his side, & haue serued for a diversion of all the wars in these parts. To which I aunswere, that some of our sea-commanders, & especiallie my colleague, did not onelie oppose themselves to that designe, (whose oppositions mine instructions made an absolute barre,) but when we came to see how the forces that should be left there might be victualed till succours came, the victualls were for the most part hidden & embeazled, & euery ship began at that instant to feare their wants, & to talke of goeing home; soe as I should neither haue had one ship to staie at Cales, nor victualls for the garrison for 2. moneths. And therefore I was forced to leaue Cales, & did not choose to abandon it.

The third obiection we haue to aunswere is, whie we did not lie for the carricks & Indian ships, seing we were on the coast the verie time that is thought fittest for their intercepting & vsuall of their retourne. In which I must first cite the testimonie of all our commanders by land & sea, that when we had in our retourne from Cales doubled the Cape St. Vincent comonlie called the South Cape, I vrged our going to th' Islands of Ozores, founding my selfe vpon these reasons: first, that, it was more certaine to attend them at the land-fall where theie must needs touch, then to secke them in the wide sea; & next, that the aduises sent out of Spaine & Portingall since our being of myght meete them at the Islands, & make them divert from coming thither. Besides, the Spaniards after theie saw vs engaged at Cales would neuer suspect or dreame of our goeing to the Islands. And when this counsell was reiected, & we come in the sight of Lisbon, I there againe pressed the lying for them with a selected fleet, & offered vpon that condition to send home the land-forces, & all such ships as want of victualls, leaks, sickness, or anie thing els had made vnfit to staie out at sea. But first the L. Admirall & Sr. W[il]liam Rawligh did directlie by attestation vnder their hands contradict the first proposition that I made, that some ships should attend that seruice. And when we came to the hypothesis, which were fitt & their capitaines content to staie out in all the fleet, except the Low Countrie Squadron, there could be found but two, my L. Thom. Howard & my selfe; so as by the whole counsell at wars, it was resolved that as well my offer & opinion, as euerie mans els amongst vs, should be kept vnder his hand, for our particuler discharges, & I be barred of staieing, except my L. Admirall would assent to leaue some 8. or 10. of the Marchaunts ships besides 2. of the Queenes: which he refused to doe: & soe our dessigne brake off.

The last omission maie seeme to be in this, that since all our seruice consisted in taking or distroyinge the Spanish shipping & sea prouisions, that we did not looke into all his cheife ports, & do him in that kind as much hurt as we might haue done. To which I aunswere, that first my end in goeing to Cales was not onelie because it was a principall port & the likeliest to be held by vs, by cause of the seat & naturall strength of it; but also for that it was the farthest good porte south-ward; so as beginning with it we might, if some greater seruice did not diuert vs, goe to all the good ports betwixt that & the northmost ports of Biskaie: which was a better waie then to haue begonne or giuen the enemye an alarum in the midst of his Countrie, or the neerest ports to vs; for so our attempts would haue ben more difficile, & our retreats at last from those farthest ports less safe; considering the wants, infections, & other inconveniences that for the most parte doe accompanie the retraicts of our fleet & armies in long iorneies. But after we had ended at Cales, it was by all our seamen thought a capitall offence to name the goeing ouer the Barre at St. Lucars. Betwixt St. Lucars & Lisbon there is no good porte. From Lisbon I was barred by name, if it had bene free for vs to haue gone. Yet our seamen are made of the same stuffe, Sr. Francis D: & his companie was, when theie lost the occasion of his taking Lisbon, for feare of passing by the castle of St. Iulian's. From Lisbon to the Groine there is no port to hold the Kings or anie other great shipping. To the Groine with cart-ropes I drew them: for both I vowed & protested against

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against their refusall, & parted companie with them when they offered to hold another course. But when we came to the mouth of the harbor, & sent in some of our small vessells, we saw there was nothing there, nor yet at Furroll; for into that port also we made our discoveries to looke.

After which discoverie we held our last counsell. And then I vrge our goeing to St. Audica, the passage St. Sebastian, & all other good ports all along the coast. But mine associat did altogether refuse to goe farther alonge the coaste, complaininge of wants, & obiection our being embayed, & I know not what. In which opinion Sir Walter Rawlighe strengthened him; & theie were both desirous to take vpon them the honnor of breaking that designe. And of landing at the Groyne, or attempting the towne, theie would not heare by anie meanes. And presentlie euery man cried to set saile homewards. Since which time theie haue made such haste, as I, tarieing behind to bring along with me the St. Andrew taken at Cales & the flie boate that carries our artillarie, haue lost them all, sauing Monsieur Oauerworme & his squadron, & some few small shippes.

THE END.